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RECORDS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE:

COMMUNICATIONS FROM SPECIAL AGENTS

Volume 8

February 20, 1818 - November 27, 1819

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The volume microcopied on this roll has the following backstrip title: "8 / Special Agent / to / Venezuela / Baptis Irvine / 1818-1819 / Department / of State." It contains letters to the Department of State from Baptis Irvine, special agent of the United States to Venezuela, instructed to obtain indemnity from the government of Venezuela for the seizure of American ships and to collect all information regarding South American affairs that might be of interest to the Department of State. The letters are dated from Philadelphia (February 20, 1818), New York (March 16, 1818), Saint Thomas (June 1, 1818), Margarita (June 14 and 16, 1818), Angostura, Venezuela (July 20, 1818 - February 28, 1819), Trinidad (March 27, 1819), and Baltimore (June 1 - November 27, 1819). Among the enclosures are letters of Simón Bolívar. Most of the volume consists of a report by Irvine entitled "Notes on Venezuela," transmitted November 13, 1819, containing 461 numbered pages and having an index at the front.

It has not always been possible for the camera to reproduce perfectly the ends of lines next to the binding. A complete reading of any lines thus affected will be furnished by The National Archives upon request.

In referring to this volume, scholars may wish to indicate that it is among the records of the Department of State in The National Archives. Since the leaves upon which the letters are mounted, and also the folios of the letters themselves, are numbered, citation by folio number might cause confusion. The following form of citation is therefore suggested: State Department, Special Agents, vol. 8, letter of June 1, 1818. Page numbers may be cited in references to Irvine's report: State Department, Special Agents, vol. 8, Irvine's "Notes on Venezuela," page 231.

BAPTIS IRVINE

JANUARY 31, 1818

VENEZUELA

The increase of paper money in England, unnecessary, unnatural, and monstrously unjust, produced consequences natural enough for the cause.

Prices rose as money depreciated; and fifty millions were found to answer not so good a purpose, [except to the bankers] as twenty had done. In 1802, on motion of Mr Pitt, nearly a million sterling, or £4.450.000 was added by Parliament to the King's civil list, on account of depreciation, by the augmentation of money. Again in 1804, above half a million sterling was granted on motion also of Mr Pitt, to counterbalance depreciation in the King's expenses and civil list. The salaries of the judges were twice augmented; or as Mr Cobbett says, received two lifts.

Here we see a government engaged in a most unworthy struggle, reducing the value of currency with one hand, and issuing more money with the other; laboriously depreciating coin, and busily doubling salaries; diminishing the value of the sign in order to enable bankers to seize more property; destroying a regular order of things to profit by irregularity and confusion; multiplying the quantum of temptation [to forgery] & inevitably employing more hangmen: convicting brokers of selling guineas at 22/6 payable in bank notes, while the price rose to £2 and 27s. as in the case of De Goss: [See Paper against Gold, Letters 27. 28 & 31.] And this demoralizing legislation was practised under pretence of preserving "liberty and property against republicans and levellers" - but "what tariff [asked a member of the government] shall settle the difference between the blessed comforts of religion and the gloomy despair of atheism?" As if religion were allied with coining money or stamping bank notes!

To show the uniformity of effect, we may add, that a ministerial writer [of "Financial & Political Facts"] censures the opposition for endeavoring "to influence the minds of the lower orders, &c. &c. by attributing the dearness of provisions to the additional quantity of bank notes in circulation [See Mr Arthur's Financial & Political Facts &c. p. 130]

In the United States paper was multiplied & longer

[See the other side]

raised their ~~salaries~~ salary – instead of correcting the cause of the evil!

In Austria the paper currency was ~~debated~~ debated still more comet-like; if its ~~tayer~~ train of evils allows us to draw that simile. A hundred florins in silver was worth fourteen hundred and fifty three florins in paper." The royal plate was melted down and the Church and College-lands were sold, to carry on the crusade against French Independence!

Warning enough is contained in these facts, for Venezuela and for ourselves.

Sir,

I arrived at this place yesterday, and lost no time in waiting on Mr Leary &c. from whom I have procured some additional papers relating to the capture of the Liberty, an act which appears the more outrageous the more it is contemplated and compared with the laws and usages which ought to govern all seizures for alleged breaches of blockade.

Reflecting on the uncertain state of things in Venezuela, - the ephemeral nature and character of local governments and individuals, and above all on the probability that Morillo may be reinforced by his own government, we lose duty and policy it is to support him, I am impressed with a belief that it would be advisable for the Hornet to sail for the Orinoco directly, and take his passage in her up some, or on the return voyages unless the govt have ulterior views of greater importance to outweigh the convenience here suggested. Although Hayti seems to lie straight in the path of a voyage to the Orinoco, yet the probability is that considerable waste of time must happen in rounding a portion of the island, landing agents, and making a good deal of nothing again before she can enter the trade winds at the proper point for getting the mouth (or principal channel) of the Orinoco. - You will judge of the degree of attention, if any, it which

this observation is satisfied, (and will / I am sure) assuage it to the proper motive.

I understand that the Venezuelians here are very sulky on account of the expulsion of Ivory and Gual from Amelia; but I was obliged to avoid particular discussions, lest I might commit myself under present circumstances. Enclosed is ~~a copy of~~ an edict by General Bolivar, of which Da Cruz & Lane received several copies. To-morrow, or next day at farthest, I shall set out for Newyork. In the meantime, sir, I am

Most respectfully

Your friend & Servt.

D. Levine.

Hon. John Q. Adams,
Secretary of State.

Irvine Baples

Feb 20 1818.

Recd the 24th.

Ansd. 24th

Hon. Geo. Graham

Secretary of State

Washington

D.C.

Newyork, March 11th 1818.

Sir,

On the 3d inst. I received your favor of the 24th ult.; and I almost regret that I had troubled you with the suggestions to which your letter refers.

Since I took my leave of you I had a private interview with capt. Decatur, the Secretary, in which I mentioned the probability of my embarking with him for a destination not named. He observed, that my name was not on the list of agents stated in his last communication from the Secretary of the navy - but supposed it would be noticed in some future one in due season. But, said he, the navy agent has not provided either ma'tresses, sea stores or provisions for any commissioned vessel although the expense would be inconsiderable, yet that very extravagant practice has been opposed to others in the Country, - although that was under different circumstances. To which I answered "If it be not deemed proper to furnish these accommodations to us, we must provide them for ourselves." However, on this subject I do not design to annoy you. I have no doubt that proper orders will be given in due time. If I entertain any intention in the matter

it is the desire of Sir Thomas Hislop that
so as to be better enabled to promote the purpose
of my voyage elsewhere.

Having leisure daily in Spanish, I find myself
almost out of the world of news and politics, in
some of my friends occasionally know me their
letters communicate and official, one now and then
happen to reach mine myself. I lately saw one
from an agent of the Caracas government to a
Mr Hall of this city in which he informs him that
he was the bearer of a commission from general
Bolivar to general Mac Gregor, appointing the latter
a general officer in the service of Venezuela.
With this the agent was about embarking from
Savannah on the 25th of January for Jamaica.
However it appears that Mac Gregor has sailed
for Scotland before the agent had quitted.
This outline will be a serious injury to Bolivar who,
being rather deficient in military talents himself, seems
to have placed special reliance on Mac Gregor's
abilities at this crisis notwithstanding former circum-
stances of misunderstandings or jealousy. I must however that the
absence of one officer will not jeopardize the interests
of Venezuela.

A young Englishman has just recently
received notice from Lord Cochrane of what part

cision & at he said not inform me that he was preparing to embark for South America with a respectable naval force. It is believed he is appointed to the chief command of the Buenos Ayrean squadron in the Pacific & was to visit this gentleman, who formerly served under him, to join him at some convenient point.

It is not probable then that the British proclamation was particularly intended to operate against Cochrane's objects.

Buenos Ayres and San Martin, thus supported, will maintain their Government in Buenos Ayres, over Chile, Peru &c.

I shall my new accession regard of, I have no doubt of being favored with an additional limit from your department before sailing.

I remain, sir,
With the utmost respect
your friend & servt
O. Irvine

Hon. John D. Adams
Secretary of State

Irvine, Bap. – N. York, 11 March 1818.

Rec?
Ack. Ou. 21.

Acknowl: letter 3d March –
Hornet not furnished –
M'Gregor, Bolivar, Lord Cochrane

St. Thomas W. Indies 1st of June 1818.

Sir,

It is probable that a letter of mine, dated this place will surprise you, when, from the time elapsed since our sailing from New York, you may be anticipating one from the vicinity of the Orinoco. To account for this delay is the object of this communication.

Our passage from New York to Cape Henry was protracted by contrary winds until the 22d of April, and the diplomatic manœuvres of his majesty Henry I. with Sir Taylor detained us further till the 28th. × On the 2d of May we anchored at Port-au-Prince. We there made every enquiry that was proper or possible, relative to the navigation of the Orinoco; conversing, at Mr Taylor's, with a Mr St. Croix and a Mr Mecklenburg, both of whom had been in that river. They concurred in asserting the danger, if not impossibility, of crossing the bar with a ship drawing above 12 feet water - and the Hornet draws 11½ feet abaft. The other impediments, as described by Depons, they fully confirmed - though they are now removed by the swell of the current. But the rise of the river, however great, does not deepen the water on the bar, because in consequence of the distance to which the impetuosity of the

* Capt. Read, had he been so authorized, could have reached the mouth of the Orinoco in the same time, as the winds would have favored him in steering for the windward of Tobago.

torrent flows the ocean, it by this time becomes a part
of the great basin in which it has been diffused.—
At all events, we think have had to beat to wind-
ward, if it were possible to enter the Bocas, as we
must have sought to windward of Tobago & Trinidad, and
now having been very contradictory respecting Bolivars
operations and successes, we could not risk going
at random on the coast of Caracas. Accordingly
we determined to come further to obtain accu-
rate information. We sailed from Portau Prince on
the 9th, beat up the N. side of Hispaniola and
Puerto Rico, and arrived here two days ago, from the
opportunities afforded us, by the zeal, intelligence and
kindness of the Harrison, our consul (or late consul
here) at Pt. Royal and I have been somewhat for the
taste. The most experienced pilot, who has navigated the
Bocas repeatedly gave us a description of the obsta-
cles at the bar precisely similar to that we had re-
ceived at Port au Prince. We then enquired, whe-
ther it was probable a person could procure a convey-
ance from Margueritta to Angostura in a Pilchera
or other vessel, which can ascend any smaller branch
of the river. His opinion was that it will be easy to do so
and, for the roads of Pampatar we have concluded to steer,
expecting to make the voyage in four days, as the trade
winds which are occasionally variable in the winter and
spring appear now to be steadily fixed in the East.
When I debark the Boxer will be at liberty to
continue and complete her cruize, which I hope
will be effected in season. Whilst I am speaking of

more unequivocal tests of feeling and intention in a certain quarter, than the colorings of interested agents in whom candour is a virtue, and even partial deception (at a critical moment) becomes excusable for its patriotic purpose.

Mr Harrison, whose Immutajam mentin, has given the most prompt, assiduous and friendly attentions to us all; and the Americans generally are overjoyed at seeing a public ship again in here. Similar feelings were observed among our citizens at Portau Prince. Connected with such satisfaction seems a recollection of affronts and injuries received by our fellowcitizens from a licentious rabble or an insolent viceroy. The exhibition of force has the magical effect of changing arrogance into humility and brutality into temporary decency. To recapitulate instances to which I allude were too odious, and it is not my business. The reason why I refer to the matter, is the unfavorable comparisons we have been obliged to bear, grounded on the ready and indignant demands of the British admiralty for redress of a Danish outrage on English sailors, (less aggravated than flogging at the gangway) and the unopposed forbearance of American. To the last observation I answered, that I knew not what our government had resolved on in the case - but supposing that it should overlook such abuses it did not follow that it was more generous and magnanimous to bear an insult from a feeble despot than to wrench one from a first-rate

nation— It is nobler to fight the strong than the weak.

On this occasion the public authorities have treated our officers with the utmost respect, and the people seem very friendly. The Danish code of laws is excellent, but under an arbitrary administration irresponsible to the people, abuses and corruption soon appear. Public decisions are vendible commodities, and money screens every offender. But it would be unsafe for the Dane, to provoke the resentment of our government, as one of our frigates might batter down all the fortifications at this harbor.

We shall sail to-night or in the morning, the last with which I am obliged to write this letter, may in some measure raise its uninteresting contents.

I am sir, with the utmost respect,

Your humble servt

O. Irvine.

The Hon. John Q. Adams
Secretary of State.

P. S. Just as I had subscribed this letter a pilot boat from Trinidad has come in to the house where I write. She left Trinidad eight days since, and was boarded at Angostura, where he saw several American vessels. He gives very flattering accounts of the progress of the patriots— says, that a ship from England, with officers and men, 160 in number, had arrived at Trinidad, destined to

the aid of the South Americans, and that five other vessels were daily expected. The prohibition notwithstanding. This ship had fallen to leeward, instead of running to windward of Trinidad, and was obliged by this accident to anchor in or near one of the harbours. The custom house officers had attempted to detain her, but allowed her to proceed on the explanation being given. — Of this statement I can form no opinion. The man however seems entitled to credit, being the English pilot employed by the govt to conduct public and private vessels into and out of the Orinoco &c. His name is Martin, he has been 17 years a pilot, and is intelligent. It is a curious fact, that he is now going to Puerto Rico for a cargo, which he will dispose of, at Angostura, or some convenient place, to the patriots.

Admiral Brion, Sam told, is now at St. Eustatia with 15 vessels. — A British frigate was left about ten days ago at Margueritta. Our informant assures us, that the salute for the patriot garrison at Pamphatar, and the salute was returned.

Irvine. Baptis – St. Thomas, 1 June 1818.

Recd
Augt Dec. 21.

Arrival at St. Thomas, & voyage thither (touches at Kingston) –
Mr Harrison's civility – Capt. Reid, &c. –
The Hornet cannot enter the Orinoco (bar) –
Venezuelan affairs –
Reception at St. Thomas – good effect produced –
Fortifications of St. T. weak –

this is fact, I cannot but express the sincerest esteem for the commander and officers generally, who add to their professional skill, to their urbanity and social virtues, a devotional zeal for their country's welfare, indicative of genuine patriotism.

Of the real posture of affairs in Venezuela I cannot speak with certainty, amidst conflicting accounts. Both parties boast of advantages, and both are making the most strenuous exertions. Admiral Brion has an agent here, and the royalists have another. The former is discountenanced by the colonial govt and actually in the quality of a private merchant. Provisions are scarce and dear, the price being enhanced by the very extensive purchases of the Spaniards for supplying the king's army and navy. The royalists have the advantage of most ready money; the independents possess the principal plains in the interior, and the supplies furnished by their vast flocks of cattle are very important. Of the reverse squadrons we understand, that the Spaniards have the better ships, but the patriots the more enterprising crews. It is said, that admiral Brion fitted up his most expert sailors in the Britich islands.

Mr Harrison has a letter this morning from a Mr Forsyth, an American in the service of Venezuela, to Mr Mullowny, the South-American agent here. It is dated on the 19th ult. from Tobago, whither he had arrived from Angostura in quest of ammunition. He represents the prospects of the independents as very encouraging, and ultimate success as certain.

It was hinted last evening by Mr Mullowny,

Before we met at our consuls, that the patriots entertained hopes of taking Porto-Cabello, but afterwards the failure of this high exhortation. Among other observations he made relative to the policy of the United States on which he took the liberty of descanting (for I hope to found me) he declared this entire dissatisfaction at the expulsion of Admiral Byron he stated a man of honesty & probity, but as a man who, actuated solely by honor and patriotism, had resigned care and ease for public toils, anxiety and peril. He had resolved to be entirely independent. to rely exclusively on the support & countenance of South America, but was sorry to discover coldness and reserve in that quarter, &c. Without entering into conversations, or speculations we merely told the gentleman, that it was the policy of the United States, at this moment.

[illegible] to observe to those in suitable colors the [illegible] from our British officers and the like [illegible] of British merchants - which have great [illegible] to serve the royal cause - which have [illegible] & continued to serve the royal cause in their interest. [illegible] to do. If asked this could not be ministered. Our [illegible] conversation is unworthy of being detailed; but as [illegible] relating to the people and government of which we are desirous of learning every thing that may guide the [illegible] in future relations, it might not be amiss, [illegible] to take a note of it. Colonel Ister I suspect [illegible] a native of Spain, an intelligent, active, [illegible] well informed man and accomplished man

6

Griego, N. side of Marguerita) June 14th 1817

Sir,

In conformity to the resolution taken at St. Thomas's, of which I informed you at the moment, we sailed for Pampatar in this island, where we arrived on the evening of the 10th inst. On anchoring in the roads, an officer was sent ashore to announce to the commandant the character of the vessel and her object; which being communicated to the Lieut. governor, general Gomez, resident at Asumption (five miles northwardly from Pampatar) three officers repaired on board next morning with a polite note to capt. O'Leary, inviting him myself &c. to visit the city — for so this ruined capital is still denominated. Accordingly we accompanied the gentlemen ashore to the commandant's, where mules were in readiness to convey us to our destination.

During our ride along the valley which winds among stupendous and arid mountains, the scene of the last action with Morillo was pointed out to us at the foot of a mountain on the right of the road, (in the valley of Asumption) a small fort on the left being in possession of the patriots. We were informed that general Gomez on that occasion had only 200 men, with which he obliged the royalists to retire after an obstinate conflict; the Spaniards losing 1000 in killed and wounded in battle or in the retreat. I mention this to show the spirit of this hardy and warlike race, a majority of whom are Indians or their mingled descendants.

Governor Gomez received us with marked attention and civility, and urged us to accompany him to visit the Governor General, Arismendi, and Admiral Brion at their special

request. Remounting our horses, &c. found our retinue augmented by the generals staff officers, two llaneros or lancers preceding us. Having passed the central mountain ridge, whose [illegible] is fortified (near the road) and commands the defiles and valleys on both sides, we continued our route towards the village of Pueblo del Norte (the only one on the island which the Spaniards happened to leave unburned) on this side of which we were met by a detachment of dragoons under col. Jackson and young Arismendi, dispatched by general Arismendi to escort us to the village of Griego. On alighting we found the little neighborhood in commotion, the population all crowding to see us. Yankee Doodle was struck up by the band, and the fort fired a salute! Such efforts to do us honor embarrassed us not a little especially as we soon perceived that they were probably occasioned by a false impression, viz. that our government had formally recognized the independence of Venezuela and that the Hornet was the herald of glad tidings. To enquiries on this point I vaguely and cautiously answered that there was a time for every thing; that our government in effect recognized the South-American States as independent powers, as might be seen by the President's message, &c. The disappointment did not abate the friendly hospitality of the Venezuelan chiefs and officers. Indeed the toasts at dinner were principally composed of compliments to the American people and government. "The President of the United States," being first given, though a majority of the company were British & Irish officers.

Thinking our principal object the practicability of obtaining a steamer to carry me to Angostura, general Arismendi discouraged me, observing that it would be too unsafe a

present, & taking occasion to comment on the barbarous cruelties
of the royalists, and to relate some specimens - as their hanging
ing children at Griego &c. alive, with their heads downwards
& a fire under their legs in the air, thus leaving them to ex-
pire - their hangings, burnings and cold-blooded murders, which
are enough to harrow up the feelings of every civilized be-
However, said he, I have dispatched a fleche to observe
the motions of the Spanish squadron in Cumana, and
soon expect it to return. We shall then consider what is expe-
dient and possible. He offered me every information
office or assistance in his power and admiral Brion
proposed that since capt. Read could not now spare time
to enter the Orinoco, he would very gladly give me a
passage in his ship. I thanked him, and answered that
I would consider his proposition fully; but did not explain
the object of my mission - nor did he propound a que-
tion on the subject. My decision must be regulated
circumstances. If all events, I cannot undertake to urge
capt. Read further, believing that if he now proceed to the
Orinoco, he cannot go to Spanish Town and return in
season. Perhaps too the principal purpose is answered
- my introduction into the territories of Venezuela in a
national American ship, - a circumstance which I perceive
has a propitious tendency. I cannot but be satisfied with
conduct of Captain Read.

Of the situation of the patriots I cannot gain satisfactory in-
ation. Those interested & presently as favourably as they ca
Admiral Brion hopes for ultimate success, but acknowl
es that the struggle must be an awful one. New Gra
ada, unless some independent nation befriends the

pendents, which he thinks they ought to do from motives of policy or generosity. He hinted that the jealousy between England and America has operated prejudicially to his country, but that England actually wished North America to aid the cause of the South, because she herself could not do it openly. I evaded this topic, merely saying that some nations pursued such a double policy as was inexplicable except by the rules of commerce, that like mole-makers or rowers they wrought backwards, while their object lay in an opposite direction to their line of motion, &c.

I must not omit to state that Admiral Brion most pointedly animadverted against the abuses committed by unauthorised cruizers in the name and under the flag of Venezuela. To such marauders he intends to afford no mercy and took care to inform Captain Read and Bogsel of the pirates he had detained at sea and executed on this island. In truth he was exceedingly pointed on all subjects, & simply regards as little better than a Buccaneer, who feels no honorable solicitude for the cause of independence. Adding that as the Mexican republic was now protected by Great Britain no longer without degrading himself to be treated as a pirate. He recommended his own overtures to Perry to enter the service of Venezuela as a rear admiral. Instead of accepting this generous offer, Perry arrogantly proposed to decide by lot what chief should command both squadrons. So they have ceased to co-operate. In one respect this state of feeling seems favorable to part of my incidental part of our object, and I shall take care to improve it.

Yours &c.

Nothing of recent date of a decisive character is received from the armies or the neighboring continent. General Blanco was besieging the Spanish forty days ago; but the arrival of the Spanish squadron in Havana must have compelled General Bermudez to raise the siege of that fortress and city. The Spanish expedition is expected to operate at some point, and Prim appears very anxious to get into port with his British officers and their artillery before the arrival of that reinforcement. He has landed artillery and rockets here to enable these gallant islanders to repel any invasion;- an easy matter, it seems, as their country abounds in defiles, at some of which ten men (with a single cannon) can baffle a thousand. Barcelona is not a port, its of little importance. However there is a good harbour here, whereas on the S. E. side at Campatar 20 miles distant, over land, there is no holding ground. There is a constant swell setting into the roads, and if the wind happen to blow strong from S. or S.E., vessels must be driven as here. The knowledge of this circumstance may be of some importance to our merchants, as this place is about to be declared a free port, and Campatar is a dreary spot, of no consequence whatever but as an outport to Assumption. The island numbers about three thousand fighting men. The only manufacture is a very commodious sort of hammocks made from the cotton of the western section. The lofty mountains which elevate their peaks above the clouds, and exhibit a sublime spectacle to the navigator approaching them, are for the most part vast ranges of barren sand; but nature compensates this by surrounding the island with seas which swarm with

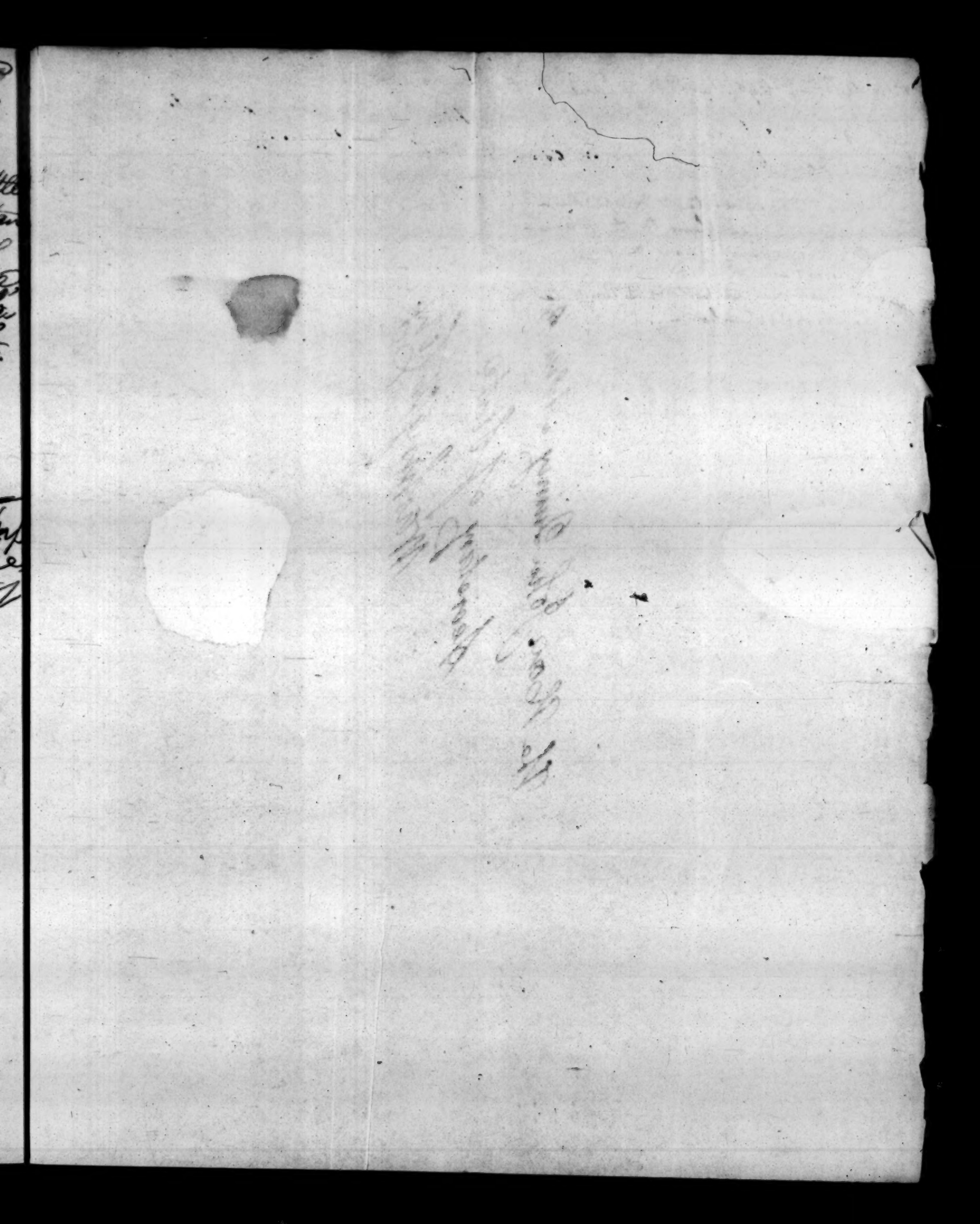
fish of the most excellent. Near Rampatan there is an extensive bed or plain to which the sea occasionally flows, and plenty of salt is formed by evaporation.

I am well aware, sir, that my letters are of little if any use; and I am only concerned that circumstances have not enabled me to communicate something important. But, my appointment being an informal one, I regard most of my observations as private & confidential, and also therefore the less obtrusive of matter or expression.

I am, sir very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
R. Irvine.

Hon. John L. Adams
Secy. of State

* The exposed, insecure position of the Rampatan roads (open only against N. E. winds) induced Capt. Read to anchor here if for but a few hours sail around the Eastern part of the island.



Irvine, B. – Griego, (Marg.ta) 14 June 1818

Rec? 15 July.
Ack. 21 Dec.

Arrival at Marguerita & reception –
Brion offers to take him to the Maine –
Brion's opinion of Aury, &c. –
Armees –
State of Marguerita, ports, &c. – Pomptar a dangerous harbor –

The Hon. John Quincy Adams
Secretary of State
Washington City.

Grenada, 16th of June 1818.

Sir,

As the 14th I stated the circumstances of my arrival here and the difficulties of obtaining a conveyance to Angostura. Admiral Brion has since passed me back. cept a passage in his ship! and if the Blockade can not be given up, or there be not a prospect of procuring one within a reasonable time, I begin to conclude, that I must probably submit to that necessity which admits of no alternative. Should I embark with him, I shall have the best opportunities of observing the actual state of affairs and the prospects of the Venezuelan government: and, unpleasant as it is, for a neutral person in a civil capacity to be obliged to sail in a belligerent vessel, I will take care if it must happen that individual civility shall not prejudice the public trust with which I am charged. Possibly instead of I do sail with Admiral Brion, we may fall in with some American merchantman in our course towards the N.E. whither it will be necessary to steer for an offing — and if bound into the Orinoco I will endeavour to get on board.

This predicament could neither have been foreseen nor imagined; and it presents dilemmas only. But, I trust that circumstances will justify my conduct in your estimation. That is the only point about which I am anxious.

With Admiral B. I intend to be very plain in regard to the special basis of the claims, for he has been very frank on other matters. Yet he has not enquired the purpose of my appointment, nor have I hitherto deemed it expedient to inform him. At present it could be of no service.

It is almost useless now to state, that Admiral Brion affirms the practicability of crossing the bar of the Orinoco in vessels drawing 15 feet water. The information comes too late. Had we received it at Port-au-Prince, capt. Beard and I should have been at Angostura before this time. Such unseasonable intelligence but aggravates perplexity and regret. I am sir, most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

P. Irvine.

Hon. John Q. Adams,
Secry. of state.

Speaking yesterday of the singular and mysterious circumstances of Petion's death, and passing to the topic of general Piar's execution in Venezuela, Admiral Brion gave an explanation of both very novel to us, viz. that he regarded Petion as the victim of remorse for having done deep injury to the patriots and merited more. That it was Petion who had instigated Genl. Piar to attempt raising the blacks in Guayana against the whites, and thus render it a second St. Domingo, the theatre of ruthless massacre. And it was for this base treason that Piar was condemned to death after a trial of three weeks before a council of war.

If these be facts, they show that the patriots have been struggling to prevent a calamity which some writers have accused them of promoting. Therefore I have thought it worth while to make this note of it.

Irvine, B. – Driggs (Marg.) 16 June 1818.

Rec'd 16 July.
Ack. Dec. 21

Will probably sail in Brion's ship
Piar's execution, & Pelion's death –

Hon. John Quincy Adams
Secretary of State
Washington D.C.

FREE

Augustina, July 20th, 1818.

Sir.

Although I have not concluded the Special business entrusted to me, but only cleared the way for commencing its discussion, yet there are other matters which it may be proper to communicate — alive as our cabinet and country are to all that relates to South America. But to preserve continuity, I shall look a little way backwards.

It was the 20th ult. that, after touching at St. Thomas, the Lion ran down to St. Martins, and anchored in Great Bay, opposite the town, in the Dutch part of the island. He immediately waited on governor Cantzlaar and met with a very welcome reception. Indeed from the extreme hospitality and kindness with which he, the late governor Pinto, and other gentlemen of distinction treated us all on account of the admiral I presume, I perceived that the Dutch felt a degree of national pride in caressing Brion — and similar, I understand, is the warmth with which he is received at St. Eustatius, Saba, Curracoa &c. Whether this sort of individual friendship will have any influence on the conduct of the Dutch court, is more than I know. I suppose that the secondary powers will merely follow the nods of the primary.

On the 25th we embarked on board the Victoria, lately the British merchant ship Emerald. The yellow fever, in a very malignant shape, had already broken out among the officers and crew. Having fruitlessly applied for a passage to ache

Myers of Newyork, (who was coming hither in a small schr with powder, muskets &c. from Cape-Henry) which he declined granting for want of room or accommodation, I was left no alternative. However, by advice of a Dr Hamilton, a British surgeon, I had now commenced a course of salivation, as the surest precaution against infection, - and it proved to be an infallible one amidst the death of 20 or 26 persons & some valuable military (English & Irish) officers fell victims to its fury; a circumstance which, added to a long and tiresome navigation, has driven others from their new service or rather deterred them from entering it, as they, or many of them, had only volunteered to fight the Spanish squadron.

On the 3d of July we descried Point Barinas, on our weather bow, we steering W.S.W.; and about 4 past 10 came in full view of the reddish turbid water of the Orinoco (about 35 or 40 miles distant from the bar) so distinctly divided from the clear water of the ocean as land marks do separate contiguous lands, or so various species of grain are distinguishable, growing side by side in the same field. Sounding until we approached the bar, we came to anchor outside of it. By the 6th the ship was lightened to the amount of all the boxes of arms, the lead, gunpowder &c. which were put on board of two schooners; and we crossed the famous bar at low water - 6 guns being also moved forward, the vessel drew about 14 feet or a little more abaft. The schr Favorite going ahead to sound, made signals of 15 feet exclusive of the soft mud, for the deepest part of its breadth, and 18, 19 &c. for the remainder. Of course we passed without the least difficulty. I have since been on

excellent Derroteros by Chunco, of the navigation of this river, of which I intend to translate an extract concerning the entrance for the information of our mariners.

On the 7th, the admiral hearing that genl. Bolivar was at the present seat of government, embarked in a flecheral and offered me a passage, which I eagerly accepted, heartily wearied of circumnavigating the seas of the torrid zone. Paddled by two or three successive crews, and stopping during one accident of this rapid stream, about 36 hours at different points, we arrived here on the 12th in the evening — having rowed a distance of 370 miles at least, if we reckon the windings a boat must make which is obliged to keep in the eddy (close ashore) in order to avoid the current.

I lost little time in obtaining an introduction to Gen. Bolivar, the supreme chief; and, afterwards, on the 14th inst. held a private conversation with him at his quarters. He politely welcomed me in quality of agent (or diputado as he would dub me) from the government of the United States, and expressed the very great satisfaction he felt, I answered that I did hope I should be the humble harbinger of a better acquaintance and closer intimacy between the two governments; intimating that the principal object of my mission was to promote a good understanding. — In the course of the conversation he touched, as if incidentally, the topic of Florida and Amelia Island, on which I observed, that if Spain should become a ground of discussion, I had no doubt of his readiness to give explanations upon it, adding, that we were equally willing

to explain our policy ~~upon it~~ concerning that business - nay that it had been explained already in the messages of the President, and the dispatches of the Secretary of State to Don Onis, &c.) He instantly and frankly replied, that the Government of Venezuela had never authorised the expedition of Genl. Mac Gregor nor any other enterprise against Florida or America. - I assured his excellency, that I was very happy and well satisfied to hear the declaration he had thus made - and he listened with much attention whilst I recapitulated the measures of our government respecting Florida; & concluded by remarking, that I had always been confident that that subject never could become a bone of contention or an apple of discord between the two republics, for what some of our most intelligent citizens had surmised was now verified, viz. that the joint authorization granted to general Mac Gregor by certain agents never had the sanction of the Venezuelan or other independent governments. ~~]~~ Here we made a long dissertation relative to the views and politics of Europe towards South-America. General Bolivar appears perfectly aware of the objects of Great-Britain. He believes that she makes it entirely a question of interest. I added a fact or two, elucidatory of her double dealing, but acknowledged that she was quite justifiable in furthering the interests of her manufacturers, by extending their market on all sides, - pursuing her neutral rights to the utmost limits, - urging her ships into every sea and her commodities to every shore.

In short, during a dialogue from 10 A.M. until
1/2 past 1 P.M. general Bolivar avowed principles so liberal
on every subject broached, that one must wish side with
him pretty generally. He is an affable, fluent man, who
appears well informed, theoretically at least, in the most
important branches of the policy of states.

Leaving the special business designedly to the last, I apprized him of my orders to claim restitution for the American ships the Liberty and Tiger, with their cargoes &c. captured by admiral Brion. Without hesitation he said, that it appeared to him, so far as he had considered the transaction, that though there had been some irregularity of proceeding, the capture was substantially fair, the parties having had full notice: yet he was perfectly willing to review the whole matter, and act according to the laws of nations in cases of maritime captures. I told him that my government asked no more, and expressed a confident hope, that when any cause of controversy should arise between us, it would be adjusted in limine, instead of standing as an obstacle to harmony and intercourse.

He was anxious to learn the exact state of our relations with Spain. On this head I informed him, that not having seen late American gazettes or public documents, I could only speculate on what he probably knew as well as myself, saying, that we had claims on her for spoliations, for insults and violations of our flag in her ports, and for her palpable infractions of the treaty of 1795; from all which, it seemed to me, that Spain must either make great sacrifices

fices to satisfy our demands, or leave us to possess the
Floridas, and at discretion weigh out to ourselves the mea-
sure of preparation. In truth, I thought this not improbable
and judged it politic so to draw my deductions as to
encourage him (perhaps) to make greater efforts against
Spain by the hope of the latter having a new ene-
my if the former should not have a new ally.

I will not detain you longer at this time than to
state, that as my books have not yet arrived from
Pagayo, where I left the ship, I did not demand
to be received till the 17th. Although the notes which
passed are preliminary, formal trifles, I enclose them.
You will perceive the high compliment the Japanese
chief pays to our nation, which the Bengue lanscens
tainly prefer to any of the European kingdoms — in
their intercourse with us he not unnecessarily check-
ed. — Something was said on this subject, which I now re-
collect that I have omitted to note in its proper place.

When it was brought on the tapis during the pri-
vate interview, I spurned gen Bolivar, that our govern-
ment found itself compelled by the lawless conduct of
some of its own citizens, as well as by the piratical pro-
ceedings of foreign cruizers, to restrain such palpable
and provoking transgressions of the usages and laws of
nations. I entered somewhat into particulars, stating that
reclamations were threatened to be made on our govern-
ment by foreign ambassadors in case of illicit captures,
but I observed (seeing him indignant at the abuse of

the name and usurpation of the flag of Venezuela that it would cause extreme concern to the United States if it were found that any of our restrictive laws happened incidentally, and for the reasons assigned, to deprive Venezuela of any article of supply which she had a just right to expect, in the course of trade, from a neutral state. But it must be acknowledged that rigorous neutrality was more honorable than open profession and private evasion, connivance and subterfuge.

No less than such declarations or remarks seemed a just return for gen. Bolivars very candid avowals; as he appears determined to despise all unlawful seizures so far as he can, and to exert his utmost ability to enforce compliance with the fair usages of nations.

I shall now proceed with as little delay as possible to the matter of the claims, having been formally received yesterday at the government house, with much respect- the principal officers civil and military being assembled on the occasion- Compliments were showered on the United States, both then and at a grand dinner given in the evening. This sort of coin, as Beccaria says of honors, is inexhaustible- but I believe nevertheless, that this people are anxious for a strict friendship with ours; & disposition of which I shall avail myself as opportunity I can- according to the terms of my instructions.

Another object embraced in these

I shall write hereafter. But I have to regret the utter impossibility of procuring books or statistical data here. What can be gleaned will be duly transmitted, and I will try besides to supply all deficiency by a little tour or two, - by actual observation and enquiry. I need not inform you, however, that this section is the most unfavorable to peregrination, both the most unhealthy likewise. It is difficult to ascend the river, and inundation cuts off immediate communication by land.

I remain, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

D. Irvine.

The Hon. John Quincy Adams
Secretary of State.

Irvine, Baltin - Augusta, 20 July 1818 [No.]

[illegible] 21 Dec.

Angostura, July 20, 1818.

193½

Sir

It has occurred to me, since I wrote you an account of my arrival and other circumstances, this morning, that a concise sketch of affairs here, as they appear to me, might be acceptable in the absence of more minute statements, which are not likely to be procured in less than a month's time – if so soon.

The patriots labor under the disadvantage of inferior discipline, more particularly in their infantry. The Supreme chief confesses as much in his account of the last campaign – a campaign which might have otherwise given him possession of Caraccas at least. There was much hand-fighting and very brilliant displays of courage on the part of the republican cavalry, which is superior to that of the enemy. The exploits of the gallant general Paez, commander of the lancers of the plains (of Barinas &c.) are in every one's mouth. Extraordinary anecdotes are related of him and his corps, who figure in this contest as Achilles and his Myrmidons among the confederate army of the Greeks. Before the battle of Calabozo, the patriots had reached the river of Apure without any means of crossing it. "There are our boats," cried Paez, pointing to the Spanish squadron of gun-boats and flecheras towards the other bank. "Vamos, muchachos!" said he to his corps; and, taking his sword by the middle of the back between his teeth, alighted and plunged into the stream – using his hands to swim and to conduct his horse &c. His men eagerly followed his example, and a squadron of cavalry actually boarded a squadron of gun-

boats, bringing them over to transport the troops. Were this cavalry well disciplined, they would be invincible. But the victories gained were not well-improved; and the patriots can boast of little else than of killing more than their enemy.

Discontent ensued for a time; but general Bolivar gained much credit by the arrangements he made and the bravery he personally displayed at the battle of Semen. Ere that event, some few had proposed to confer the chief command on Paez, a man of good natural talent (and undoubted intrepidity, but without education and probably unfit to conduct a government. Some officers are now imprisoned on charges of intrigue in that affair - an attempt to which I believe Paez himself was adverse. There is no other individual, as impartial men assure me, who can so effectually unite all the people as general Bolivar.

The supreme chief differs with some of his best friends on the expediency of forming a congress. The last fell into so much contempt, - deservedly or undeservedly, that the New-Granadians and llaneros would not at present obey such a government. Another reason for postponing representative government till peace, is more cogent: that is, to exclude incapable mountaineers from it, and to shut out the influence of some colored men. In this delicate predicament, the provisional government have had a very difficult part to play but they have hitherto acted with commendable dexterity and firmness - in no instance more conspicuous than in the punishment of general Piar, who had meditated and tried to excite a war of colored men against the whites. He was nearly white himself, and only claimed exclusive consanguinity with the sable for most atrocious purposes.

* The possession of San Fernando, is nevertheless an important acquisition. As to Calabozo, it is an open town, as often frequented by parties of royalists as by the patriots - ravaged and desolated by both

the mass of the people are now united, and seem reconciled to the existing government, so far as I can learn. Supplies of arms and ammunition (brought chiefly from England) are in the river; and, reinforcements are expected or reported to be on their passage. The government flatters itself with hopes of success next season. Some individuals, on the other hand, predict a protracted war.

In Guayana, a state nearly twice the extent of Spain, there is little cultivation, and that of the most imperfect kind - the Spaniards having never introduced the use of the plough into this, or as I believe, any other province of South-America. From this cause, and the consequent habits of the people, accustomed to subsist on beef alone, scarcely an edible vegetable is to be seen, nor is there either corn or flour to be had at present - except a small portion of the latter brought up for the army. It would bring upwards of £50 per bbl. and maize from 12 to 20. The people nevertheless seem to be content enough - and the picaroon can be no more, with all his dainty fare. Within a month or thereabouts, some corn is expected to be procurable in the Missions. To conquer a population inured to this kind of living will be tough work. Yet the want of culture in this fertile region has its influence in weakening an essential branch of the patriot force - the scarcity or total want of oats and maize for horses renders the cavalry less efficacious. Feeding only on green, rank and succulent grass, a horse cannot endure the fatigue of service for more than three days, - as I am credibly informed. Hence thrice the number are driven along with the army, and hence the more handy mule is doomed to all other drudgery. Great numbers of this animal are shipped every day for the West-Indies - they are most commonly given in payment for supplies, to English traders.

The country, so generally without roads and bridges, is very impracticable for even light artillery in most places; but the rugged llaneros would have terminated the war last campaign, if they could have been properly disciplined in the evolutions of cavalry, the sword exercise &c. The patriots have in hopes of conquering all before them when they next take the field. I wish that royal reinforcements from Spain may not retard their object.

The financial department, it is thought, is not managed to the best advantage. There are certainly great resources to be called into activity and usefulness hereafter. The friends of government assert that they can repay all the debt incurred by the war in two years of peace, some say, in one- and that too without making forced and disadvantageous sales of confiscated lands.

At sea there are 8 or 10 privateers, if the list be correct; and Admiral Brion has a ship of 24 guns, finely manned, a brig of war and two or three schooners, to compose a squadron.* Brion is a generous adventurous man to whom the patriots are much indebted, but the discipline with which he seems acquainted, is only capable of combating, or being employed against, Spaniards. He was bred a soldier and belonged to the Dutch and French allied army commanded by Prince. He possesses only common capacity, but is zealous in the cause, and as disinterested as any man who loves fame more than money. With many excellent qualities of the heart he is very irritable by flattery. Consequently he misjudges of mankind very often, and confides in villains who betray him and injure the public interests.

The intendant is Mr Zea, a good and learned old man, of very liberal dispositions. I do not presume to be yet capable

* He is very anxious to augment his naval force

of judging what sort of financier he is. Stubborn circumstances may not yield to the management of any one man.

With regard to moral power, or the force of opinion, there appear no means of exciting or concentrating it, except the press in Angostura, the influence of particular leaders in their districts, and of the commandants in the lower missions. Commandants are now substituted in the missions among the Indians, in place of the priests or friars, who were either killed or banished in retaliation, or because the patriots could not confide in them. The property in the lands & cattle of the missions is very considerable but little actual assistance is afforded by the Indians of Guayana. They did contribute to the victory of St. Felix; but since the Spaniards disappeared, they think enough is done. In these missions there are about 22,000 persons.

Apprehensive that this outline is too vague to reward the trouble of perusal, I refrain from lengthening it by conjectures, or any thing uncertain. I remain, Sir,

O O

Very respectfully,

Hon. John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State.

Your obedient servant,

B. Irvine.

July 21, 1815.

Sir, — In copying the preceding, it struck me that the enclosed proclamation of Gen. James Mariño might reflect a few rays of light on the past and present. He was implicated you remember in the plots of Gen. Piar, and had been in Coventry ever since. A reconciliation seems now accomplished, and he confesses peccavi, whilst he exhorts his soldiers to duty and patriotism, &c. Thus all attempts of late to rouse the colonel men, are frustrated and it is a fact, that

whilst so many of them fight the public battles, they remain without voice or weight in the councils of the state. Col. Sanchez, a man somewhat dark of complexion, and to whom Piar had made overtures, was the first to accuse him. As to the late Petion, he may have desired the ascendancy of colored men in Barinas and a corner of Guayana but I cannot believe that he ever advised civil war and havock.

To pass to other subjects:- Admiral Brion has more than once enquired of me, whether he could not enter one of your ports and refit, or rather have his ship cut down to her former dimensions. I answered him, that if forced in by stress of weather, or had sustained damage, he might enter a neutral port, as well as any Spaniard, and receive necessary repairs, or provisions, but that the laws of nations did not permit a belligerent to augment or repair his force &c. Whether reducing his ship to a cruiser would be considered in this light, I could not or could not decide.

He has also spoken of an exclusive right he has acquired, in consideration of his services, to introduce and navigate steam-boats on this river for a limited time, and of his intention to unite his interests with some American merchants or constructors, in order to effect the object. Such connexions might be useful as every thing is which puts industry in requisition, and promotes friendly intercourse.

With respect to the profits of such a scheme, at present, I have my doubts. For ascending this river in the rainy season, when calms prevail, and for descending it in the dry season against a strong and steady breeze, nothing would be comparable to a steam boat. But the adventurous ought to be collected in the vicinity of the population, and the facility with which a vessel from Trinidad &c. may ascend the Orinoco

in 9 days (during the dry season) take a point within 4 or 5 days journey of Santa Fe. In the hands of the Government they would now be important for military purposes, and with the patronage of government they might be profitable. Time and population only will be precede the applicability of some of these remarks. — The ramifications and connexions of the Rivers will probably tend to render the steamboat subservient to mercantile communications in various directions, when the country is blessed with independence and peace.

In conversing on matters or schemes of this sort here, I take occasions to recommend a resort to the United States for all that relates to steamboats and ship-building. It was observed that labor and manufactures were cheaper in England, but it was conjoped that her models in ships and boats were not so elegant as ours.

Yours &c. B. L.

Irvine, Baptis – Angostura, 20 July [No 2], 1818

Rec^d 28 Sept.
Ack^d 21 Dec.

~~Irvine Baptis – July 20. 1818.~~

~~Recd Sep^r 28.~~
~~Ack^d Dec 21~~

Affairs on the Spanish
Maine.

Angostura July 30, 1818

Sir, I am enabled by the detention of the brig till now, to direct you a short letter, enclosing a note from general Bolivar, received yesterday, by which you will perceive, contrary to my first anticipations, that the government mean to contest our arrangements and dispute our demands for restitution. Mr Col. Richards, who now acts as secretary to the Council of Government, left this yesterday for Guayana on the mouth of the river, to carry dispatches to the admiral, I conjecture that he took with him copies of my letters to the supreme chief, and I guess that he will obtain all the testimony which Capt. Dias and others can furnish to establish the fact of actual blockade.

Until I see the principal and promised argument, I deem it useless to comment on the prefatory letter.

This government, I believe, earnestly desire amity & intercourse with us: it is their policy: but I suspect that there is a lurking remnant of resentment in certain bosoms at the obstructions we placed in the way of supplies of arms and ammunition - as they view them. For want of arms and ammunition their infantry suffered greatly, last campaign: besides which some Englishmen who were concerned in the Ellen's first cargo * have persuaded the govt. that if it had been permitted to leave Philadelphia without de-

* as originally shipped, before Mr. Ingersoll & Co. took such extraordinary measures to detain officers and all. The greater part was obliged to be landed before she could be cleared.

lay, molestation, or reduction it would have enabled the Patriot army to take every town on this side of Portocabello before this. Such are the representations which men will make in order to recommend themselves to persons in power, or for other causes. From some remarks I have heard in private conversation I draw these conclusions. If they are just (and I am confident they are) there rankles some animosity somewhere from the conversation or deportment of those to whom I allude, I could not have informed them.

The evening before last, I saw an estimate made by an intelligent English trader here, who was writing his correspondent in Philadelphia, of the probable forces which the patriots can muster for next campaign. As he is as accurately acquainted with the circumstances of the different states, or portions of states under the Govt. as any one can be, without the aid of actual enumeration, I consider it nearly correct. He reckons an aggregate of about 10,000 men, under Paez, Sedeño, Monagas, Mariño, Arismendi, &c. which although not well disciplined, will be much better armed and equipped than heretofore. — Unless, there, a strong Spanish reinforcement arrive before or soon after the termination of the rainy season, the whole of Venezuela will be lost to Spain, as I hope it may, — in the course of next season. In the natural (and moral world (here) I trace the effects of Spanish dominion only by desolation. — This is a war of shocking character — Humanity sighs for its conclusion: and were there

a calculating moralist was cold of heart. Rose Malthus, he would impose an end to it. - But both parties become equally and incorrigibly demoralized, the one in inflicting more atrocious and wanton cruelties on every age and sex, - the other in retaliating such savage and indiscriminate slaughter.

Averse from obtruding bits and scraps upon your attention, I post pone till a convenient time a special notice of the points on which I am instructed to glean information. V

I beg leave to repeat the advice given on the 28th of my having drawn on your department for a quarters salary in favor of Mr John Holderson

I remain, sir, most respectfully,

Hon. John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State. Your obedient Servant,

B. Irvine.

N A catalogue of all the massacres would form a parallel to a declamation of Las Casas, concerning the murderous outrages of the first conquerors. "that from the Lucayan islands to Hispaniola, a distance of sixty or seventy leagues, a ship could have gone without pilot or chart, directed solely by the track of the Indians who were thrown overboard and remained floating on the sea." ——— I have in one or two instances, when the bloody subject came on the tapis, endeavored to demonstrate by reasoning and calculation, the impolicy of butchering those ignorant men from the ranks, even in retaliation. but not with much effect. They seem to have no idea of strengthening themselves by any materials from the enemy's lines &c. V

Irvine B.

July 30. 1818

Recd Octo 12. 1818.
Ansd. Dec. 21.

Affairs of this mission.

Angostura 29. de Julio de 1818=8.°

Señor Agente.

Tengo el honor de acusar la recepcion de las dos notas del 25, y 27. del corriente, que anteayer se sirvió V.S.a poner en mis manos.

La primera no puede ser contestada de un modo formal y razonado sin consultar ántes el proceso seguido para la condena de las Colonias mexicanas Siglo y Libertad pertenecientes á los Ciudadanos de los Estados Unidos del Norte Peabody, Sueltes y Coulter. Solo me atreveré por ahora á delatar á la consideracion de V.S.a las siguientes observaciones relativas á la segunda nota.

Los Ciudadanos de los Estados Unidos, dueños de las Colonias Siglo y Libertad, recibirán las indemnizaciones, que por el órgano de V.S.a piden por el daño que recibieron en sus intereses, siempre que V.S.a no quede plenamente convencido de la justicia, con que hemos apreciado los dos buques en güestion.

Al Señor Agente de los Estados Unidos de la América del Norte, Baurista Irvine.

Tengo demasiado buena opinión del carácter elevado de V.S.
para no referirme en todo al juicio que debe formar V.E. en
su conciencia de nuestro procedimiento con los Ciudadanos
Americanos, que olvidando lo que se debe á la fraternidad,
á la amistad y á los principios liberales que seguimos, han
inventado y executado burlar el bloqueo y el sitio de las
plazas de Guayana y Angostura, para dar armas á sus
verdugos y para alimentar sus tigres, que por tres siglos han
derramado la mayor parte de la sangre Americana, y la
sangre de sus propios hermanos. Yo siento con V.E. un sumo
placer esperando que este sea el primero y el último punto
de diversion que haya entre ambas Repúblicas Americanas,
pero siento un profundo dolor de que el principio de nuestras
transacciones en lugar de ser de congratulaciones, sea, por
el contrario, de quexas.

Permítame V.E. observarle que, quando el Gobierno de Venezuela decretó el bloqueo del rio de Orinoco, no solamente se propuso sino que efectuó sitiar las plazas de Guayana y Angostura. Y yo pienso que el sitio de una plaza ó plazas es algo mas estrecho que un bloqueo marítimo, y pienso que los sitiadores gozan, por lo menos, de los mismos derechos que los bloqueadores. El exército de Venezuela puso sitio á estas dos plazas en los primeros dias de Enero, y en esos mismos dias publicó el bloqueo y lo hizo efectivo de varios modos, como

despues se manifestará.

En quanto al daño de los neutrales, que Vsa menciona en su nota, yo no concibo que puedan alegarse en favor de los dueños del Jorge y la Libertad los derechos, que el derecho de gentes concede á los verdaderos neutrales. No son neutrales los que proveen armas y municiones de boca y guerra á unas plazas sitiadas y legalmente bloqueadas. Si yo me equivoco en esta asercion tendré grande satisfaccion en reconocer mi error.

Concluyendo, por donde he empesado, repito que yo me refiero al juicio que Vsd forme de la justicia con que hemos procedido en la condena de las goletas Jorge y Libertad pertenecientes á Ciudadanos de los Estados Unidos, en virtud de la respuesta que me propongo pasar á Vsa

Tengo el honor de ser con la mayor consideracion

de Vsa

el mas atento obdto servr.

Bolivar

Read in Mr. Irvine's
14. June 1824

(Translation) * Angostura, 29th July 1818 27 8

Sir, I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of the two notes of 25th & 27th inst. which you delivered into my hand the day before yesterday.

The first cannot be answered in a formal and argumentative manner, without previously consulting the proceeds of trial or the condemnation of the merchant ships Tiger & Liberty, belonging to citizens of the United States - Smith, - Peabody, Tucker and Coulter. I shall only venture for the present to advance for your consideration the following observations relative to the second note.

The citizens of the United States, owning the ships Tiger and Liberty, shall receive the indemnities which they demand through the medium of your agency, for the damages their interests sustained, provided you are not completely convinced of the justice with which we have appreciated the two vessels in question. I entertain too favorable an opinion of your elevated character not to refer myself entirely to the judgment which you must in your conscience form of our proceedings towards those American citizens who, forgetting what is due to the fraternal feeling, friendship and liberal principles which we pursue, have meditated and effected the mocking and jesting at naught the siege of the fortresses of Guayana and Angostura, in or-

* I carefully retain all the original notes &c. till my return, as it would swell my letters to a cumbersome bulk to enclose them.

der to furnish arms to such brutes and to lead such tigers, as have for three centuries spilled the greater part of the American blood, the blood of their own brothers! — I feel with you the utmost pleasure in hoping that this may be the first and last point of difference between the two American republics; but I deeply regret that the commencement of your correspondence (transactions, generally) instead of congratulations, should on the contrary consist of complaints.

Allow me to observe to you, that when the government of Venezuela decreed the blockade of the river Orinoco, it not only resolved on but carried into effect the siege of Guayana and Angostura. And I am of opinion that the investment of a place or places is somewhat stricter than a maritime blockade and attended that besiegers enjoy, at least, the same rights with blockaders. The army of Venezuela this siege of these two fortified towns in the beginning of January, and at that very time proclaimed the blockade and gave it reality by various modes, as shall be shown hereafter.

As to the injury done to neutrals, which you mention in your note, I do not conceive that these rights can be alleged in favor of the owners (or masters) of

the Tiger and Liberty, which the Law of nations concedes to real neutrals. - They are not neutrals who supply arms, provisions and munitions of war to places besieged and legally blockaded. If I am mistaken in this assertion, I will have much satisfaction in acknowledging my error.

Concluding as I began, I expect, that I defer to your arbitrament of the justness with which we act in condemning the schooners Tiger and Liberty belonging to citizens of the United States, in reference to the answer which I am to transmit you.

I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration, &c. &c. &c.

Bolivar

To Mr Irvine, Agent of the U. S. of North-America.

Recd in B. Irvines

of July 30. 1818.

(Translation.)

Angostura, August 6, 1818 - 8th of Independ

Sir, I have the honor of replying to your note of the 25th
of July last relative to the indemnifications demanded for the de
demnation of the American schooners Tiger and Liberty cap
by the naval forces of Venezuela.

In order to proceed with the greater perspicuity and order, w
shall in the first place exhibit the facts distinctly as they appear
on the minutes of trial and the log books of the vessels, and ap
apply the principles of law & Equity connected with the Tiger in whi
case they appear more conclusive and uncomplicated.

The Tiger sailed from the Orinoco to fulfil a contract
stipulated between the Spanish governor of this province, General Fer
general, and Mr Lamson, by which the latter was bound to return
in arms and munitions the value of a cargo of tobacco delivered him
by the former. In fact the 17th of March 1817 (and not the 12th as
the defendant alleges) she sailed from Salom with the promised
cargo and entered this port by the mouth of April. Sailing after
wards from the Orinoco in the month of July she was captured as
afore, with a cargo which consisted in part of the produce of anterior ne
gociations and partly of the last cargo imported.

Both captain Tucker and Mr Lamson allege that they were
ignorant of the blockade and siege, but the first contradicts himself
when he assures us in his declaration, that whilst in this port he saw a
Spanish convoy sailing from it against the forces which the patriots had in
the river near St. Michael's, and the second when in his remonstrance
he acknowledges that he was in this town, where he could not be ignoran
of an army being in front of it and of the fortresses of Tower Grey and
Beniden, the log book of the respective captains remarks of the patriots having
captured some vessels within the river as indeed three were taken by our
light flotilla sailing boats, a brig, a schooner and 2 Guayrian traders
two a sheer hulk lately hired like a schooner. (D. 2)

and last of all, the enemy's post situated on the island of Tamaros. But if they had not been apprized of all this, it is known that the decree of blockade issued on the 6th of January 1809, was published in a gazette of Norfolk of the 6th of March that year, and consequently it is to be presumed that other news papers of the United States published it also. The publication having been at that date, and the Tiger not having sailed until the 4th of same month, it is highly probable she was not ignorant of the blockade.

The facts with respect to the Liberty admit of no sort of discussion. She sailed from Martinique in the month of June with provisions for the fortress, and being also in the river, fell in with our vessels that were blockading it. She learned from the commandant that she must not proceed, was ordered to return and was supplied with a pilot. After a conduct so liberal on our part, the Liberty was met again ascending the river in contravention of the blockade already notified - proofs of which are manifest from the declaration of her captain William Hill, the depositions of the admiral and commandant Diard.

From the facts set forth arise two arguments against the Tigers one is having violated the blockade and siege of Guayana, by entering and quitting a port actually besieged and blockaded, and the other for the practice of neutrality by introducing arms and munitions for our enemies. Nobody can dispute the right of the government of Venezuela to declare in a state of blockade a port or ports occupied by the enemy. Its naval forces were capable of giving effect to such a declaration, and they have demonstrated it positively by the blockade of the Orinoco. The publication of the blockading decree in the United States twelve days before the Tiger sailed is an answer to all the exceptions alleged. If the captain of the Tiger did not know it, as he ought, no government is bound to give notice to individuals but to nations, and none can doubt that one of the methods of publishing it is by the newspapers.

Laying aside these considerations, the second argument is sufficient of itself to condemn the Tiger as good prize. From the moment that this vessel introduced military elements for our enemy to make war upon us, she violated her neutrality and passed from a neutral to a belligerent state & took part in our contest in favor of our enemies; and, in the same manner as any citizens of the United States entering the service of the Spaniards would be subjected to the rules & practices against them, the vessels which protect, succour, and serve their cause, ought to be and are captured.

It is true, that if the Tiger had succeeded in her escape, and should have subsequently adopted a neutral conduct, from which she ought not to have deviated, she could not have been condemned; but she did not succeed, and was captured in circumstances whereby she was actually performing the functions of an enemy: she was in our territorial waters in this character, and was carrying on board part of the proceeds of the contraband she had imported. All these circumstances aggravate her conduct & offence and double our right to confiscate her.

Neither is it probable that the circuitous voyage the Tiger made, in virtue of the contract, should have been made for Lamson the consignee, and not of the house of Peabody & Tucker, her owners. No document has been offered to authorise this conception, and the government holds to the contrary the information given by governor Coosto, when he was taken prisoner, of his predecessor having concluded a contract for arms with a house of the United States. It may nevertheless be supposed that the supposition of Mr Lamson is authentic; but our right against the vessel which the infraction of blockade, and what is more, of neutrality, gives us, is not thereby destroyed. The Tiger is condemnable, and ought to suffer the penalty. Her owners ought not

have freighted her for a contract which violated neutrality, and if they did, they subjected themselves to all risks. If they can reclaim anything it must be against Lamar, the consignee, not the government of Venezuela, which has only administered the laws and practices of nations that condemned her.

That the granting military succours to one belligerent power is an implied declaration against her enemy, is an incontrovertible principle, confirmed by the conduct of the United States themselves, where the independents are not allowed to equip armaments of any sort against the Spanish territories, where some English officers were detained and imprisoned on their way to Venezuela, and where has been prohibited the exportation of arms and munitions which might be destined for the government of Venezuela. The only difference is, that when it is the government that afford them, the nation declares herself an enemy, and when it is individuals without the knowledge of govt these alone are compromitted and the nation is not responsible. The Tigre, in bringing arms against Venezuela, was our enemy, and can by no means shelter herself under the laws of neutrality which she has contemned and violated.

It only remains to answer the objection that judgment is passed in an illegal mode, without permitting the use of an interpreter, and without hearing the defence. Captain Tucker by confessing the facts which have been explained, and the defendant Lamar in not having contradicted them, other proceedings were not necessary which would only served to render the trial more expensive to the parties. The same consideration was regarded in not reducing to writing all the other acts and informations which were taken, and the owners of the Tiger ought to be thankful that they were not loaded with more charges occasioned by long detention and costs of suit.

It cannot be conceived how captain Tucker asserts that he was not permitted to make his defence, nor employ an interpreter. The fact is evidently false, as besides having been heard verbally, the minutes exhibit what was presented by Mr Lennon in writing. He tries in vain to prove his false assertion by saying that the sentence immediately preceded his declaration. It is enough to open the minutes to perceive that this was taken the 24th, and that was not pronounced till the 27th of September. The second is of a piece with the first, for being asked whether he wanted an interpreter, he answered he did not, and the having signed his declaration with his name, shows that he knew what he subscribed, unless he mean to say that he was forced to do it. I believe that nobody can accuse the government of the enormity of such conduct, nor captain Tucker urge this objection.

The right of condemning the schr Liberty admits of no sort of doubt. The facts are uniformly testified; they are indisputable, for a vessel to plead ignorance, which sailed from Martinique in the month of June 1797, five months after that was declared and this established, when there was the most frequent intercourse between this island under the Spanish government, and that island, is displaying a great want of truth and good faith. Notwithstanding this, the commandant of your islands to whom so liberal & the latter has passed his have recourse, and order was her to depart without detaining but aiding her. If she was afterwards met ascending the river again, in abuse of our liberality and confidence, the violation was wholly her own.

Another exception opposed (to the decision) by captain Hall, is that he did not [illegible] not how to descend. But in what vessel that could make the [illegible] and come through them the

the neighborhood of the Guayanas, could not perform the same voyage in order to sail out, even if no pilot had been furnished her? If captain Hale had said, that after having repaired from our vessels the Spanish flotilla obliged him to ascend, his exception might pass a probability, and at least give him a right to reclaim from that nation the losses which ensued from their forcing him to transgress the blockade contrary to the laws of neutrality.

If admiral Rowan made use of the repelsion question, before trial, their captains might have asked when it was, and the circumstances which preceded the occurrence. The vessels were always respected, and could never have been employed in the service of the republic, if the captains themselves had not voluntarily assented to the propositions which were made to them, and if, in evidence of the cordiality of their consent, they had not even tendered their persons. The government can give a more irrefragable proof of this truth than that having been employed in the vessels, after being armed, part of the same crews which they had before, and some of the officers.

Resuming the question, we may present it under three aspects: whether the proofs have been regular, and whether there has been ground for the condemnations. In scrutinizing narrowly the prosecution against the schooners Tiger and Liberty, informalities will undoubtedly be discerned which may be classed as essential ones, from the inevitable effects of circumstances. But if these faults be prejudicial to any one, it is rather to the tribunal which committed them the parties whom you represent. Had the trial been pursued through the most rigorous steps, the American citizens would not have gained nothing more than to multiply without necessity the proofs which exist against them, and augment their damages and the costs of suit which would have increased in the same proportion. Besides

if our judicial practices have suffered any alteration in consequence of this judgment, the greatest injury has been done to our laws, and the well right which a foreigner could demand, who believed himself aggrieved, is that of a new trial according to the customary procedure.

The question ought to be reduced to examining scrupulously, if the admiralty-court of Venezuela had had a right to condemn the schooners Tiger and Liberty, the question is not changed by the mode in which the fact has been examined, and the right does not change, because it is founded on the fact.

From the beginning of January 1817, the fortresses of Guayana and Angostura were besieged until the month of August of the same year. During this time the schooners Tiger and Liberty arrived, bringing arms and ammunition to the besieged, and therefore they cease to be neutral, and converted into belligerents, and we acquired the right of capturing them by any means we could. In the commencement of January we published the blockade of the river Orinoco and from that moment commenced effecting the blockade by all the forces which the government had at its disposal. Our longer vessels cruized in the mouths although for intervals, and our light forces which were stationed between Old and New Guayana, captured in the months of March, April and May, a brig, schooner, Guayrian-trader, and the military post of the island of Tapapao. Just at the beginning of June we had an action with the enemy in the waters of Cassacuma, where we lost the greater part of our gunboats; these were immediately replaced by those of Commodore Diaz and the squadron of Admiral Brion. From this recapitulation it follows, that the river was blockaded by our forces, and that no neutral could proceed with arms and munitions to the places besieged and blockaded without committing hostile

acts by which he forfeits the rights of neutrality, if he were taken by the besiegers and blockaders at his entrance or departure, since against both operations the enemy forces are opposed. Infraction happens as well in entering as in sailing from a port blockaded, we have known an entrance after the establishment of blockade; and consequently neither the Tiger nor the Liberty have just pretensions to make against the dominatory of Venezuela.

If neutral nations had compelled our enemies strictly to respect the public law of nations, our advantages would have been infinite, and we should have the less to complain of neutrals. But the reverse has happened thro' the whole course of the present war. Spain has extended the right of blockade much farther than the British nation has: she has caused the confiscation of as many neutral vessels as her privateers have captured, for any cause or pretext, at the fortress of Carthagena, General Morillo prolonged the blockade after it was taken by the king's arms, and treated as prisoners of war all the neutrals who fell into his hands, thus making a most scandalous innovation on the public laws of nations. We have not seen, however, that any maritime power has reprobated this atrocious and tyrannical abuse, when all the naval powers are stronger than Spain. To pretend then, that the laws should be applicable to us, and that abusive practices belong of right to our enemies, is surely not just, nor is it the pretension of a real neutral: it is indeed to condemn us to the most destructive disadvantages.

Would it not be very grievous that the feeble should practise the laws, and the strong the abuses? Such would be our destiny, if we alone should respect principles, and our enemies destroy us by violating them.

It would certainly be very glorious for Venezuela that, appearing the last in the scale of nations, she should be the most punctilious in respecting the written law of nations; and nothing would be so conformable to her abject and institutions, as seeing justice re-established among communities, and the general pacts ~~of consuetudinal laws~~ that unite all men to all nations. But it being indescribably lamentable that in this last epoch of turbulence, aggression and tyranny, nothing has been so trampled under foot as public law, with what forces can Venezuela oppose herself to the sway of oppressive practices of nearly all the maritime powers?

Notwithstanding all the foregoing considerations, I once more submit to your judgment the decision of this question, confidently referring me to the accurate discernment which so eminently distinguishes you; well assured, that the government of Venezuela is ready, by generosity, for a restitution of the interests confiscated to the owners of the schooners Tigre and Liberty, provided you and not thoroughly convinced of the justice with which the admiralty court of ~~this~~ republic has acted.

I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration,

Your most obedient servt.

Bolivar.

Mr Irvine, Agent of the U.S. of North America, near the Republic of Venezuela.

In P. Irvines of 27 Aug. 1818

Gen. Bolivar to Mr I. Aug. 6. 1818.

Angostura Agosto 6. de 1818 8.°

S.or Agente.

Tengo el honor de responder á la nota de V.S. de 25. de Julio próximo pasado relativa á las indemnizaciones pedidas por las condenas hechas de las Goletas Americanas Tigre y Libertad, apresadas por las fuerzas marítimas de Venezuela.

Para proceder con mas órden y claridad se expondrán 1.° los hechos distintamente, segun constan de los procesos seguidos, y de los diarios de los buques; y despues se aplicarán los principios del derecho. Empezaré por la Goleta Tigre, en que parecen aquellos mas dudosos y complicados.

La Tigre salió del Orinoco á cumplir una contrata celebrada entre el Gobierno Español de esta Provincia Coronel Jefe Gerald.° y M.r Lamson, en que se obligaba este á retornar en armas y municiones el cargamento de Tabaco que le dió aquel. En efecto el 17. de Marzo de 1817. (y no el 12 como alega el Defensor) salió de Salem con el cargamento

Al Sor D.S. Irvine Agente de los Estados Unidos dela Américica del Norte, cerca dela Republica de Venezuela.

que había Ofrecido, y entró en este puerto por el mes de Abril.
Saliendo, después, del Orinoco por el mes de Julio fué aprehendida
el día 4. con un Cargamento, que era en parte el producto
de Negociaciones anteriores y en parte del último Cargamento q.
introduxo.

Tanto el Capitan Fischer como el Señor Lamson alegan que ignoraban el Bloqueo y sitio; pero el primero se contradice, quando asegura en su declaracion que estando en este Puerto, vió salir un convoy Español contra las fuerzas que tenian los patriotas en el Rio cerca de S.n Miguel, y el segundo, quando en su representacion confiesa que se hallaba en esta plaza, donde no podia ignorar que había un exército frente á ella y de las fortalezas de la Baja Guayana. Además el diario del Buque contiene noticias de haber sido aprehendidos por los patriotas algunos buques devaxo del Rio, como que se tomaron por nuestras fuerzas sutiles un Bergantin, una Goleta y un Guayro mercante, y despues todo el aportadero enemigo situado en la Ysla de Faxardo. Pero aun quando no lo contuviese esto, es sabido que el decreto de bloqueo expedido el 6 de Enero de 1817. fué publicado en la Gazeta de Norfolk de 6 de Marzo de aquel año, y consiguientemente es de presumir que lo publicasen otros papeles de los Estados Unidos

Habiendo sido esta publicacion en aquella fecha, y no habiendo salido la Tigre sino el 17. del mismo mes es en sumo grado probable que no ignoraba el bloqueo.

Los hechos con respecto á la Libertad no permiten ningun genero de duda. Ella salió de Martinica en el mes de Junio con municiones de boca para esta plaza, y estando ya dentro del Rio encontró con los buques nuestros que lo bloqueaban por el Comandante de estos supo que no debia seguir: se le mandó regresar, y se le auxôlió con un práctico. Despues de una conducta tan liberal por nuestra parte, la Libertad fué encontrada de nuevo remontando el Rio en contravencion del bloqueo ya notificado. Pruebas que constan de la declaracion de su Capitan Guillermo Hill y de las deposiciones del Señor Almirante y Comandante Diaz.

De los hechos expuestos nacen dos argumentos contra la Tigre: El uno es haber violado el bloqueo y sitio de Guayana entrando y saliendo de puerto bloqueado y sitiado efectivamente, y el otro haber violado la neutralidad introduciendo armas y municiones á nuestros enemigos. Nadie puede disputar al Gobierno de Venezuela el derecho de declarar en estado de bloqueo un puerto ó puertos, poseidos por el enemigo. Sus fuerzas marítimas son capaces de hacer efectiva semejante declaratoria, y lo han manifestado de un modo

positivo en el bloqueo del Orinoco. La publicacion del decreto
de bloqueo en los Estados Unidos doce dias antes de que saliese la
Tigre responden á todas las excepciones alegadas. Si el Capitan
de la Tigre no lo supo, como debió, ningun Gobierno está
obligado á intimarlo á los individuos sino á las naciones, y
nadie puede dudar que uno de los medios de publicar
lo es por las gazetas.

Prescindiendo de estas consideraciones el segundo
argumento es por sí solo bastante para condenar á la Tigre
como buena presa. Desde el momento en que este buque
introduxo elementos militares á nuestros enemigos, para
hacernos la guerra, violó la neutralidad, y pasó de este
estado al beligerante: tomó parte en nuestra contienda á
favor de nuestros enemigos, y del mismo modo que si algu-
nos Ciudadanos de los Estados Unidos tomasen servicio con los
Españoles, estarian sugetos á las leyes que practicamos con-
tra estos, los buques que protegen, auxîlian, ó sirven su cau-
sa deben tratarlo y lo están.

Es verdad que si la Tigre hubiese logrado evadirse y
hubiera adoptado posteriormente la conducta neutra, de que no
debió apartarse, no podria ser condenada; pero ella no lo logró
y fué apresada en circunstancias en que actualmente llenaba
las funciones de enemiga: estaba en las aguas de nuestro

territorio con ese carácter, y conducia á su bordo parte del produc-
to del contrabando que habia introducido. Todas estas circunstan-
cias agravan su causa y dobla nuestro derecho para confis-
carla.

No es mui probable que el viage redondo que hizo
la Tigre, en virtud de la contrata, fuese por cuenta del consig-
natario Lamson y no por la de la Casa de Cabody y Tucker
sus dueños. Ningun documento se ha presentado para califi-
car esta excepcion, y el Gobierno tiene en contra los informes
que dió el Gobernador Cerroi, quando fue tomado prisionero,
de haber celebrado su predecesor una contrata de armas con
una Casa de los Estados Unidos. Puede, sin embargo, suponerse
que sea cierta la exposicion de Mr. Lamson; pero no por esto
se destruye el derecho, que nos dá contra el buque la infraccion
del bloqueo y, lo que es mas, de la neutralidad. La Tigre es
condenable y debe sufrir la pena: sus dueños no debieron fle-
tarla para una negociacion que quebrantaba la neutrali-
dad, y si lo hicieron, se sugetaron á todos los riesgos. Si al-
guna cosa tienen que reclamar será contra el Consignatario
Lamson, y no contra el Gobierno de Venezuela, que solo ha
aplicado las Leyes y las prácticas de las Naciones que la
condenaban.

Sobre la prestacion de Auxilios militares á una

potencia beligerante es una declaratoria implícita contra su enemiga, es un principio incontroberable y que está confirmado por la conducta de los mismos Estados Unidos, donde no se permite que se hagan armamentos de ninguna especie por los independientes contra los pueblos Españoles, donde han sido detenidos y aprisionados algunos Oficiales Ingleses que venian para Venezuela, y donde se ha impedido la exportacion de las armas y municiones que podrian venir para el Gobierno de Venezuela. La diferencia única que hay es que quando es el Gobierno quien los presta, la Nacion se declara enemiga, y quando son los particulares sin conocimiento de él, ellos solos se comprometen, y no se hace responsable la Nacion. La Figra, pues, trayendo armas contra Venezuela, fué nuestra enemiga, y no puede de ninguna manera acogerse á las Leyes de la neutralidad que habia despreciado y violado.

Solo falta responder á la excepcion de que el juicio se siguió de un modo ilegal, sin permitir el uso de un Intérprete y sin oir la defensa. Confesando el Capitan Tucker los hechos, que se han expuesto, y no habiendolos contradicho el defensor Lamus en su defensa, sino confirmadolos, no eran necesarios otros procedimientos, que solo servirian para hacer mas costoso el juicio a

los partes. Esta misma consideracion se tuvo presente para no practicar por escrito todas las demas actas é informaciones que se tomaron, y los dueños de la Tigre deberian agradecer, que no se les hubiese agravado con mas gastos, originados de su mas larga detencion y de las costas del proceso.

No puede concebirse como el Capitan Tucker alega que no se le permitió hacer su defensa, ni usar de Intérpretes. Lo primero es evidentemente falso, pues ademas de la que verbalmente se le oyó, consta en el sumario la que presentó por escrito Mr. Lamson. En vano intenta probar su falsa asercion diciendo que la sentencia siguió inmediatamente á su declaracion. Basta abrir el sumario seguido, para ver que esta se le tomó el 24, y aquella no se pronunció sino el 27 de Setiembre. Lo segundo es igualmente, por que preguntandole si necesitaba de intérprete respondió que nó, y el haber firmado con su nombre su declaracion manifiesta que supo lo que firmó, á menos que quiera decirse que se le forzó á hacerlo. Creo que nadie podrá acusar al Gobierno de Venezuela semejante conducta, ni el Capitan Tucker alega otra excepcion.

El derecho para la condena de la Goleta Libertad no admite ningun genero de duda. Los hechos están uniformemente verificados: son incontestables. Alegar ignorancia del bloqueo y visto un buque, que salió de Martinica en el mes de Junio

de 1817 cinco meses despues de publicado aquel y arrebatado este quando las relaciones mas frecuentes de esta plaza con el Gobierno Español eran con aquella Isla, a manifestar un alto desprecio por la Verdad y por la buena fé. Sin embargo, el Comandante de nuestras Cañoneras fue tan liberal, que pasó por un simple dicho, y la mandó salir sin detenerla y auxiliandola. Si despues se le ha encontrado remontando otra vez el Rio en abuso de nuestra liberalidad y confianza, su infraccion ha sido doblemente grave.

Otra excepcion opuesta por el Capitan Hill es que no sabia por donde bajar. Pero un buque que ha podido encontrar las bocas del Orinoco y bajar por ellas hasta cerca de la Antigua Guayana ¿no podrá hacer el mismo viage para salir aun quando no se le hubiese dado práctico? Si el Capitan Hill dixera que despues de haberse separado de nuestros buques, la Esquadrilla Española le obligó á subir, podria pasar por probable su excepcion, y á lo menos le daria derecho para reclamar contra esta Nacion los males, que se le siguieron de haberlo forzado á quebrantar el bloqueo contra las leyes de la neutralidad.

Si el Almirante Brion hizo uso de los buques en question, antes de ser forzados, pudieron sus Capitanes haber añadido, quando fue, y las circunstancias que precedieron

ese hecho. Los buques fueron siempre respetados, y no se habrian empleado nunca en el servicio de la República, si los mismos Capitanes no se hubiesen prestado voluntariamente á las proposiciones que se les hicieron, y si, en prueba de la cordialidad de sus consentimientos, no hubiesen ofrecido hasta sus personas. El Gobierno no puede dar una prueba mas irrefragable de esta verdad, que el haber sido empleados en los buques, despues de armados, parte de las mismas tripulaciones, que antes tenian, y algunos de los oficiales.

Examinando la question podriamos presentarla bajo estos dos aspectos: si se ha seguido el proceso con regularidad, y si ha habido derecho para dar las condenas. Exâminada atentamente la causa seguida contra los Soldados Tigre y Libertad, sin duda se encontrarán informalidades, que se podrán calificar de esenciales por el efecto inevitable de las circunstancias. Pero si estas faltas perjudican á alguno es mas bien al Tribunal que las conoció, que á las partes que V.S. representa. Seguido el juicio por los trámites mas rigorosos, los Ciudadanos Americanos no habrian ganado mas que multiplicar, sin necesidad, las pruebas que existen contra ellos, y aumentan sus perjuicios y los gastos del proceso que habrian crecido en la misma proporcion. Ademas, si nuestras prácticas judiciales han sufrido algunas alteraciones en la seguela de este juicio, él ma-

por agravio ha sido hecho á nuestras Leyes, y el único derecho que podria reclamar el extrangero, que se cree ofendido, es que se mueva á seguir el juicio conforme á los trámites ordinarios.

La qüestion se debe reducir á exâminar escrupulosamente si el Almirantazgo de Venezuela ha tenido derecho para condenar las Goletas Tigre y Libertad. La qüestion no se cambia por el modo con que se ha exâminado el hecho, y el derecho no cambia por que esta fundado sobre el hecho.

Desde los primeros dias de Enero de 1817. las plazas de Guayana y Angostura fueron sitiadas hasta el mes de Agosto del mismo año. En este tiempo las Goletas Tigre y Libertad han venido á traher armas y pertrechos á los sitiados, y por esto cesan de ser Neutrales, se convierten en beligerantes, y nosotros hemos adquirido el derecho de apresarlas por qualquier medio que pudiesemos encontrarlo. En los primeros dias de Enero hemos públicado el bloqueo del Orinoco, y desde aquella época empezamos á poner en execucion dicho bloqueo con todas las fuerzas, que el Gobierno tenia á su disposicion. Nuestros buques mayores cruzaban en las bocas aunque por intervalos, y nuestras fuerzas sutiles, que se hallaban estacionadas entre la Vieja y la nueva Guayana apresaron en los meses de Marzo Abril y Mayo un b

garita, una Goleta, un Guayra Mercante y el Aprestadero Militar de la Isla de Saxardo. Si á principios de Junio tuvimos un combate con los enemigos en las aguas de Canacoyma donde perdimos la mayor parte de Nuestras Cañoneras, estas fueron inmediatamente reemplazadas por las del Comandante Diaz y la Esquadrilla del Almirante Brion. De este resumen se deduce, que el Rio estaba bloqueado por nuestras fuerzas, y que ningun Neutro podia auxiliar con armas y municiones las plazas sitiadas y bloqueadas sin executar actos hostiles que le harian perder los derechos de Neutralidad, si fuese aprezado por los sitiadores y bloqueadores en su entrada ó salida, pues que contra ambas Operaciones se oponen las fuerzas enemigas. Tanto se contraviene en entrar como en salir de un puerto bloqueado, donde se ha entrado despues de establecido el bloqueo, y por consiguiente ni el Pique ni la Libertad tienen legítimos reclamos que hacer contra el Almirantazgo de Venezuela.

Si las Naciones Neutrales hubieran obligado á nuestros enemigos á responder estrictamente el derecho público y de gentes, nuestras Ventajas habrian sido infinitas, y menos tendriamos que quexarnos de los Neutros. Pero ha sucedido lo contrario en todo el Curso de la presente guerra. La España ha estendido el derecho de bloqueo mucho mas allá que

la Nacion Británica: ha hecho confiscar quantos buques neutrales han podido aprehender su corsarios por qualquier causa ó pretexto. En la plaza de Cartagena el General Morillo ha prolongado el bloqueo, despues de tomada por las armas del Rey, y ha mirado como prisioneros de guerra á quantos neutrales cayeron en sus manos, haciendo de este modo una innovacion tan escandalosa en las leyes públicas de las Naciones. No se ha visto, sin embargo, que ninguna potencia Marítima haya reprimido este abuso tiránico y atroz, quando todas las Naciones Marítimas son mas fuertes que la España. Pretender, pues, que las Leyes sean aplicables á nosotros, y que pertenezcan á nuestros enemigos las practicas abusivas, no es ciertamente justo, ni es la pretencion de un verdadero Neutral, es, sí, condenarnos á las mas detestables desventajas.

¿No seria muy sensible que las leyes las practicase el debil y los abusos la practicase el fuerte?. Tal seria nuestro destino si nosotros solos respetasemos los principios y nuestros enemigos nos destruyesen violandolos.

Seria, sin duda, muy glorioso para Venezuela que, pareciendo la última en la escala de las Naciones, fuese la mas religiosa en respetar el derecho escrito de las gentes, y nada seria tan conforme con mis intenciones y deseos, como el ver restablecer la Justicia entre los pueb

y los pactos generales q.e ligan á todos los hombres de todas las Naciones. Pero siendo infinitamente lamentable que en esta última época de turbulencia, de agresion y tiranía, nada haya sido tan hollado como el derecho público ¿con qué fuerzas podrá oponerse Venezuela al imperio de las prácticas opresivas de casi todas las potencias marítimas?

No obstante todas las antecedentes consideraciones, yo vuelvo á someter al juicio de V.S. la decision de esta question, refiriendome confiadamente á la rectitud del discernimiento que tan eminentemente distingue á V.S.; bien convencido de que el Gobierno de Venezuela está pronto, por generosidad, á la devolucion de los intereses confiscados á los dueños de las Goletas Tigre y Libertad, siempre que V.S. no se persuada intimamente de la justicia con que ha obrado el Almirantazgo de esta República.

Tengo el honor de ser con la mas alta consideracion

de V.S.

el mas ob.o y obed.te Servidor.

Bolivar

tions have been for-
warded. —

Rec.d in Mr. Irvine's J.
6. June 1809.

Angostura, August 11, 1818.

Sir

It was not until yesterday, that general Bolivar sent me the answer promised to his note of the 29th of July; - yet it is dated on the 6th. It is too long to be translated and copied to-day; nor would it be important to receive further portions of this special correspondence, without knowing the result. This I trust to be enabled to do post in my next. In the interim, perhaps it may prove acceptable, if I give you a compendious account of affairs as they stand, and the prospect of future events, so far as a calculation of probabilities can unfold it.

You will perceive an article in the last gazette printed here, on the subject of mediation between Spain and South America. The tone of that article expresses the opinion of this govt. They naturally spurn all attempts at a pacification mingled with the possibility of Spanish dominion, in any form, over this country. The same publication shows how anxiously the patriots look to the United States for support. There are no alternatives any longer - no middle way - Independence or annihilation is the word. Indeed ever since Monteverde refused to treat with rebels, and a war of extermination was begun by the Spaniards, the scabbard was thrown away, the door of reconciliation was shut.

In the course of seven years or a little more, above half the male population of Venezuela have disappeared - and gone to people the banks of the Styx. This is the estimate of those persons who are best informed. In a manuscript report on the state of matters in Caracas &c. made by

captain Sterling of the British navy to Rear admiral Harvey, in February 1817, (of which accident I was furnished me with a copy) it is asserted that "this country must have lost at least one half of its population since the commencement of the revolution." General Bolivar and Mr Zea confirm this statement. They assume me that fully 200,000 two hundred thousand males have fallen in the conflicts in Venezuela, since 1810 - including the killed on both sides, others have emigrated to the islands, to avoid destruction - and in some districts, many became neutral, - escaped to mountains or deserts, and in several instances turned robbers and murderers, rendering an ordinary journey very dangerous to the traveller. From the consequent insecurity, agriculture declined. The furious war/are that raged, with appalled the cultivator, and caused his useful labors to cease, - or he took a desperate resolution, and hardened his nature, showing no mercy, since he could receive none. Thus is Venezuela depopulated and depauperated at once. It is undoubtedly honorable to general Bolivar, that in spite of proffers to often and to scornfully rejected, he again & again renewed proposals to the Spanish generals to conduct the war according to the usages of the civilized nations.

The want of discipline among the patriot armies has occasioned a fatal waste of lives. Their cavalry have no idea of regular order or formation, and are too ignorant and vain to be conscious of their own condition, or receive instruction. They rush in bodies under their own chiefs to the scene of action, and charge in masses - but, if they fail in the first onset, they run, and turn themselves in pieces. While, they laugh at the regularity of

any foreign officer is capable of training them. For this reason, the most excellent cavalry officers from England and Ireland can render little or no service. They cannot obtain corps to instruct or to command. So the blind are left to lead the blind; often displaying unsufficient personal courage, but destitute of the great advantage of organization. The obstacles just described prevent the last campaign from being decisive.

With regard to the infantry, a plan of drill is begun with them at some posts, which promises auspicious consequences. — Of artillery, the officers do not appear to be duly appreciated, or it is imagined that the country is impracticable for the employment of that arm. Nevertheless, it is probable that admonition and experience will soon produce a change of opinion and conduct on this head.

On the whole, nobody despairs of the final triumph of the patriots. The desirable event may be delayed, but not prevented. News of embarkations made in Spain, — the receipt of arms and ammunition recently, — and the expectation of General MacGregor's arrival with a corps of Scotch soldiers, have inspired the independents with greater confidence. Though a foreign officer can get little of himself yet he will always be welcome if he can bring a corps with him.

The resources of the Venezuelan government — those of means, of immediate stability, — are very scanty. Mules, cattle, hides, a little tobacco and tasajo (or jerked beef) constitute the exports. Advances to a considerable amount have been made

* Duties on imports and exports do not yet produce much; and there is no

by British merchants: that is, they have to look to their Government valuable cargoes on credit, under certain of receiving payment in a given time, in the produce of the country. These indulgences, it appears to me, have sustained the independent cause here. They were seasonable and came in the utmost need. It must interest us impartially in default of punctuality; which is very seasonable and just.

It is a curious circumstance, at the same time, that the Governors of the British islands act according to their individual inclinations towards the seas or vessels from the Colonies. The governor of Tobago admits them freely; the Governor of Trinidad is hostile. The former told a Gentleman just arrived here, that although it was notorious a majority of the ministry were in favor of S. American independence, they would give no special instructions in the case; instructions which had been frequently solicited.

The supreme chief and the most intelligent person with whom I have conversed, avow a preference for the United States, and intimate their determination to frame a Govt as similar to ours as dissimilar circumstances will justify. This, I still believe will be undertaken when it may, must be an irksome task, - because every thing that exists needs regeneration, and much remains to be created before the people can enjoy rational freedom. With the aid of the best government many years will be required to introduce common schools, - enlighten the habitants, and improve their moral habits; and, without independence, they must remain barbarous forever, -

despotic monarchies being founded on the principle of the degradation of man. But, with the establishment of independence will come a race of industrious virtuous emigrants, whose productive labor & beneficial example will change the face of things, leading to the amelioration of the country and people physically and morally. The present inhabitants are ages behind other nations. Sensible of this, the government feels the greater solicitude for the interference of some foreign power to terminate the contest.

Doctor Gual, I am informed, has been appointed by this govt as agent or commissioner to the United States. He is unquestionably one of the ablest politicians they have - and is well fitted for practical business. Whether he will accept the office, I cannot predict. I think it doubtful, he having had serious differences with General D. formerly on public affairs.

To this outline, of mine visits, I will only subjoin for the present, a concise paragraph or two on the delicate subject of the men of color, and the policy pursued towards them.

In Guayana there are few, unless we reckon the negroes. In 1788, - as appears from a brief manuscript account of Guayana (the only historical curiosity I have chanced any yet to pick up in this literary waste) in 1788 there were in 4 cities & villages, and 72 Indian missions from Orinoco to the Guayana and below it, - that is, in the

whole province only 24,395 souls of all ages, sexes and colors. Except the capital, the other cities and villages were merely nominal. Owing to Spanish policy, many things seem to have languished here, especially after the various expeditions of Sir Walter Raleigh in 1595 and 1616, not to mention the invasions of the French and Dutch. ——The thin population of the Spaniards was confined to the capital and villages and 3 other cities just mentioned. Depons, (vol 1. p. 105) who would appear to have made estimates of all regards and component parts, by guess, reckons the whites in all Venezuela at 2/10 or 728,000, the descendants of freedmen at 4/10, Indians 1/10 remaining 3/10 black slaves. I am not going to make an empty parade of calculations without data, or with false data perhaps; little of either kind is to be had here. It is evident from the above, supposing it nearly true, that the Indians greatly preponderate in Guayana; that 2/10 of all the Venezuelians are whites, Indians and mixed (5/10) being freedmen, in some measure, would be likely to harbor more attachment for the whites than the blacks. And thus, as the sequel appears to confirm, (though we are not endeavoring to wash the blackmoor white) the bleaching process was in operation. A mixed descent, from generation to generation lost more and more their dusky complexion, until at this day they constitute a race peculiar in habits, but little different from the whites in appearance

to these captain Sterling particularly adverts in his report to the rear-admiral. Speaking of the resources and power of the royalists, he says:-

"There is one portion of the militia of this country well worthy of attention; those men who are called Llaneros, a kind of irregular force, having the election of their own chiefs. Previous to the revolution they were inhabitants and herdsmen on the immense plains which extend to the Orinoco. They are a mixed race, but have sunk the marks of their respective origins in a character altogether peculiar and new. Hardy, active and ferocious, they perform amazing journies, and can suffer every kind of privation. Their usual manner of fighting is on horseback armed with a lance. They resemble the Cossacks in many points, but exceed them in cruelty and in desperate bravery. These were the men whom Boves employed in the subjugation of this country," &c.

This last assertion is correct only in part. The army raised by Boves, Rosette and their atrocious accomplices, were chiefly black slaves; whereas a majority of the Llaneros (dwellers on the plains) were freemen.

Mr Robinson, who details some of the effects of that overwhelming catastrophe, says: "At this juncture (November & December 1813) the royal chiefs at Porto Cabello and the Spanish governor of Guayana deliberately formed

the informal project of raising the slaves of Venezuela against their owners." — Boves was at the head of the force thus raised, amounting to 7 or 8,000, almost exclusively blacks. These monsters, "in traversing a space of more than 400 miles, left no human being alive of any age or sex except such as joined their standard." (See the last document in Walton's Expose.)

Here we are arrived at the essential point: It shall not dispute about shades of complexion, but pass to the consequences of impressions too awfully stamped by the exploits of Boves and his black legions, as never to yield to oblivion. — The bloody misunderstanding, which nothing could resist, extinguished the hopes of the patriots at the very moment when fortune seemed about to consummate their dearest wishes; for, they were then besieging Puerto Cabello.

Disasters of such magnitude, springing from such a cause, left the patriot leaders no choice, with regard to negro or colored slaves. Yet, in making a virtue of necessity, considerable address has been employed. Encouragement of serving in the independent army during the war, one male belonging to a family, can by the existing law confer freedom on the whole of it. Many of this class have clearly bought the enfranchisement of their kindred. A band of 600 Margaritanians (or new Spartans) who rallied around the republican standard on these terms, is credibly informed, that there are not 50 survivors. The mortality of life in this war has been so great and universal

that I do not think it of moment to ascertain which class have suffered most. Certainly the Spaniards have massacred more whites. Gen. Arrillaga at Santa Fe, violated a sacred convention and amnesty, declaring that learning had no business there, and putting to death a constellation of her scholars and philosophers, regarding the ability to write one's name as a passport to the gallows or the block, — little of the horrible proscription fell on the negroes! * ——— At any rate, the black hurricane is "over and gone". Several of this cast are faithful to the republic, and fight gallantly under its banners. The danger, if not the impossibility, of fomenting another servile insurrection, inspired with Pian. His execution has been attended with salutary effects, such as commonly follow in flexibility in a just purpose. Everyone gives credit to the Supreme Chief for his firmness on that occasion. The scenes of Hayti, and the massacres of Dove and his hordes can not be obliterated. ——— I have obtained from a private friend a sketch of Pian's trial &c. which I have translated and had copied. It is enclosed.

In fine, though numbers of colored men fight for

* This shocking perfidy is celebrated in an elegy by an advocate of Santa Fe, Don ——— Salazar, who has since taken refuge in the island of Trinidad, where he practises law. It reflects credit on his feelings, as he eloquently pours forth his fervent sympathies for the crowd of illustrious victims.

their country, and fight without pay, the main power is every where held by the whites. In various districts of Barinas, Caracas &c. the former exceed the whites in number, but these prevail in influence.

Having dispatched this subject, I hope hereafter to glean some information of a more agreeable nature, - though by no means sanguine of procuring any intelligence which depends on books.

I am, sir, with the utmost respect,

Hon John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State. } Your obedient servant

P. Irvine.

August 12, 1818.

Sir,

Since I concluded the foregoing, the lieutenant-general has received a letter from one of his friends in Santa Fe, announcing the capture of Guayaquil, in Peru, on the Pacific Ocean, by a squadron from Valparaiso, and of the commencement of an invading army by land. He tells me, he is encouraged to believe, that the popular mind in Santa Fe is pretty generally ripe for resisting Spain once more, that a spark alone is wanted to ignite the combustibles, and this is expected to be furnished by San Martin

army. — This piece of news I give as I receive it. Here it has produced more vivid hopes. The supreme chief is elate on the occasion.

The kingdom or vicerroyalty of Santa Fe, of which Mr Zea (a man celebrated in France and Spain as a botanist &c.) is a native, comprehends perhaps the finest portion of South-America, and the most civilized and enlightened population — which is estimated now to amount to 3,500,000 whites. — If it be liberated under the auspices of Morrey[illegible] and his confidants, it may give them a wonderful ascendancy on the continent. However we cannot foresee what a day may bring forth, and may well sign a truce with speculation. — In fact, there is not time to add more. I am, sir,

Yours very respectfully,

B. Irvine.

Hon. J. Q. Adams
Sec. of State.

Irvine Boston - Angostura 11 Aug.t [redacted] 1818

Rec.d
Ackd. 21 Dec.r

15

Brief Narrative of the Trial of General Piar.

General Piar separated from the command of the Army in consequence of having asked for and obtained a furlough to reestablish his Health, came from Upaca to the line of Circumvallation against Angostura, and having tried to seduce some Officers of the Squadron and other Chiefs and Officers of General Sedeño's Brigade, was denounced to the Supreme Chief who was then laying close Siege to the Fortress of Old Guayana. The Principle he employed, according to the accusations to form a Faction and overthrow the Government, was that he had fallen into disgrace because he was a colored Man endeavouring thus to conciliate the People of this Class and to excite them to insurrection against the Whites.

The Supreme Chief ordered Gen. Bermudez who commanded at Angostura to notify General Piar to appear at Head Quarters and in case of disobedience to cause him to be conducted thither under charge of a Colonel.

Gen. Piar openly spurned the Order and when Gen. Bermudez notified him of his Arrest in his House in behalf of the Supreme Chief, Piar treated this also with contempt, and breaking his Arrest, fled for the Province of Cumana spreading the same ideas in his course particularly in Maturin where he tried to seduce Antonio Dias, Captain of the Navy, Lieutenant Colonel Pildain and others. Gen. Rojas Commandant of the Department of Maturin informed of these seditions, signified to him that he must quit the Territories under his command, and Piar

contemn

continued his journey to Cumanacoa, where he united himself with General Mariño then a Schismatic (desidente) ——— From Cumanacoa he marched against Mariño with an armed Force threatening to take it, unless it declared against the Supreme Chief and took sides with his Party. ———

General Sedeño who had been ordered by the Supreme Chief to go, pursue and check him, contrived to surprize him in the Village of Aragua and apprehended him in spite of his personal resistance.

Tar being taken, was conducted to Angostura under an Escort commanded by a Lieutenant Colonel and here he was arrested in form in the House of the Adjutant General Fernando Galindez. ———

The Supreme Chief appointed General Soublette, Chief of the Staff, in quality of Fiscal to substantiate the Cause, to prepare Charges and specify to be heard by a Council of War composed of General Officers, conformably to the Regulations of the 9th June.

The Crimes of which he was accused were Sedition, Conspiracy, Insubordination and Desertion. The two first were proved by the unanimous declarations of Colonels Pedro Hernandez, Manuel Olivarez, John Francis Sanchez, of Captain Matheus Seas of the Navy, of Lieut. Col. Francis Peloquin, Victor Fin Bueno and Captain Calixto Palacios, besides several Subaltern Officers, Sergeants and Soldiers, all of the Class of colored Men, whom he had solicited to join the Conspiracy by tempting them and inspiring them with hatred against the Government and the Whites, vending the forgery and censuring its operations. ——— The two last crimes were proved by the deposition of Lieutenant Colonel Ramon Machado, by the Official Dispatches of

General Bermudez announcing his flight and the contempt with which he had treated the orders of the Commander in Chief, and by the official correspondence of Generals Sedeño and Cornes, relating the conduct of Piar in Maturin and Barcelona on learning him of the order that he should submit himself to the Government.—

The Charges were tried with all the legal formalities. The criminal fairly convicted could not deny the deeds of which he was accused, although it was sought to palliate them by specious pretexts, but they did not answer the charges.—

Confronted by the Witnesses he acquiesced with them, and could bring no exceptions.—

General Piar appointed Adjutant General Galindo in whose House he had been arrested for his Defense, and the Process being now ready to be carried before the Council of War, this was convoked and assembled, composed of Colonel Lewis Brion, who presided, of the Generals of Brigade, Pedro Leon Torres and Joseph Anzoategui, of Ocoy, J. Maria Carreño, Lieutenant Colonels Judas Rangel and Francisco Conde. The Prosecutor recounted the Proceedings, and drew his Conclusion, in which finding him Guilty of the Crimes for which he stood arraigned, condemned him to be degraded and hanged according to an express Article of the Ordinances of the Army. The Defender on his part made a long and eloquent Vindication, particularly impressing the Judges

and

and. Tudulors with the important services the Accus
had rendered to the Republic, without producing
any other exculpation than the very gratuitous on
of having been disordered in his entellect when
he attempted Sedition!—

The Council then ordered the
numerous audience who had crowded to the Hall
to retire, and after some discussion found the
Prisoner guilty in the same terms which the
Fiscal had conceived.—

The Supreme Chief,
before whom the Process and Sentence were
carried, confirmed the Punishment of Death
commuting it from Hanging to being Shot
without Degradation.—

This Sentence was executed the
16th. of October 1817. in the Public Squ

J. Angosluna.

In 13 Numbers
Vol. of Congress
1818

Angostura, August 17, 1818.

Sir, — If etiquette required an earlier notice of your excellency's prefatory letter of the 29th ult., a stronger propriety deferred an answer until the main argument which was therein promised, should be received. As the unavoidable engagements or indispositions which bound me during the past week are now over, I propose to examine both according to date, reserving probably for the last a reply to more essential points merely broached in your first.

What I am thankful for the flattering terms in which you speak of myself, and the confidence with which you would refer the matter in dispute to my arbitrament, — I am ready to believe that in cases of a private nature, for which the laws afford no rule, you might probably rely with safety on my arbitration, so far as ordinary principles of equity and the deductions of unsophisticated common sense should point the way; but, in more intricate and important questions, the decisions of wiser heads, the reasonings of publicists have anticipated us — the jurists have undermined my new office! — though they have not prevented your excellency from paying an undeserved compliment. Let law stand umpire between us.

You severely censure "those American citizens who, unmindful of what is due to the fraternity, the friendship and liberal principles which use the Venezuelian government, have contrived to mock and violate the siege of the fortresses of Guayana and Angostura, in order to furnish arms to such butchers, and to feed such tigers as have shed centuries spilled the greater share of American blood, the blood of their brethren."

No fulmination, I grant, can be too indignant, too strong, or too severe for the offence alleged, — if the allegation

be well founded. But, if the denunciation be levelled against neutral merchants, who did not think fit to abandon their profession and become political partisans, the accusation vanishes in an instant. The man must cease to be a merchant who should be obliged to weigh the merits of a foreign country instead of weighing his commodities and shipping them. Commerce is a mutual intercourse or exchange between the various regions of the globe, or different parts of the same country,—it is the handmaid of civilization, and, as the grand antient and industry is the patroness of virtue. If particular injuries sometimes result from it, the general benefit is not thereby controverted. Heaven itself has not separated good and evil; they exist everywhere, and often seem to flow from the same source. Most of the complaints against the abuses of commerce have proceeded from those who sought to fetter that which cannot be enchained without enslaving nations and surrendering the dominion of the seas to the most powerful. I ascribe not such designs to the members of this government; yet consequences happen very frequently to be widely different from first intentions.

Impartiality is the great principle of neutrality: a neutral may exercise his rights, passively or actively, (partial conventions excepted),—may sell all manner of merchandize belligerents on his own territory, or convey them to those warring parties, provided he do it impartially. The only

legitimate exception or limit to the universality of this right is that of ports actually blockaded or besieged, according to usage.

An example celebrated by law-writers, many be worthy of repetition here for its appositeness, although it bears the mark of antiquity. When C. Flaminius, who commanded the Roman fleet in the expedition against Antiochus, heard that the Rhodians (a people of Asia) supplied the enemy with provisions he began to treat them as enemies and to ravage their country; but desisted from hostilities when he found them equally willing to supply the Roman fleet. "So that the powerful Romans," it has been remarked, "at once respected their neutrality and took the proper method of ascertaining it".

Even M. de Vattel (of whom, on one subject it has been truly said, that he endeavored to blend in one system principles of law and maxims of policy which rarely coincide) even he declares, "that as neutrals have no part in my quarrel they are under no obligation to renounce their commerce for the sake of avoiding to supply my enemy with the means of carrying on the war against me. Should they affect to refuse selling me a single article, while at the same time they take pains to convey an abundant supply to my enemy, with an evident intention to favor him, such partial conduct would exclude them from the neutrality they enjoyed.

My fellow-citizens have not been guilty of such partiality in the contest between South America and Spain. Though the nation was neutral, the popular sympathy was not doubtful. But this is foreign to the subject. They were not a party and collectively had no right to be a judge.

That besiegers, on their element enjoy a tantamount right with blockaders on theirs, is admitted; but neither can dictate law beyond the actual sphere of their power and possession. The reason of this rigorous boundary is clearly and irrefragably laid down by McArthur in his "Military

Law of Europe" vol ii. p. 60–81, heretofore referred to
Admit any latitude to belligerents beyond this, - and
they will range the seas at discretion, and sweep
neutral commerce from the main. In 1778 (and
often since) this truth was exemplified by England,
when her admiralty court maintained, that every
vessel sailing towards a port blockaded was liable to
confiscation! — Hence it is plain, that it is more
necessary to impose restraints on belligerent than
neutral nations — though both should be compelled to
keep within the pale of public law.

To-morrow or next day, I promise myself
the honor of an immediate writing on your excellen-
cy's letter of the 6th which was received on the 10th
inst. and acknowledged above. In the mean-
time, I beg you to accept the assurance of my
high best consideration and regard.

B. Irvine.

To His Excellency General Bolivar
Supreme Chief of Venezuela &c.

Ans. 13 Sunn. 21 Aug 1818.

W. J. P. Sun. Office 17 Aug. 1818

Angostura, August 19, 1818.

Sir, — In reviewing your excellency's letter of the 6th, I feel sincere concern at the controversy of the testimony on which we respectively predicate our remarks. Where declarations are contradictory to each other, there is little prospect of a satisfactory arrangement; since the matter of fact governs the application of the law, as premises direct the conclusion.

The owners of the Tiger, in their remonstrance to the Secretary of State, complain of the capture &c. as an unwarrantable outrage. The owners and freighters of the Liberty make similar representations, her cargo being the produce of a fair trade in which they considered her engaged. Mr Lawson, in his address to the Secretary of State, affirms, that it was "the proceeds of property a long time remaining here in Guayana, as you will observe by the documents which will be handed to you" &c. The other persons already mentioned depose, that it belonged to messrs. Peabody & Tucker and clerk in their employment, as per invoice: and both captains protest against the incorrectness of the minutes taken before the subdelegate judge, as very material. These circumstances present considerable discouragements; yet I am not without some hope that the most probable testimony will preponderate.

With regard to the time of the Tiger's sailing, there is no discrepancy: I have said (with the testimony before me) that she was cleared from the custom house of Salem on the 12th and sailed on the 17th of March. — In what terms the news of blockade was published, I know not. Until the present hour I never saw it: but the four deponents mentioned heretofore do testify, that when they sailed from Guayana, 1st July 1817, they were "without any knowledge of blockade or Letters." Supposing,

however, for argument's sake, that a vague account of it had reached them at so great a distance from Norfolk, they might have justly concluded that as they were entitled to the benefit of warning from the blockading squadron (in the first instance) they could proceed without hazard to ascertain the fact; and, encountering no squadron, they presumed there was no effective blockade. — Even notifications of blockade are not certain or conclusive. The events of war are mutable & inconstant. Fortune may desert to-day the standard on which victory but yesterday sat planted. In 1805, notice of a proposed blockade of Cadiz was given to our government; but, before the advice arrived through the medium of our minister at London, official information was received at Washington from Cadiz, that the blockade had been raised by the enemy's fleet. It is unnecessary to repeat here, that according to the decisions of the British courts of admiralty themselves, when any interruption or cessation happens with respect to blockades, the blockaders must begin anew.

It was "to prevent any arbitrary interpretations suggested by momentary and partial interests," that the principal powers of Europe, as well as North-America, agreed in 1780 to the definition of blockade, among other ordinances equally accurate:—

"In order to ascertain what constitutes the blockade of a "place or port, it is to be understood to be in such predicament "when the assailing power has taken such a station as to "expose to imminent danger any ship or ships that would "attempt to sail in or out of the said port."

The chief object of that coalition was merely to revive the former law, and vindicate it against the innovations and abuses of great naval powers.

The force in this river was evidently incompetent to effect the blockades before the Admirals arrival, in the manner stated in my letter of the 25th ult.; and, if the besiegers by land did not draw closely their lines of circumvallation, but rather blockaded the places loosely in order to cut off provisions &c. the one could not supply the deficiencies of the other. Supposing that Mr Lamson had on his first voyage imported 500 muskets, according to contract, I think it is amply proved that, since they were not taken in delicto, they could not affect subsequent transactions. It would be almost as reasonable to prosecute the present tenant of a house for a crime committed by a former.

The hearsay evidence of Governor Cenci has nothing definite, and has no bearing, because there are many thousands of mercantile houses in the United States.

Although your excellency reasons with much perspicuity and cogency from the premises assumed, I still consider my former arguments unshaken, and therefore deem it unnecessary to repeat them. But I think it proper to make a brief observation on one paragraph however inductive it may be to the real question:-

"That the affording military assistance to one belligerent power is an implied declaration against its enemy (you say) is an incontrovertible principle confirmed by the conduct of the United States themselves, where it is not allowed to the independents to fit out armaments of any kind against the Spanish territories, where some English officers on their way to Venezuela were detained and imprisoned, and where is prohibited the exportation of arms and munitions which might be destined to the government of Venezuela." [que podrian venir para el gobierno de Venezuela.]

In the occurrence alluded to, notwithstanding the time

hor any vexation and delay, the prominent blessings of
living under a government of laws was fully evinced.
The preposterous accusation was rejected by a grand jury
who proved on that occasion the vast superiority of good
sense to vain sophistry, technical jargon and artificial
systems. The attempt indeed gave umbrage to the pub-
lic, who were ready to exclaim with a celebrated writer
"Happy the nation where the Knowledge of Law is not a
"Science!" for, there it will not be perverted. The sub-
ject of that detention, though introduced, to appearance
incidentally, was probably not without a particular pur-
pose, I may be permitted to observe, that in enacting
the restrictive laws in question, the government of the U.
States had special regard to the repression of unlawful
expeditions or outfits from their ports, by which it was
likely to be compromitted with foreign powers. The leading
object was to deprive licentious cruizers of the means
of committing depredations on the flag or com-
merce of any nation with which we were at peace.
Many illicit captures had taken place, several of them
in the name and under pretended authority of
Venezuelan government. The highway of nations was in-
fested by its appropriate highway men. Consequently,
prevention of such outrages for the future was as serviceable
to Venezuela as to the United States. It is the duty of
every nation to hunt down pirates and suppress lawless
pillage. In this, I am confident your excellency will
accord with me, not only because you have witness

abuses & injurious to your interests) practised under spurious commissions, but because the principle is right & intitled. Let us return from this digression made for explanation, not for refutation.

To the objection we urge against the irregularity and illegality of the judicial proceedings it is answered, that the facts were established as well by acquiescence on the side as by proof on the other, and to have pursued forms any further would have only multiplied costs.

Captain Tucker and several other persons testify most pointedly against the first assertion; they bitterly murmur at condemnation without regular trial, without counsel, without witnesses. How can a judge know what evidence might have been obtained in behalf of the supercargo &c. of the Tiger, if other witnesses had been produced? — To spare the accumulation of expenses to a defendant is sometimes humane and charitable; but it seems too gratuitous to hope a full and complete trial is not preferable. A want of any of the customary forms is held sufficient to invalidate all the procedure, and to found grounds for a new trial, or for restitution when that is impracticable.

In the organization of their federal courts, the United States have secured the administration of the law of nations without bias. No nation excels, if any equals, North-America in this respect. This feature of the federal judicature deserves the highest commendation. In return, our governments both substantial justice from the judiciary of the Netherlands and from the governments of other countries. Tribunals are maintained according to the opinion of each: the courts are municipal

means or institutions to administer the law of nations. Had the means be adequate to the end, is the only invariable and indispensable rule, the observance of which each member of the society of nations is authorized to expect by the following.

"The facts with respect to the Liberty admit of no controversy." So your excellency affirms in the commencement of your recapitulation of facts. It is greatly to be regretted, that on previous occasions the same opinion prevailed in a tribunal where it was more likely to be prejudicial. For the deponents in this case declare, that she was advertised for sale before any trial was had in the admiralty court. Captain Hill, Mr Sheldon and Mr Coates depose and say, that they were never informed for what reason they were detained until after they [this part of the county] advertised said schooner Liberty for sale." The following extract from the protest made before our consul at Martinique, I copy with extreme reluctance, but it seems to my duty to lay it before you.

"And said N. F. Hill doth further protest, that the annexed copy of proceedings in the tribunal at Martinique doth not contain the true answers made by him, but that others are substituted as a pretence for the condemnation of the property: and to the truth of this declaration and protest against said proceedings he hath also sworn. Israel Sheldon, who was supercargo on board said schooner Liberty, and knowing to all and every transaction that took place respecting the vessel and cargo, hath sworn before me

to the truth of what is here set forth, and with the captain who signed this protest." &c. &c.

It were useless to lengthen this communication by repeating the whole narrative of incident. The Liberty was deprived of her cargo; herself like the tiger, converted into a corsair; the crews in the meanwhile were sent ashore, where they suffered many hardships, besides "having their trunks and chests searched several times for "money."

Much stress seems to be laid on the vicinity of Margarita to the Orinoco and the consequent knowledge of the blockade. The opposite arguments has equal, if not greater force. It is presumable, that merchants situated so near would not risk their property if they had not understood that the blockade was relaxed and believed that the only ships &c. capable of enforcing it were in the West Indies with admiral Brion. Had he been warned of it in the river, which he denies, captain Hall would be without excuse. For in ascending the Orinoco, had it not been to obtain another pilot. Had the Spanish flotilla, as hinted, obliged captain Hall to return up the river, I think it afforded only an opportunity to the patriots to protect him against unjust coercion. But, if the intention to infringe the blockade was manifest and proof at hand, the parties must have appeared in the admiralty court without any pleadable defence or apology. The previous consumption of the cargo and conversion of the vessel, together with delays in form of trial, create on the contrary presumptive evi-

[illegible]

denied in favor of the captains, owners and supercargoes
a singular explanation of employing the rebels as arrogan
submitted:-

"If admiral Brion made use of the vessels in question
before trial, their captains might have addressed when it was, and
the circumstance which preceded the fact. The rebels were
always respected, and would never have been employed in the
service of the republic, if the captains themselves had not vo
voluntarily assented to the propositions that were made to
them, and in proof of the cordiality of their assent,
they had not even tendered their persons. The government
cannot furnish a more irrefragable evidence of this truth
than there having been employed in the schooners, after they
were armed, part of the same crews which they had before,
and some of the officers."

Neither the compliance of captains, nor any defection
the employed from the interests of the employers, could
make any alteration in point of right; for, if they were entrap
they could not sell for principals and barter away their prop
officers and men might have been in absolute want
seeing no prospect of a passage to their native country, the
might have readily embarked in a new enterprise, to whi
bited to do so, especially if they entertained no great affecti
for the Spaniards.

Finally, if the owners or supercargoes committed o
meditated the commission of any trespass which from th
force of the testimony, their remonstrances, and the declara
tions of the owners, I cannot believe they now seem to rest
by the anomalous proceedings in the court of admi

rality, and the more anomalous conduct of the Squadron. Neither can now recall the past, nor avail itself of its own wrong.

Upon the abuses of maritime law by your enemy and the negligence of other nations to restrain them, I am apprehensive there is too much foundation for complaint. But, until we see the account current between her and the United States, she may claim for the latter the benefit of an exception. I have not sufficient recollection of the conduct of Genl. Miranda at Carthagena, but presume the term is correct. To the cruel or the arbitrary deeds of some characters we may apply the remark of an illustrious sage, whose writings have enlightened mankind: that "the cruelty [or arbitrariness] of a tyrant is not in proportion to his strength, but to the obstacles that oppose him." Perhaps all misanthropists are madmen.

Assuredly it would be a grievous predicament in which other weak states should practise the laws, and the powers the abuses. Yet, it has been too common. What has controlled the pirates, has been set at defiance by the piratical and venal judges have ever been ready to abet the tyrants of the seas. New edicts, new orders of council, have been vindicated by new sophisms from the bench. It has been gravely said, that this or that crisis was "extraordinary," and that maritime laws ought to undergo a change, since wars had become more naval! At this rate, the law would become so various and fluctuating, that it ought to be characte-

artfully omitted on the land of the seas lowe. The great number of false syllogisms a judge can become (in some countries) the greater his reputation for profound reasoning; it being of far more consequence to dependers or parasites than to dispense justice. The oracular mystery cast over law by prejudiced expounders of its various evils that result from it, reminds me of an observation made by the learned Poland in the ladies or fraternities of the Druids. viz. That "their privileges allured great numbers to enter their communities, and to assume the Druidical profession; to be sure in which, did sometimes cost them twenty years study. Nor ought this to seem a wonder, since to arrive at perfection in sophistry requires a long habit, as well as in juggling, in which Cast they were very expert" &c. (Hist. of the Druids, p. 59.)

We have witnessed one salutary alliance in behalf of maritime rights; which was too soon superseded by an unparalleled combination against the rights of man. In twelve years, the United States were left alone, whilst more joined in a crusade against them. Arbitrary acts repealed the laws of nations. So that you remark inevitably and indubitably true. In the present time of turbulence, aggression and tyranny, nothing has been so rudely trampled in the dust as the sacred principles of public law, — except the independent rights of individuals. Old and venerated maxims were profaned by

whilst judicial subtlety was called in to invent new pretexts.
Such has been the perversion of reason and the
prostitution of the moral sense. — Neither Venezuela nor the Northern States can at present oppose
an adequate resistance to the usurpation of which neither
they can regulate their own conduct (practically) by the rules
of equity. When we are conscious of having pulled the mote
from our own eyes respectively, we can with better
conscience, better grace, and more confidence, require
our neighbour to discharge his duty. Yes; I hope
that the whole force of America will one day be exerted
to enfranchise the ocean: I hope that her joint wisdom
and influence will contribute to the stability and improve-
ment of public law. — However, in the pleasure of
communing thus freely on an important theme, I have
insensibly extended my ramble and my letter too far.

Please to accept renewed assurances of the
esteem with which, I am,

Most respectfully,

His Excellency, Gen. Pedro Your obedient servant,
Cisneros &c. &c. &c.

O. Irvine

In B. Irvines of 27 Aug. 1818

Mr. J. to Gen. Bolivar. 19 Aug. 1818.

(Translation)

Augustinova, 20th of August, 1816. 51

Sir, - Notwithstanding that your note of the 9th inst. which I had the honor of receiving yesterday, can only be considered as preliminary or preparatory to your proposed answer, same of the 6th, I deem it very convenient to anticipate some reflections which grow out of the principles admitted in it.

You regard as just my indignation with respect to the aggressions and abuses of your ruthless enemies, but you add, that it is unfounded, if it be kept in mind that neutral powers ought not to abandon their profession in order to become political partisans. Without holding the contrary, I may remark, that I do not perceive the necessity of a neutral's embracing this or that party if he do not wish to abandon his profession, nor do I perceive that an application of this principle can be made to ports blockaded without destroying the rights of belligerent nations. If the advantage of neutrals be the ground and motive for not excluding them from the commerce of powers at war, these are interested in its not being carried on with blockaded ports, not only for the same reason, but also from the injury which results from the prolongation of a campaign or war which might be terminated by laboring or taking a peace reduced to the last extremity. Impartiality which is the ground basis of neutrality disappears in the act by which one party is favored against the known and express will of the other, who justly opposes it, and does not desire, for it to be declined.

The conduct of France and England in the last years of

their celebrated struggle, comes well in point to the support of their opinion. But I do not try to justify it, because I neither believe that our case in question is of that nature, nor do I require any other argument to show your own proposition. The doctrine cited from Vattel, which is no doubt the most liberal for neutrals, not only very strongly maintains the right with which Venezuela has proceeded in the condemnation of the sentence of Figueira de Foz, but likewise occasions the recollection of facts of which I wish there were ignorant that I may not be obliged to deplore them. I speak of the conduct of the United States & the Northern relation to the independents of the South, and of the rigorous laws promulgated for the purpose of prohibiting every species of aid which we might have procured them. Contrary to the mildness of the American laws, we have seen imposed a penalty of ten years imprisonment and ten thousand dollars fine, equivalent to pain of death, against the virtuous citizens who were inclined to protect our cause & the cause of justice and liberty, the cause of America.

If the commerce of neutrals is free to furnish both parties with the means of waging war, why is it prohibited in the North? Why is there annexed a severity of penalty to the prohibition unprecedented in the annals of the Republic of the North? Is it not declaring against the independents to refuse them what the right of neutrality allows them to demand? The intention cannot be intended otherwise than directly against us who were the only people that needed protection. The Spaniards had as much as they wanted, or could supply themselves elsewhere. We alone were obliged to have recourse to the

North, as well by their being our neighbors and brothers, as because we stood in need of means and relations to redress ourselves to other powers. Mr Cobbett has completely demonstrated in his weekly publication (remarking) the partiality of the United States in favor of Spain during our contest. To deny to one party the claims to which she has not, and without which she cannot support her pretensions, when her adversary abounds in them, is the same thing as condemning her to submission, and in our compare with Spain, is, to accuse us to capital punishment, is commanding us to be exterminated. The result of the inhibition to export arms and munitions, more clearly illustrates this partiality. The Spaniards who did not want them obtained them with ease at the instant when those which were coming for Venezuela were detained.

The extreme reluctance (and pain with which I take these acts to recollection forbid me to continue their exposure. The necessity of justifying the government of Venezuela could alone have forced me to send complaints and sense of wrong, which I have hitherto endeavoured to stifle and which I should have buried in silence and oblivion if they were not necessary to dissipate (deserve) the arguments by which you have sought to prove the sinlessness of the condemnations decreed against the schooners Tigre and Felicity.

Nevertheless, I will suppose for a moment that impartiality has been respected. What should one say for

from hence. Either the right of blockade and besieging must be denied us, or it must be asserted that neutral vessels may sail in and out of ports which have been temporarily debarred from commerce by a decree of blockade carried into effect. For the first, it would be necessary to declare us out of the laws of nations, and consequently without obligation to respect it; and it would be no less enormous to support the second, which militates against all the usages and laws of nations.

The observations made Knight to Lord Liverpool, but since I do not intend to answer definitively until I have seen and considered your answer which I have just received, I reserve until then an explanation of these same reasons, and the addition of others which I now omit that I may not fatigue your attention.

With the highest consideration, I have the honor to repeat the sentiments of distinguished estimation with which I am &c.

S Bolivar.

To Mr Irvine, Agent &c. &c. &c.

Mr. Bolivar to Mr Irvine, Aug. 20. 1818.

Angostura 20 de Agosto de 1818.

Señor Agente.

Sin embargo de que la nota de Ud. fecha de 17 del presente, que tuve el honor de recibir ayer, no puede considerarse sino como preliminar o preparatoria á la que espero dirigirme en contestacion á mi respuesta del 6, creo muy conveniente anticipar algunas reflexiones que nacen de los mismos principios admitidos en ella por Ud.

Ud. considera como parte de mi indignacion en sentir a los pretendidos é ilegítimos de nuestros feroces enemigos, pues añade Ud. que es dispendiada en la intencion de que Comisionados de Colores no deben negociar en pretension por nuestra parte en

Señor Ministro Agente de los Estados Unidos de la America del Norte cerca de Venezuela

pública. Si se tiene lo contrario, puede decirse que no es
— cierto la necesidad de que un hombre abrace este o aquel
estado si no quiere ejercitar su profesión, ni menos que
pueda hacerse responsable de este principio a los Poderes
Eclesiásticos sin destruir la Paz de la Naciones Religiosas
y la unidad de la Iglesia Nuestra es el origen y fundamento
— mento para no excluirlo del comercio de la Vecindad en
general, otras veces será el que se haga en nuestro Clero
— diocesano no solamente de mismo país, sino también el
mal que resulta de la prolongación de una causa o que
— ya que podía terminarse sindicado ó tomando la plaza de
— dueña o medio. La imparcialidad que es la gran base de
Verdad desaparece en el acto en que se accede á una
parte sobre la voluntad bien expresada de la otra, que
opone igualmente y que además no exige en ella seguridad
La conducta de la Francia y la Inglaterra en
— último año de su célebre lucha viene muy a propósito
apoyo de esta opinión. Creo yo no necesito justificarla, por que

creo que merece caso en qüestion la de aquella naturaleza, ni necesito otros argumentos que los mismos proporciona Vd. La doctrina citada de Vattel que es sin duda, la mas liberal para los neutros no solamente sostiene perentoriamente el derecho en que Venezuela ha procedido en la condena de las goletas Sirge y Libertad sino que da lugar a que recuerde hechos que desearia ignorar para no verme forzado a lamentarlos. Hablo de la conducta de los Estados Unidos del Norte con respecto a los independientes del Sur, y de las rigorosas leyes promulgadas con el objeto de impedir toda especie de auxilios que pudieramos procurarnos allí. Contra la letra de las leyes Americanas se ha visto imponer una pena de diez años de prision y diez mil pesos de multa, que equivale á la de muerte, contra los virtuosos Ciudadanos que quisieron proteger nuestra causa, la causa de la justicia y de la Libertad, la causa de la America.

Si es libre el comercio de los neutros para suministrar á ambas partes los medios de hacer la guerra,

¿por que se prohibe en el Norte? ¿por que a la prohibicion se
añade la severidad de la pena, sin exemplo en los anales de la
Republica del Norte? ¿No es declararse contra los indepen-
dientes pagarles lo que el derecho de neutralidad les permi-
te? ¿La prohibicion no debe entenderse sino directamen
contra nosotros, que eramos los unicos que necesitabamos
pertrechos. Los Españoles tenian quanto necesitaban o
podian proveerse en otras partes. Nosotros solo estabamos
obligados a ocurrir al Norte asi por ser nuestros vecinos
y hermanos, como por que nos faltaban los medios y ne-
cesidades para dirigirnos a otras potencias. M.r Cobbett ha
demostrado plenamente en su Semanario la parcialidad de
los Estados Unidos a favor de la España en nuestra con-
tienda. Vegan a una parte los elementos que no tiene
y sin los quales no puede sostener su pretension quando
la contraria abunda de ellos es lo mismo que condenar-
la a que le someta, y en nuestra guerra con España es
destinarnos al suplicio, mandarnos exterminar. El ne-

— sitiador de la prohibicion de estraer armas y municiones
califica mas claramente esa parcialidad. Los Españoles que
no las necesitaban las han adquirido facilmente, al paso
que las que venian para Venezuela se han detenido.

La estrema vergüenza y el dolor con que
recuerdo esos actos, me impiden continuar esponiendolos. Solo
la necesidad de justificar al Gobierno de Venezuela podria
haberme forzado á manifestar unas quexas que he procu-
— rado sofocar hasta ahora y que habia sepultado en el
silencio y en el olvido si no fueren necesarias ya para des-
— truir los argumentos con que ha querido Vs. probar
la ilegitimidad de las condenas dadas contra las goletas
Fige y Libertad.

Quiero, sin embargo, suponer gratuitamente por
un momento que la imparcialidad ha sido guardada.
— ¿Que deduciamos de aqui? ó el precio negamos el de-
— recho de bloqueadores y sitiadores, ó es preciso decir que
pueden los buques neutros entrar y salir de los puertos

Recd on Mr Jaines
14 June 1819.

(Translation)

Augustus House, August 24th 1815.

Sir I hoped to have satisfied you in my note of the 6th inst. of the facts which form the groundwork of the Regency by which the admiralty-court of Venezuela condemned the schooners Tiger and Liberty, and was in consequence preparing to enter on conferences which, far from having the character of complaint or grievance, might have been pleasing to both governments; and I have seen with concern the answer you honored me with under date of the 19th.

You persist in your reclamation by attempting to prove the illegality of the act: controvert the facts advanced by me, which appear on the judicial records, and pretend that there remonstrances and protests forwarded by those interested to the Secretary of State in the United States should outweigh those judiciary documents. If the masters and freighters of the schooners Tiger and Liberty have ranked as an unjust outrage the capture of their vessels, which were duly adjudicated to a rigorous discussion, I cannot find an epithet by which to characterise their calling in question the fidelity of our judicial acts and proceedings. I could not have dared to make use of depositions which were not read, and when I had reference to the process or judicial records, it was with the determination of forbidding them to you, provided you wished them for your clearer conviction. The originals exist in the office of the Secretary of State and shall be presented to you when you desire to see them.

I have already acknowledged unhesitatingly, that on attentively examining the processes against the schooners Tiger and

+ Received on the 29th! [illegible]

Liberty of formalities would be found that might be deemed essential, from the inevitable effect of circumstances. I might have pleaded in defence of these informalities, the right to which every nation possesses to decide on the mode in which facts shall be ascertained, as a foundation of the application of the law. Those being evident, it matters little what may be this or that one. The law remains invariably and unalterably the same. I might have likewise cited the 12th art. of our Ordinance of Prize, or Cruize, by which it is provided that judgments in prize causes may if one summarily within the term of twenty-four hours, or sooner, if possible; but I preferred waving this right in order to give a signal proof of regard for the cause of justice. To pretend that a people now trying to organize themselves, and who for the attainment of their object suffer all manner of calamities from their enemies, should have the same activity in things as the freest and most tranquil nation under the sun, is to exact impossibilities. It is enough to contemplate impartially for a single moment the situation of Venezuela to approve of her conduct, to admire her zeal for order, her love and respect for justice and propriety.

Foreseeing with you, that whilst we differ as to circumstances, and do not coincide on the principle of reference with respect to the facts, there are slender hopes of a satisfactory adjustment, I agreed in my letter of the 6th that the parties might have a new trial. It is the only privilege which the most liberal generosity can concede, and I regret that you have not fixed your attention upon it as the best means of accommodation. In my present answer, then, I propose laying facts aside, which I suppose conformable to the declarations taken in our Admiralty, and confine myself solely to the principles of right. Method requires me to begin with

those you attribute to neutral nations, and not to expand those that belong to belligerents, limiting both to the case in hand.

Placed at the head of a people who, in proclaiming the most perfect principles of liberty, have not spared the sacrifices of every kind to maintain them, I could wish to admit none except the most liberal maxims into this discussion, least these being contradicted by the general doctrine and practice of nations, I should be obliged to yield to their powerful empire.

The principal argument you have adduced as convincing, is the right of trade which cannot be denied to neutrals, and which may consist of any species of merchandize, even to the elements of war. I will not venture directly to impugn this opinion; I shall limit myself to pointing out the bounds and just restrictions to which I think it liable, for the purpose of reconciling both rights at once.

It is indubitable that by observing a strict impartiality, neutrals cannot be excluded from commerce with nations at war. Publicists however have labored hard to prove that every cargo of arms and munitions that may be met on its destination to any port of an enemy is subject to condemnation, and they have supported their opinions with citations from the laws of nations, as you will hereafter see. Indeed it is much to be regretted, that this limitation has prevailed over the universality of that principle, which is in my opinion very compatible with the interests of nations, because it is the only medium of supplying munitions of war to those who need them. But even admitted in all this scope, it can never be applied to ports blockaded and besieged, since they would cease to be so, and they receive succours from without, and in vain would a port be blockaded or besieged, if neutrals were allowed with impunity to afford it the supplies it might want. Such a principle would destroy the rights of war.

Perfect and rigid impartiality is another consideration which ought to be carefully kept in mind. There is no neutrality without it, and with its disappearance ceases all rights derived from it. In my note of the 20th I have made some observations, though with the utmost repugnance, on the conduct of the government of the United States with respect to us, both with the design of proving its partiality, that of demonstrating the falsity of the principle of absolute liberty of commerce between neutrals and belligerents. The facts cited in my official letter of the 6th, the words of the act of congress of 3d March of the last year, with the results and effects of this prohibition, all of which have borne against the independents, manifest, either that the government of the United States has held with the Spaniards opinions which have not operated in our favor, or else it has not believed us entitled, like neutrals, to traffick in arms and munitions, when it interdicted their exportation. I dwell particularly upon this except as a supplement to many other reasons which justify the condemnation of the schooners Tiger and Liberty. And I am thoroughly persuaded, that however strict its neutrality might have been, the vessels in question had violated it, and were condemnable.

Another of your positions is, that neutral vessels have a right to come and examine for themselves the reality of a blockade, since they must be warned by the blockading squadron. Allow me to deny this principle, and to add besides, that the vessels of which we treat are out of this case, though it should be admitted. In disputing from it I have the authority of decisions of the Admiralty-courts of England, who have condemned vessels taken on their way to enter a blockaded port, though seized on the high seas, — and the practice of our enemies the Spaniards who took and condemned as many as they could capture, even after the blockades have been surrendered, or the bare suspicion that they were

coming to supply it. The schooner Tigre entered this place after its blockade and siege, after we had upwards of seven hundred vessels and if she had the fortune to frustrate our military posts, perhaps under cover of the enemy's flotilla, this argued proves that the blockade and siege were raised. Throughout the month of April vessels were captured, bringing provisions and emigration from this place for the colonies and Louisiana, and in the beginning of May a brig from Europe was also captured. Nobody can doubt that a vessel is taken in delicto that sails from a blockaded port, whether she has entered in defiance of siege and blockade. The Tigre has not completed her voyage, and was yet in the act of transgression. My note of the 6th demonstrates it clearly. The schooner Liberty has been treated with the respect which you owed to it: she was no officer, and nevertheless pursued her voyage in contempt of our warning.

If interested men plead ignorance of blockade, I preserve and will present to you the Norfolk newspapers of the 6th of March. I can moreover exhibit the testimony of the admirals and governors of the Antilles. If the United States have no direct intercourse with us, if they do not acknowledge us, nor treat with us, how shall we make them acquainted with our decrees? The indirect means that remain to us, have been employed, in testimony of which I can cite the gazette mentioned.

I have already said, and now repeat, that the vessels not creditable of the captures properly belonging to any of the powers in relation of blockade. Captain Tucker has confessed that they were in part the produce of the contraband of war, and partly of a previous trade, but without proving this, as I might have done by producing the invoices, the invoices, entries and account books, as usual in

such cases) your proposed argument is urged in vain when it comes the case.

Therein I have recapitulated the rights you attribute to Neutrals. Let us now proceed to expound those of belligerents. Supposing that you do not deny hereunto the right of declaring in a state of blockade this or that port in hostile possession by her enemies, and consequently of the legality of the decree promulgated in January 1807, declaring those of the Orinoco in this predicament, I will advance what the Spanish publicists have decided to be public law, and what they have asserted. Retaliation is the surest and most legitimate right that a people can exercise in war. The British orders in council in consequence of the decrees of Milan, and Berlin are a very decisive and conclusive instance.

Almeda in the 15th ch 2nd book of the Public Rights of War (recapitulating the treaties and practice of Europe) says: "that although neutral nations have a right to claim free trade "in articles not contraband, (1) there are certain cases in "which they are by no means allowed this privilege, for "example, in the siege of any place, especially when it is "pressed by hunger, in which situation no nation can permit "with the besieged with provisions under pain of forfeiting "them and of being severely punished too, as transgressors; "for otherwise war would be useless, while there would be any "one to impede its progress." This very ancient and universal doctrine is confirmed by the 39th article of the Spanish ordinances of Prize & Captures, conceived in these terms: "All "prohibited goods shall ever be good prize, and contraband that "may be transported for enemies use in whatever ships they may be met:"

(1) By contraband are understood all kinds of arms, munitions and military equipments, for waging war by sea or land.
(2) The same objects are understood and expressed.

and presently on time: "shall be deemed as prohibited goods
"and of contraband all provisions of every sort that may be in
"a state of destination for an enemy's place blockaded by sea
"or land; but there being no blockade, they may freely convey
"them to their destination, provided the enemies of my crown
"observe on their part the same conduct."

This is the rule observed in the trial of prize causes by the Spanish tribunals: the Spanish always followed it, and if it has undergone any alteration it is rather by extending the rigor against neutrals. Such has been her conduct in the blockade of Carthagena, of which I have spoken before and because.

Venezuela which to this day has been occupied in nothing but fighting, has been herself obliged to continue the laws and practices which had governed her during the galling yoke of Spain, so far as they were not at variance with her system of liberty and independence. If this law is unjust, if it be adverse to the rights of neutrality, the Spanish nation which first decreed and enforced it from the last century, ought to be answerable for it and not Venezuela who neither decreed herself of the monopolies that laceraté and devour her, came not established in provincial institutions which must be the consequent to not the antecedent to their recognition and enrolment on the list of free and independent nations.

The depredations of the Cano which has been advanced against the schooners Tiger and Liberty, exonerate me from entering into fresh details on the non-effectiveness or insufficiency of the maritime blockade, until the month of June, any one have said, whether one established it was raised or relaxed, and whether our forces were or were not adequate to carry the blockade into effect. The law condemns every vessel which meddles in introducing supplies of arms, provisions, or military stores to a place blockaded by sea or by land.

It appears foreign from the purpose to prove that our military posts were so stationed that they exposed to eminent danger any vessel attempting to enter or sail from this port. Before the entrance of the Tigre, court, in the month of March, various vessels were captured in front of St Thekla and we sustained there some rencontres with the enemy's outposts, until we finally took that of Sacupana. If such forces as intercept the commerce and depart and capture enemy's vessels of war, are not sufficient to blockade a port or a river, and if the nations at war are not those who ought to decide on the description and number of forces which they employ in their military operations, the right of blockade will be as vague and indefinite as the interests of examination.

If admiral Brion did not come in to the river or the mouth of Orinoco it was because his forces were not blockading necessary within it, except to keep the wind to enter the place more closely; and I do not believe that in order to blockade a river port, it is necessary to ascend it. The river was sufficiently blockaded by our light forces, and by our armyan Carl, which secured them, whilst our larger vessels were cruizing at sea.

From these my reply to your note, were I to add further reasons and answer each article of your note. I persuade myself that I have adduced the principal ones. However I cannot conclude this letter without requesting you to permit me to remark to you, how strange must the conduct of the captains and supercargoes of the Tigre and Liberty appear, by the calumnies in the admiralty court of Venezuela. The sentence against their vessels was pronounced by an inferior court of admiralty. If they thought themselves injured because they had failed to obtain justice in former otherwise, we

did they not protest against the sentence? why did they not appeal to the supreme authority? But to labour the point is the declaration in which Capt Hillcap forms that in his sentence other answers are substituted for those he gave. Surely Captain Hill has imagined that the simple assertion for oath of an interested person can overthrow the testimony of a judge who verified his deposition by two witnesses, whose being strangers he cannot suppose but they were his countrymen. If answers were falsified, wherefore did he sign the declaration? Captain Hill understands and speaks Spanish, and if he distrusted the judge, he ought to have read the paper he signed to avoid compromitting himself.

Relieving it without any reflection to the right which we discuss the proceeding of which you complain against the admiral for having exposed the schooner Liberty to sale before condemnation, I omit the considerations which I could offer to excuse, if not to justify it. They are particular facts which do not affect the matter but the mode.

I flatter myself with the hope that having fully satisfied you, the attempted reclamation will remain settled in a satisfactory manner, - a reclamation which contrary to all my wishes I have seen protracted until it became vexatious to both parties, diverting us from the principal object with tedious discussions of law or right, and digressions which without having an intimate connexion with the facts cannot tend to the decision. The question should be reduced to this narrow circle: - if the ports of the Grenades were blockaded or besieged in the month of April, when the Tiger entered the Lares

if the blockade and siege continued [illegible] in the month of July, so that they were capt
tured, the sailing out [illegible] the Liberty in. The siege and
blockade or either of them, being proved, at those dates,
the infraction by the two vessels met on the theatre of
our contest must be confessed, and the law which con
demns them will be easily applied.

Accept the renewals of esteem and high consider
tion, &c.

Bolivar.

To Mr Irving Agent of the U.S.
of North America to the Govt. of
Venezuela. - - - - - -

In B. Irvine's of 27 Aug. 1818.

Gen. Bolivar to Mr. I. 24 Aug. 1818.

Angostura 24 de Agosto de 1818=8.º

Señor Agente.

Yo esperaba haber satisfecho á V.S.ª en mi nota de 6 del presente sobre los hechos que sirven de fundamento al derecho con que el Almirantazgo de Venezuela procedió á dar las condenas contra las goletas Hope y Libertad, y en consequencia me preparaba á entrar en conferencias, que, lejos de tener el carácter de quexas, fuesen satisfactorias para ambos Gobiernos, y he visto con sentimiento la contestacion de V.S.ª que me ha hecho el honor de dirigirme con fecha de 13 del corriente.

Insiste V.S.ª en su reclamo invocando pruebas de ilegitimidad de aquel acto: niega los hechos alegados por mí, que constan de los procesos seguidos, y pretende que prescindezca sobre

Al Señor D. Jaime Agente de los Estados Unidos la America del Norte cerca del Gobierno de Venezuela

estos documentos judiciales las representaciones y protestas que los inte-
- resados han dirigido al Secretario de Estado de los Estados Unidos.
Si los dueños y fletadores de las goletas Jigue y Libertad han gra-
- duado de injusto ultraje el apresamiento de sus buques, que esta-
- ban sujetos, por lo menos, á una ligera discusion, no hallo un
epiteto con que distinguir la novedad ó duda de la fé de nues-
- tros actos y procedimientos jurídicos. Yo no me habia acercado á
hacer uso de deposiciones que no constasen, y quando me refer
á los procesos fué en la resolucion de manifestarlos á Vsa, siem-
- pre que los exigiese para convencerse mas. Ellos reposan ori-
- ginales en la Secretaria de Estado, y serán presentados á Vsa
quando Vsa desee verlos.

Antes he confesado sin dificultad: que, examinados
nuevamente las causas seguidas contra las goletas Jigue y
Libertad, se encontrarian informalidades, que podrian calificar
de esenciales por el efecto inevitable de las circunstancias. Yo
haber alegado, en apoyo de estas informalidades, el derecho que
tiene cada pueblo para decidir sobre el modo, con que deben

averiguarse los hechos, en que debe fundarse la aplicación de la ley. Apareciendo aquellos, poco importa que sea por esta ó aquella vía: el derecho es siempre el mismo y en nada se altera. Podría también haber citado el artículo 120 de nuestras Ordenanzas de Cobre, en que se previene: que los juicios de presas se sigan sumariamente en el término de veintiquatro horas, ó á-tes si es posible; pero he preferido no hacer uso de ese derecho por dar una prueba relevante de amor á la causa de la justicia. Pretender que un pueblo, que trata ahora de constituirse y que para lograrlo sufre todo género de males de parte de su enemigo, tenga las mismas instituciones que el Pueblo mas libre y tranquilo del mundo, es exigir imposibles. Basta contemplar por un momento, con imparcialidad, la situacion de Venezuela para justificar su conducta, y admirar su zelo por el Orden, y su amor y respeto por la justicia y la propiedad.

Previendo con V.S.ª que mientras no nos penetremos de las circunstancias, y mientras no convengamos en el principio á que debamos referirnos con respecto á los hechos

hay pocas esperanzas de una composicion satisfactoria, convine en
mi oficio del 6 en que podrian las partes exigir que se
verificase el proceso. Es el único derecho, que la mas ilimitada
generosidad puede conceder, y siento que no haya V.S. detenido
en esto su atencion como el medio mas propio para una transa-
cion. En mi precedente respuesta me prolongo, pues, presindien-
do de los hechos, que supongo conformes á las declaraciones to-
madas en nuestro Ayuntamiento, y solo me contraheré á
los principios del derecho. El método exige que empiece por lo
que V.S. atribuye á las naciones neutras, y que exponga al fin
los que corresponden á las beligerantes, limitandolos ambos á nues-
tro caso en question.

Constituido á la cabeza de un pueblo que, proclamando los principios mas perfectos de libertad, no ha ahorrado los sacrificios de todo género por sostenerlos, deseaba no admitir sino las máximas mas liberales en esta discusion; pero contrariadas estas por la doctrina y práctica general de las naciones y muy particularmente por las de nuestra enemiga, me veo

obligado á ceder á su poderoso imperio.

El principal argumento, que ha traido V.S. como convincente, es el derecho de comercio que no puede negarse á los neutros, y que puede consistir en qualquiera especie de mercaderia y aun en elementos de guerra. No me atrevere á impugnar directamente esta opinion: me limitare á señalarle los términos y justas excepciones á que la creo sugeta, para conciliar á la vez ambos derechos.

Es indudable que observando una estricta imparcialidad no pueden los neutros ser excluidos del comercio de las naciones en guerra. Los publicistas, sin embargo, se han esforzado en probar que está expuesto á ser condenado, como contrabando, todo cargamento de armas y municiones que se encuentre en camino para qualquier puerto enemigo, y han sostenido sus opiniones con leyes estrictas del derecho de gentes, como vera V.S. despues. A la verdad es bien sensible que haya prevalecido esta limitacion sobre la generalidad de aquella máxima, que es á mi pare-

-cer muy conforme al intereses de las Naciones, por que es
el único medio de proveerse de los elementos militares de
que carecen de ellos. Pero aun admitida esta estipu-
-lacion, no debe nunca aplicarse á los puertos bloqueados y
á los sitiados, por que desarmar de esmalo siempre que
pudieren recibir socorros de fuera, y en vano se bloquearia
ó sitiaria un puerto o plaza, si estuvieren los sitiados auto-
-rizados para proveerse impunemente de los auxilios que necesita
Semejante principio destruiria los derechos de la guerra.

La perfecta y estricta imparcialidad es otra
consideracion que debe tenerse muy presente. Sin ella
no hay neutralidad, y desvanecida esta cesa todo derecho
que se derive de ella. En mi nota del 20 he hecho al-
-gunas observaciones, aunque con suma repugnancia, sobre la
conducta del Gobierno de los Estados Unidos con respecto á neu-
-tros, menos con el objeto de probar su parcialidad, que con el de
demostrar la falsedad del principio de la absoluta libertad de co-
-mercio entre neutros y beligerantes. Los hechos citados en mi

oficio del 6, las palabras de la acta del Congreso de 3 de Marzo del año próximo pasado, y los resultados ó efectos de aquella prohibicion, que han sido todos contra los Independientes, manifiestan, ó que el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos ha guardado con los Españoles consideraciones que no han obrado en nuestro favor, ó que no nos ha creido con derecho para comerciar, como neutros, armas y municiones, quando ha prohibido su extraccion. No hago mérito de esto sino como en adicion á las otras muchas razones que justifican las condenas de las colonias Jigre y Libertad. Y estoy intimamente convencido de que, por mas estricta que hubiese sido su neutralidad, los buques en güestion la habian violado y eran condenables.

Otro principio de V.S. es, que los buques neutros tienen derecho para venir á exáminar por sí la realidad del bloqueo, puesto que deben ser avisados por la Esquadra bloqueadora. Permitame V.S. que yo niegue este principio, y que añada, ademas, que los buques en güestion estan fuera

de este caso, aun quando se admitiese. Para negarlo tengo
la autoridad de las decisiones de los Almirantazgos de Ingla-
terra, que han condenado los buques tomados en camino
para puerto bloqueado aunque su aprehension sea en al
mar, y la practica de nuestros enemigos los Españoles que
han aprehendido y condenado quantos han podido apresar
aun despues de rendida la plaza bloqueada, por la sola sos-
pecha de que venian á auxiliarla. La goleta Sigre entro en
esta plaza despues de establecidos el sitio y el bloqueo, despues
que habiamos aprehendido varios buques, y si tuvo la fortu-
de burlar de nuestros apostaderos, tal vez al favor de la
Esquadrilla enemiga, no prueba esto que el bloqueo y sitio
hubiesen levantado. En todo el mes de Abril se aprehendie-
buques que conducian víveres y emigracion de esta plaza pa
la Colonia y para el Baxo-Amazonas, y á principios de Ma
un bergantin que venia de Europa fué tambien apresado. No
se puede dudar que es tomado in delicto un buque, que
sale de un puerto bloqueado, á donde se ha enviado como
sitio y bloqueo. La Sigre no habia concluido su viage

estaba todavia en el acto del delito. Mi nota del 6n lo de-
muestra evidentemente. La goleta Libertad ha sido tratada
con el respeto que Usa quiere exigir: ella fué arriada, y
sin embargo prosiguió su viage en desprecio de nuestro aviso.

Si los interesados alegan ignorancia del bloqueo, yo
conseno y presentare á Usa la gazeta de Norfolk de 6n del
Marzo. Ademas puedo presentar el testimonio de los Almi-
rantes y Gobernadores de las Antillas. Si los Estados Unidos
no tienen una comunicacion directa con nosotros, si no nos
reconocen, ni nos tratan, ¿de que modo les haremos entre-
der nuestros derechos? Los medios indirectos, que son los que
nos quedan, se han empleado, y como prueba puedo citar
la gazeta indicada.

Antes he dicho, y ahora repito, que no es
creible la excepcion de que las propiedades apresadas per-
tenecian á otro, que al dueño de las que se introdujeron
en contravencion del bloqueo. El Capitan Jueller ha con-
fesado que eran en parte el produco de la negociacion de

armas, y en parte el de negociacion anterior; pero sin es-
- tificar esto, como podia haberlo hecho presentando las Pa-
- tentes, registros, y libros de comercio, (como en tales casos
acostumbra) en vano se intenta el argumento propuesto
por V.ª, aun quando fuese del caso.

Creo haber resumido los derechos que V.ª
atribuye á los neutros. Pasemos ya á exponer los de los
beligerantes. Suponiendo que V.ª no niega á Venezuela
el derecho de declarar en estado de bloqueo este ó aquel
Puerto ó puertos, poseidos por sus enemigos, y que consi-
- guientemente concede la legitimidad del decreto espedido
en Enero de 1817, declarando en este estado los del Ori-
- noco, expondré lo que los publicistas Estrangeros han juz-
- gado como de derecho público, y lo que han executado.
La retaliacion es el derecho mas seguro y legítimo de que
puede servirse un pueblo en guerra. Las órdenes en Consejo
de Inglaterra á consequencia de los decretos de Milan y
Berlin son un exemplo bien terminante y decisivo.

Vicuña en el capítulo 15º tomo 2º del derecho público de la guerra, (recapitulando los tratados y prácticas de la Europa) dice: „que aunque las naciones neutrales tienen derecho „para exigir el comercio libre en todas que no son de contra- „bando, (1) hay ciertos casos en que de ningun modo les es „permitida esta facultad; por exemplo, en el sitio de alguna plaza „especialmente quando está cercada por hambre, en cuyo caso „ninguna nacion puede socorrer con víveres á los sitiados bajo la „pena de perderlos, y aun de ser castigados gravemente los infrac- „tores; pues de otro modo sería inútil la guerra, habiendo quien „pudiese estorvar los progresos de ella." Esta doctrina universal y antiquísima está confirmada por el artículo 33º de las orde- nanzas de Cádiz Españolas, concebido en estos términos: „serán „siempre buena presa todos los generos prohibidos y de contrabando „que se transportasen para el servicio de enemigos en qualesquiera embar- „caciones que se encontrasen;" (2) y luego continua. „También se consi- „derarán como generos prohibidos y de contrabando todos los comestibles

(1) Se entienden por de contrabando toda especie de armas, municiones y equipamen- tos militares para hacer la guerra en mar ó tierra.
(2) Se entienden y expresan los mismos objetos.

„de qualquier especie que sean en caso de ir destinados para plaza
„enemiga bloqueada por mar ó tierra; pero no estando lo se devorán
„conducir libremente á su destino, siempre que los enemigos de mi
„corona observen por su parte la misma conducta."

Esta es la regla que se observa en los juicios de pre-
sas por los Tribunales Españoles: es la que han seguido en todos
tiempos, y si ha sufrido algunas alteraciones es mas bien ex-
tendiendo su derecho contra los neutros. Tal ha sido su conducta
en el bloqueo de Cartagena de que he hablado ya á V.S. en
otra ocasion.

Venezuela, que hasta ahora no ha podido ser
presa sino de contrabando, se ha visto forzada á contravenir las
leyes y práctica que la habian regido durante el dueño y
de la España, en quanto no han sido contrarias á su situ-
acion de Libertad é Independencia. Si esta ley es injusta, si
es contra los derechos de la Neutralidad la nacion Española
que la ha promulgado y cumplido desde el siglo pasado, de
be ser la responsable y no Venezuela, que sin deshacerse de
los monstruos que la despedazan y devoran, no puede aplicar

á mejorar las instrucciones que deben ser la consequencia y no las premisas de su reconocimiento é inscripcion en el registro de las naciones libres e independientes.

El término expreso de la ley, que le ha aplicado contra las goletas Figre y Libertad, me eximen de entrar en nuevos detalles sobre si fue ó no efectivo el bloqueo marítimo hasta el mes de Junio, como V.S. ha dicho, si una vez establecido se levantó ó relaxó, y si nuestras fuerzas eran ó no suficientes para llevarlo á efecto. La ley condena á todo buque que trata de introducir socorro de armas ó municiones de boca ó guerra á una plaza bloqueada por mar ó por tierra.

Me parece fuera de propósito probar que nuestros apostaderos estaban situados de modo que expusian á inminente peligro qualquier buque, que intentase entrar ó salir de este puerto. Antes de entrar la Figre, es decir, en el mes de Marzo, fueron apresados en frente de San Miguel varios buques y sostuvimos tambien allí algunos choques contra los apostaderos militares del enemigo, hasta que

al fin apresamos el de Tavarde. Si unas fuerzas que
interceptan el comercio, y que batan y apresan los
buques de guerra enemigos, no son suficientes para
bloquear un puerto de rio, y si las naciones en guerra
no son las que deben decidir de la especie y numero de las
fuerzas que emplean en sus operaciones militares, el derecho de
bloqueadores sera tan vano e indefinido como lo son los intereses
de cada Pueblo.

Si el Almirante Brion no entro en el rio hasta el
mes de Junio, fué, por que sus fuerzas no se encontraban necesarias
dentro de él, sino quando creyeron espedhar mas las plazas
y yo no veo que para bloquear un puerto de rio sea necesario
permanecer. El rio estaba bastantemente bloqueado con nues-
tras fuerzas sutiles y con nuestro exercito de tierra, que las sos-
tenia, mientras que nuestros buques mayores hacian sus cru-
zeros en el mar.

Seria prolongar demasiado mi respuesta añadiendo
mas razones y contestando á cada articulo de la nota de Vra.
Me persuado que he satisfecho los principales. No puedo, sin

embargo, terminar esta carta sin suplicar á V.S. me permita
observarle, cuan estraña debe parecer la conducta de los Capita-
nes [illegible] de las goletas Jigie y Libertad por lo injus-
ticia [illegible] Almirantazgo de Venezuela. La sentencia
contra [illegible] fue pronunciada por el Tribunal de Almi-
rantazgo, que es un Tribunal inferior. Si ellos se creyeron
ofendidos, por que se les hubiese faltado á la justicia en la
forma, ó de otro modo, ¿por que no protestaron la sentencia?
¿por que no apelaron a la autoridad Suprema? Pero lo que
colma el agravio es la declaracion, en que el Capitan Hill
afirma haberse substituido en su juicio otras respuestas á las
que él dió. Sin duda que el Capitan Hill se ha imaginado
que el simple dicho, ó el dicho jurado de un interesado, puede
destruir el testimonio de un juez, que autorisó su deposicion
con dos testigos, que no tienen siquiera la nota de extran-
geros para él, puesto que eran sus paysanos. Si se le substi-
tuyeron las respuestas, ¿para qué firmó la declaracion? El
Capitan Hill habla y entiende el Español, y si desconfiaba

de su juez debió leer él mismo lo que firmaba, para no
comprometerse.

Creyendo sin ninguna relación con el de-
recho, que discutimos, el hecho de que U.ª se queja
cerca el Ministerio, por haber expuesto a cerca la gole-
Libertad antes de ser condenada, omito las consideraciones
que pudo presentar para ese fin, ya que no sea para
justificarlo. Son hechos particulares que no pasan al
asunto principal, sino en el modo.

Me lisongeo con la esperanza de que
satisfecho U.ª plenamente, quedará transado de un mo
satisfactorio el reclamo interesado, que cerca todos mis
seos, he visto prolongar hasta llegar á hacerse molesto
para mí y otra parte, divagando del objeto prin-
pal en discusiones prolixas sobre el derecho, y con epí-
dio, que sin tener una estrecha conexion con los hecho
no pueden servir de base á la resolucion. La guerra

debe quedar reducida á este pequeño círculo: si los puertos del Orinoco estaban bloqueados ó sitiados en el mes de Abril quando entró á esta plaza la Fragata: si continuaban sin interrupcion el bloqueo y sitio en el mes de Julio quando fueron apresadas esta saletina y la Libertad entrando. Demostrado el sitio y bloqueo, ó uno de los dos, en aquellas fechas, será preciso confesar la infraccion de los dos buques encontrados en el reatro de nuestra lucha, y la ley que los condena se aplicará facilmente.

Acepte V.S.ª las renovaciones del aprecio y alta consideracion con que soy

de V.S.ª

el mas atento adicto servidor

[signature]

Read in Mtg Provincial of
4. June 1849.

Augustina, August 25th, 1818.

Sir, I was yesterday favored with yours of the 20th inst. in which your excellency has thought proper to anticipate some reflections, originating (as you say) from principles avowed in mine of the 19th. The observations in that letter were in reply to yours of a previous date. — It is to be regretted perhaps, that in your last communication you should have so greatly, and (in my estimation) so unnecessarily, the field of discussion. The question in agitation may lie within the circumference of a ring; - it has not much more magnitude than a point: yet, your excellency presses new and extraneous matter into discussion, incomparably more extensive and important than the original. Let us, then, dismiss the former for a moment, and take up the latter. We shall thus avoid interlacing together things essentially different and heterogeneous, and confining in a digression what has no connection with the subject of our correspondence. — Moreover, it is due to the conciliatory, frank, and respectful character of our intercourse to give all proper attention to that which you have so studiously brought upon the tapis.

Nations have no right to constitute themselves judges of the merits of a contest between foreign powers. Each neutral is merely obliged to protect its own rights from violation by, and deal impartially towards the belligerents. To exceed this prudential position and the fulfilment of its duty were to become a party in the quarrel. The friend of humanity, civilization and justice, must feel emotions of indignation and anger at the perpetration of barbarities and massacres at this era, and on this continent, which surpass the famed enormities of the

Northern barbarians, when they overran the provinces of the Roman empire. He may pant for an opportunity of avenging the wrongs of the innocent, of upholding the humble and chastising the proud, - as every generous man had rather punish crimes than leave them. This noble sympathy is honorable to human nature. Individuals may indulge it. Pretty much is the present predicament of the world, that the nation which should turn knight-errant on every signal of violence and depredation, would speedily fall the victim of her honest temerity. - Be partitioned and enslaved by a combination of fellow-tyrants, and have her misfortunes aggravated by the anguish of the reflection, that in a misjudged attempt to disarm tyranny and liberate the oppressed, she had only lost her own liberty without promoting that of her friends - had confirmed despotism instead of overthrowing it. Modern annals afford this lesson, - if I can read them! But the prudence and propriety of the thing apart, public right affirms, as already observed, that one nation has no right of interference between contending powers, because these are independent too, have not referred their dispute to the umpirage of a third power, and are not bound to submit to a voluntary decision, problematical as ineffectual.

There is no statute in the United States for the invidious purpose you mention. There exists a law to maintain the neutrality of the United States between the two belligerents and to prevent the country from being embroiled with foreign nations by unlawful armaments equipped in her ports. It was necessary to restrain a class of adventurers, who had carried from our ports the materials of war, and hoisted a foreign flag as soon as they found themselves out of our reach and

jurisdiction, - neither waiting for legal commission, nor naturalization in the country whose battles they pretended to fight, and whose cause they affected to espouse; - while spoil was the rank object of their pursuit. Men of loftier minds as patriated themselves at once, and followed the fortunes of their adopted country with fidelity and honor. Such persons are deserving of our esteem.

I do not justify the law of 3d March 1817, because the ambassadors of England, France and Brazil (& Portugal) presented remonstrances to our government in the name of theirs, against the licentious act just mentioned. - no - for a nation is the sole judge of the means necessary to fulfil her duty, & the rectitude of the measure is to be determined by its ends and motives. The ends were the suppression of unlawful armies or sea robbers, and the maintenance of neutrality. If any incidental inequality flowed from the law, it is not attributable to design, - it is not chargeable to partiality, - it is ascribable entirely to the impossibility of excluding particular consequences from general provisions, or of clearly foreseeing the practical operation of a law in its minutest bearings. I suspect however, that the inequality is rather in imagination than in verity, - in the difference between Spain and her enemy in regard of funds, organized systems of war, finance and the like, rather than in any other candle. Mr Cobbett, whose talents and acuteness in political investigation, none admires more than myself, has rather shown what was possible under the statute than what was practicable. I was assured, that no unequal advantages had occurred, as he supposed;

Herein every old govt has an advantage over revolutionary ones.

and, as for the verbal error which passed by mere inadvertence on the last night of a session of congress (always thronged with business) it was corrected at the next meeting of the body. ——— To think, or speak, or even dream, of "the partiality of the United States in favor of Chili" appears to me an egregious enormity, a trespass against probability and reason! No language is adequate to the expression of the idea I conceive of such a supposition.

Possessing more acquaintance perhaps, with motives, than some of those partisans whom you so allegorically cite, I am firmly persuaded of the affectionate solicitude of our government and a vast majority of the people, not only for the independence, but the liberty, happiness and prosperity of South-America. ——— Before a nation take the attitude of an ally, or partisan, she ought cautiously to pause and observe the nature of the struggle, — the character of the people, the views of the revolutionary leaders; else the friend of liberty may be the dupe of her enthusiasm, and apt to raise up another Cæsar and Napoleon, while she strikes for freedom. I hope there are none of those ambitious chieftains in South-America, none who would sacrifice the public welfare to his own, none who would think of governing without the consent of the governed, (for that is downright usurpation.) I impute no sinister ambition to any. — Nevertheless, a nation is imperiously bound to preserve herself. This is the prime consideration. If she will abet the cause of freedom, which she ought if she can, she must dispassionately calculate the proper means and moment, or she will certainly ma

what she intended to mend, and jeopardize existence where nothing but criticism was involved. — If she be cordially and sincerely friendly, she may prefer even the momentary imputation of being a foe, to the indiscretion of injuring a sacred cause by unseasonable attempts to serve it. — If she have "fallen on evil times," when inauspicious conjunctions take place among politicae orbs of the first magnitude, heretofore in opposition, caution is more indispensable than ever. The wisdom of Ulysses or of Mentor is requisite then, to propitiate, or neutralize, or divide the hostilities. She who has lulled the dragons, or diverted them from the fair object of her care, ought not only be exempted from censure, but receive unfeigned applause. — Who can say that the United States have not contributed to avert from this continent, and conduct harmlessly to the ground, the baleful and fiery bolts that have blasted the rights of self-government in France, Spain, Norway, Italy, every where beyond the Atlantic, and left Europe desolate, comfortless, destitute of civil rights, shorn of the vivifying beams of independence? — I do not aver, that her policy in the relations we allude to has been the best that could possibly be, — perfection is not an attribute of man — but I do maintain, that the motives of North America were unimpeachable. — At all events, I shall not extend conjecture farther on this score.

In private life, it happens too commonly, that individuals overlook the benefit they have received, in pique for the disappointment of some sanguine expectation; precipi-

tately giving way to grudge or suspicion, where they ought to feel gratitude. So perhaps it has fared more publickly with the United States. As President Monroe truly declares, they sympathize with the patriots of the South, whose flag has always been welcome in their ports, whose independence has been substantially acknowledged by all departments of the government. Nor has bad or rude considerations of interior commercial interests any place or part with the sentiments of friendship and patriotism. This is not her only praise. — While other powers have effaced the laws of nations, the Supreme Court of the United States steadily continued to apply them in its decisions. I refer with pride to the restoration of a cargo to the neutral owner (the Pizarro of Buenos-Ayres) which had been captured by an armed British ship, by one of our privateers during the late war — after resistance too. Yet that tribunal determined, that the opposition of an enemy-master should not prejudice the rights of a neutral citizen of South-America. The principle, Justinian is several centuries old, being one of the provisions of the famous code of Consolato del mare. But this good old doctrine, that the goods of a friend are safe on board of the ship of an enemy, maintained in the highest tribunal of the United States, in this case of the Nereide, has been denied in the British court of admiralty, in the case of the Fanny! (See Wheaton's "Law of Maritime Captures and Prizes," p. 99, & Dodson's Reports, p. 443.) — While I regard with abhorrence the subserviency of Sir William Scott, in all cases where the wishes of his government

conceived, inasmuch as he confessedly considers the king's will, delivered in form of an order of council, as superior to the laws of nations; I must be just to the worthy and distinguished Mackintosh, who, while a judge of vice admiralty at Bombay, refused to obey the arbitrary instructions of June 1803, and preserved his allegiance to the paramount authority of the Laws of nations. — See Mr Wheaton's work above cited, p. 50, 51 & 52. in the case of the American ship Minerva. — We cannot bestow too much applause on such an high-toned and independent man; nor on those nations who preserve the great principles unimpaired in which the civilized world has an interest.

For the desperate insinuations towards the close of your letter I cannot espy any visible foundation. None denies the equal and independent rights of Venezuela. The questions are, — whether the blockade was effectual; whether the American schooners violated it; whether they were regularly tried, and whether this Government could justly seize and confiscate the produce of various cargoes, long after the alleged offence had occurred. But to a letter so desultory and episodical, I shall not subjoin further argumentation on the genuine points of controversy.

With sentiments of profound respect,

I am, sir, Your very devoted humble servt

B. Irvine.

His Excellency Genl Bolivar, &c. &c. &c.

Jn B. Irvine's of 27 Aug. 1818.

Mr. J. to Gen. Bolivar, 25 Aug. 1818.

Angostura, August 27, 1818.

Sir,

You will find within, copies of the correspondence from the date of my last letter down to this time. The hopes I once cherished of succeeding in the affair of the claims, are greatly chilled by some recent experience, as you will perceive by the complexion of a late letter or two. They are bound in complaint, and breathe resentment against the unfriendly and partial measures of our government — as they will have them to be. Whenever a people, or the leaders of an enterprize find themselves in difficulty, or complaint, they will rather lay the blame on any other cause than the real one. Hence, the acts of congress, North-America or nowhere that censure, which ought chiefly to recoil on the rash, feeble, impolitic and ill-concerted plans and conduct of the higher or highest functionaries here. — As to the acts, I as a citizen, thought that their provisions extended too far and bore a hostile aspect — As an agent for even as a citizen perhaps, bound to conform to the rule of the majority) it is my business to take a different ground now since. — Under all circumstances, I must steer my humble course by the best direction I can exert, where the instructions afford no rule, applicable to the actual state of things. But to return —

Many bodies or political proselytes have not been wanting, English or American, to supply provoking or disrespectful paragraphs, from our newspapers. Some of these have been prejudicial, and none more so than an extract from St. Thomas's published in the Democratic Press, and thence transplanted into other Gazettes, relative to my objects here, the Commerce &c. and connecting mention of me with every [illegible] by me, unless silence while there authorised it!

exaggerated or false rumors of disasters which had befallen the patriots by report. Since Mr Anderson brought us the file of papers from New-York, I can observe a sensible change — although the govt. are elated at the news of Jeneral Jackson's capture of Pensacola, which they think will work a favorable diversion for them, if nothing more.

You see how our antagonists reply to arguments about irregularity &c. by asserting the substantial justice of their measures — the reasoning the parties had, &c. Admit both these, and the whole current of authority in the books, and especially the abominable, high-handed decisions of the British courts of Admiralty are decidedly against us. I was to weaken the force of these, that I made some remarks (seemingly not properly in place) at the close of my last letter to Gen B. of the 25th inst. on the courts of the U. S. and Great-Britain, and in a prior one had something of the same kind.

Notwithstanding the contents of Jeneral Bolivars last note, I had a conversation with him on the 24th inst. not above half an hour before he transmitted that note, in which he spoke with his usual frankness and friendship of the United States. Having introduced the subject of East Florida, and asked my opinion &c. he rejoined by declaring that, "it [E. Fl.] was essential to our security, and we must possess that district — it was the necessary complement of our territory." These were his very words; and none certainly are more accurately expressive of the fact.

It is remarkable, by the way, if petty pieces of finesse are worthy of remark, that Gen. B's note of the 20th was

unquestionably penned on the 24th. The ink was scarcely dry - it had not assumed the black tint when it was delivered to me. The solution of this antedating is discoverable from the nature of mine of the 19th, which he had read previously to writing this - it having been two or three days in his possession. Consequently his anticipation is a comment. It shows that he keenly seized, or made an opportunity of expressing his resentful feelings (on the subject of our prohibitory laws) which, like volcanic fires long suppressed had rather increased their force and fierceness by burning inwardly. The similitude is rather extravagant, but nothing being on an ordinary scale here, I sometimes fall into it. Excuse him!

The Orinoco, which most commonly begins to decrease about the 15th of August, has this year risen much higher since that date by continual rains; for effects cannot possibly cease while their causes are in operation. All the low lands being inundated, and this Agency correspondence unfinished, I cannot for some time undertake an excursion into the country, - nor can I tolerate the idea of leaving Guayana without knowing more about it. However, I shall lose no time which I can possibly avoid, and shall not fail to keep you advised of all that is important.

Nothing but a few skirmishes have occurred, since I wrote last, between parties of cavalry on the frontiers. The royalists were concentrating their forces in Caracas or near it, at the latest accounts.

Admiral Brion and Commodore Diaz some weeks ago undertook an expedition to the Gulf of Paria, to clear it of a Spanish flotilla which had annoyed the vessels bound to Carupano, in favor of the independents.

several vessels between this and Trinidad. We have not yet learned the issue

The patriots appear to think that nothing can prevent their complete success next campaign.

There is here a highly respectable merchant from London, a Mr H. —, who had sold a valuable cargo of military stores, as uniforms for infantry &c. &c. to this govt. some time ago, - stipulating to take produce in payment. However neither the tobacco nor indigo were ready at the date assigned. On this occasion he wrote to the Supreme Chief, and showed me the answer received. I recollect among other things, Gen. B. made ardent acknowledgments of respect and reverence for those liberal British merchants, the only generous patrons who had yet stepped forward to the aid of Venezuela. She certainly owes them much, and ought to be grateful — — Mr H. and myself have often lamented the dearth of practical talent, of habits for business, observable here. The people are very gay, voluble, happy race, impatient of application or labor. Such men as Gual and Roscio and Torres, are greatly needed. The latter would be particularly useful in organizing a scheme of finance. There are great resources which produce nothing, because the leaders know nothing of the subject. They do not lack natural endowments, but their talent, like that in the parable, is laid in a napkin, unimproved. There are some literary, polished gentlemen, who would do credit to any country. - I speak of the want of that all important

& all this indolence, or unfitness is the effect of Spanish slavery which interred in industry

faults for conducting the most essential part of a government — their debt is their bliss. If successful, they will pay it in a month with the spoils of war, cacao, coffee, hides, &c. &c.

Some of the preceding hints being merely of a private nature, are mentioned only to elucidate the state of this part. — But it is unnecessary to explain what is evident.

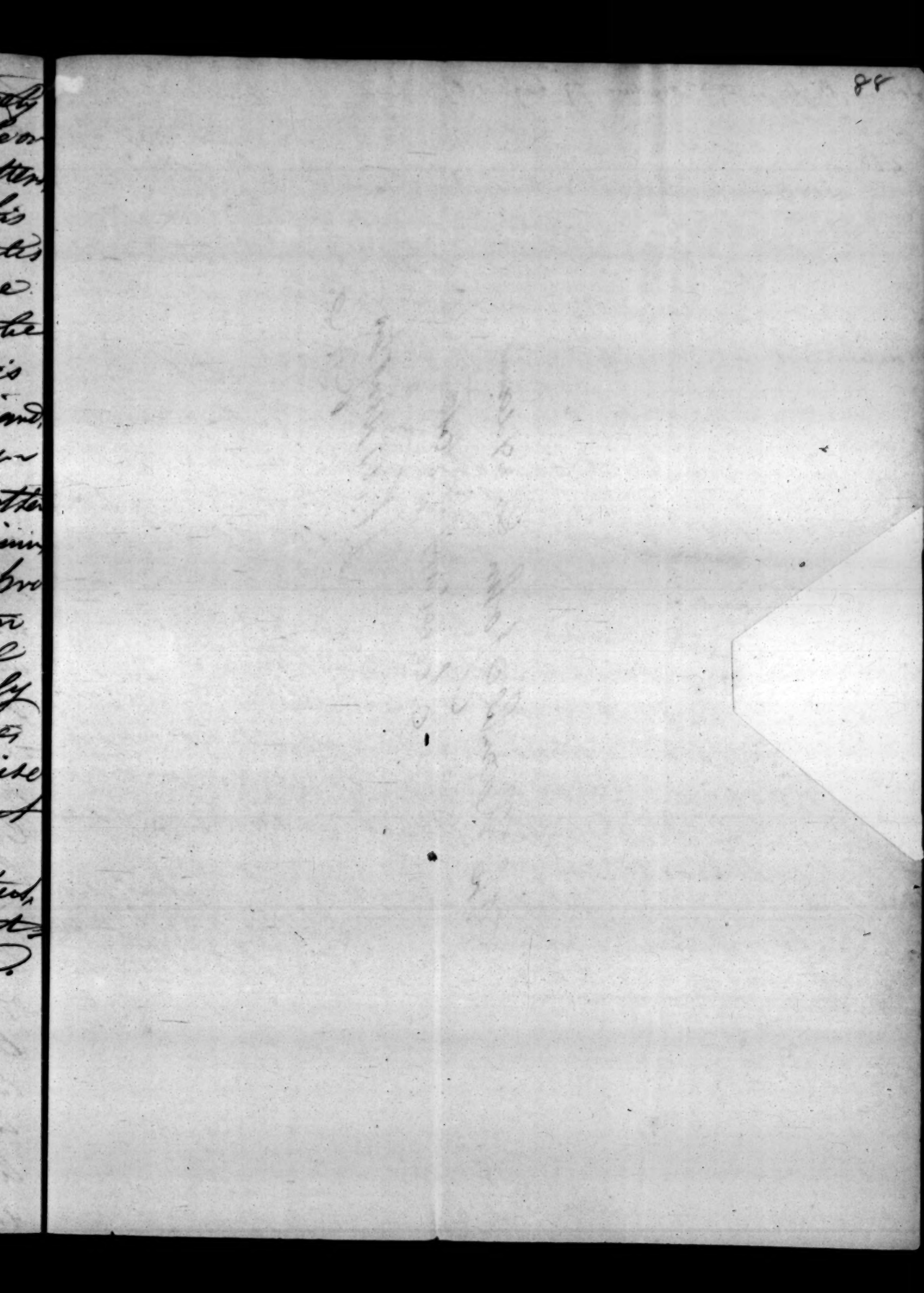
As to future government, I can scarcely hazard an observation with confidence at this moment. One thing only appears certain to my mind, — that the people of each province now accustomed to military governors & captains-generals, & the reign, each in his state, with absolute sway, will contract habits incompatible with liberty, if the war continues much longer. The sooner it comes to an end the better, in all respects. Some believe, that genl. B. wishes to retain a degree of power tantamount to monarchial, in his own person. He professes different sentiments with warmth. Whether he dissembles his real opinion or not, I presume, that if independence were once established, no one man will be capable of playing the part of autocrat for a great length of time. It is a very general opinion among those who talk of such subjects here, that genl. B. is destitute of solid judgment, as evinced by his conduct in various state affairs; but he certainly has very good literary abilities, is quick in perception, brilliant and voluble in conversation, eloquent in writing, with the advantage of very agreeable,

conciliatory manners. Alec is reputed to be extremely jealous of any thing like rivalship, in military life or in civil, - a quality which, in these as in other matters, indicates either envy or inferiority or both. - But all this as it may, I only observe, that if the United States wish to foster freedom here, or have any influence over the turns of policy, their measures ought to be more liberal - ought to savour of friendship: for it is very hard, believe me, to make a jealous Spaniard, or his descendant (equally jealous) believe that an unfriendly act has a friendly intent. We ought to attempt to draw [redacted] than keep aloof. This is my opinion frankly given. I am aware that it is not my province to give opinions on this head, but to report on certain specific points, and receive & forward a special agency, according to instructions. - To fulfill carefully & promptly, if data be procurable. - In the meantime I hoped it might be advisable to avoid discussion or mystery on a subject which may be of great moment hereafter.

I am, sir, with the highest respect,

The Hon. John Q. Adams,
Secretary of State.

Your very obed. servt.
W. Irving.



Irvine, Baptis — ~~Augustus~~ Augustown, 27 Augt. 1810.

Rec?

Ackd 21 Dec.

Enclosures 6/-

The Honble John Q. Adams
Secretary of State
Washington
D. C.

Angostura, September 14, 1818.

Sir

With this you will receive copies of my letters of the 29th of August, and of the 6th & 10th inst. &c. to "Bolivar." These I mention as being especially the two last, most to the point. I am sorry that so much has been written on the subject, and could wish that none of mine to B. were unwritten; because I now discover that there does not exist such a degree of honor or principle in a certain quarter as I flattered myself there did. In the conciliatory spirit of my instructions I had used quite enough of the unwritten in vain without the desired effect, - except that my arguments were not answered: and, if I have not convinced those who did not desire to be convinced, I hope I may claim the poor merit of having confounded them. The evidence on our side I consider irrefragable. There was no blockade. Men, whose actual experience ought to render them capable of judging, have opined me, that the pretence of blockading the rivers was a farce. The towns were blockaded for as many months by infantry and cavalry. They had no artillery generally, or such petty pieces as do not deserve the name of notice.

I leave the spirit of the letters to explain the interest and feeling of the heads of this government - if government it be. - Want of means to make restitution is (perhaps) the principal reason of the claim being carried by all sorts of evasions and arguments. Though their debt is insignificant, there is no productive source of revenue to meet the engagements of the government. - but all depends on remittance from abroad. Some flatter themselves that the recent events in Peru and New-Granada, with their influence on the public mind, will induce the Spaniards to evacuate Venezuela. Of this conjecture I offer no opinion: but if there be a serious and decisive opposition on the part of Morillo, and the armies of the patriots be joined by the hair-brained Generales, poltroons and drivellers, who blasted the bright hopes and sacrificed the golden opportunities, which for

time twice or thrice over before them the result decision. The weakness of the Spaniards, not the discipline or strength of the patriots, is the best ground of probability, and all the inference to be drawn from it. Ere long, the expulsion of the royalists from every foot of territory between Cape Horn and the Isthmus of Panama, is inevitable.

In the meanwhile, the enclosed sketches may enable you to penetrate the real character of certain leaders, and the direction which such chiefs are likely to give to things. If these memoranda, derived from the most authentic sources, clash with my former representations, I only make this general request, and throw out this caution:—Take only the evident facts from my letters. I cannot always vouch for the testimony of others, but shall ever be careful to avoid forming opinions suddenly.

The burning ambition of the chief Bolivar hereto fore led him to proscribe every officer whose talents or success provoked his envious hate. He cannot brook a rival and yet is sure to have many,—though perhaps no peers!—Although general Mariño, by dint of his own forecast, had marched from Cumana and snatched Bermudez from ruin at the critical moment when Real had forced the bridge of Barcelona, and was pressing hard on the fugitive, dispirited and beaten party under Bermudez,—although Mariño on that occasion won a complete victory and saved the inhabitants from massacre, yet I am credibly informed that he would not have been spared, had he fallen into certain hands, when Piar was arrested. Mariño is an officer of talent and a man of education. It was not until after some humiliating incidents during last campaign, that a complete reconciliation was effected with

Casiro. The cause must strike her at once. Had two such men as Paez and Marino united their powers, Sedeño must have joined them and there had been a revolvement of ——————. At. is popular and sovereign in Cumana, Paez omnipotent in Barinas; Perez the same in Cassanare and Sedeño is very influential in Guayana. (Of other provinces I do not speak.) Consequently the supreme authority of one man is rather nominal than positive.

But let turn, then, will the politics of Venezuela probably take, if its independence be atchieved? — What form of government will be adopted?

I dare advance nothing with confidence on the future, and you, sir, can perhaps judge far better than I. Nevertheless I will make an observation or two.

General Bolivar has already promised some members of the old congress of Caracas, that in the event of success he intends to convene a congress, and surrender his power into their hands. If he summon the remains of the constituent congress, and an expedient be hit on to fill up their numbers without recourse to an election, a great obstacle will be surmounted. Necessity would justify such a measure; and, in the present circumstances of the country, the abject condition of so large a portion of the inhabitants, a political body with the powers of a legislative council, (as the congress ought to be) would subserve the most important ends. It would explode the direct interference of the men of color, and afford time for a return of all emigrants and an influx of new, that would tend to reduce the former class to their wonted insignificance in the political scale. This secured, time would also be allowed for meliorating the condition of the uninstructed by education, and that of the barbarous by example and coercion. Commerce would awaken industry: and labor (salutary employment is certainly the best way of making people virtuous. — Of this

population we cannot say with least some moralists of
civil of the happy and the simple. That their ignoran
of vice was equivalent or superior to the knowledge & pra
to all the learning and philosophy of a refined state
society. Alle seem deeply tainted with gross vices. La
told however that this province are more depraved than Caracas &c
A probable consequence of the resignation of B
livar would be that of the provincial generals or gover-
nors: or, if not, these might yield to the right of ele
tion, apaned as they are of being chosen in their res
pective states. The recognition of a great principle would
thus be effected.

In the meantime, the progress of information an
the promotion of correct thinking, by means of schoo
and the press, would prepare the rising generation for
the functions of freemen and the high and ennobling
destinies of self government. - Could I once behold free
men as Roscio and Gual, Zea, Cadiz, Peñalver &c. a
a legislative station, I would not despond of the regenera
tion of the people: for, nothing less than a transforma
tion of their habits can rebuild them for free governmen
The pretensions of protecting New-Grenada, formed
by the chief of Venezuela, I regard as a piece of Quixotism
How the weaker can protect the stronger, I know not.
Probably Puerregodon &c. whose titles imply their holding
the reins of authority over all South-America, will
receive Gen. Bolivar of his new office, its title, trouble, and
all it's appurtenances. Time was, when New Grenada
contained more learned and capable men, than any other
kingdom or province of Spanish America; but Morillo, by
Morillo often his determinating campaign, done in his

Caronie stile, the dark history spit - and why should not the greater
destroyer be the last historian!

To governor Montalvo, he wrote to this effect: -
"I have finished my excursion through the kingdom of New-
Grenada, and there is not a man who can sign his name."

To Governor Moxo, of Caracas, who had suggested
this bloody savage to procure him some classic books,
in Santa Fee he wrote: - "I can now furnish you with the
books you long for, the more readily, as there is not a man
(meaning in the patriotic side) who can read them."

The revolution in Santa Fee, or New Grenada, commenced under good auspices. Men of research and integrity established little gazettes in the principal towns and provinces, and the people were rapidly imbibing notions of freedom and independence, when the unnumerous and wealthy Morillo, decisively resolved to unite the shepherds and disperse the flock. The annals of this project has furnished a lamentable catalogue. Except in the butcheries of Bores &c. it is without parallel in modern times. - Could the grave give back her glorious martyrs, New Grenada need not look for Liberators to Buenos-Ayres, &c. nor for a protector in this quarter who has twice or thrice fled his country for lack of courage or military skill! - The patriots in turn, carried retaliation too far, and disjoined their cause by it, at Caracas and La Guayra especially: but the conduct of their enemies was sufficient to drive them into extravagance and madness. Hence some of my indirect hints in the correspondence with B. who seems infatuated on this point.

It is true, to return to the subject, that great and abundant supplies of arms, powder, clothing &c. have been received since last campaign; and these may make some difference - but it is discipline and valor and generalship, that form the essential qualities. These remain pretty much in statu quo ante. - If the Spaniards make resistance

with 4000 infantry, all the army of Venezuela (in the opinion of officers to be served in last campaign, and have since quitted the service in disgust,) all the army of Venezuela will not be able to forced the passes of the mountains. — Revolution however may break out among some other provinces, and favor the fortune of the patriots. — At any rate, nothing can long retard the discomfiture of the remnant of Spanish troops, which are daily wasting away without means of recruiting their ranks.

— Their government too seems in danger of being crushed under its own ruins — a catastrophe that would cause very few tears to flow.

All the contracts hitherto made here with English or Scotch merchants, except those via the United States, are unfulfilled. I understand they amount in toto to £100,000 sterling. What quantity (if any) of coffee, hides, or other articles, can be collected in the Provinces and elsewhere, I know not. Had those rich lands been regularly cultivated, their produce alone might have met all the expenses of the war. But it is a truth that too many of the present managers have no foresight, no system, no plan, except for petty or deadly intrigue among st themselves. Here nothing is anticipated, and adversity bursts on their astonished heads like a clap of thunder.

The Caracasians are in many respects an exception from the generality; and, if ever a legitimate government, drawing its authority from the people, be established, they must be the saviours of their country. — The rest, if I am not egregiously deceived, are as averse as

incapable. They seem a bad race, on which republicanism cannot be engrafted, and must be mixed with or overwhelmed by more enlightened numbers before free government can be understood, or correct morals introduced. This opinion I also take from persons who have resided in Caracas or other parts of Venezuela for many years — not to speak of books. — It coincides however with the few observations I have made. ——— That this is one of the finest countries on the globe, we all know; that it may be among the freest we all wish.

September 15.

When I wrote the foregoing, it was in part under the influence of irritated feelings, but no facts therefore warped or discolored. — I was provoked at the pertinacity with which Gen'l Bolivar attempted to defend and palliate robbery, and even to indulge himself in invective. I was provoked at the disregard with which my arguments or retaliation were overlooked, while he continued to harp on the right of abuse, or Retaliation run mad. I was irritated at the false assertions relative to the blockade, which never had legitimate existence either by land or water,* and at the sanctioning declamation or denunciation he had used against our merchants. — The correspondence in fact had been broken off; but he has since consented to reconsider the question. — I had indeed told him plainly, that the proceedings of the Caracas &c. was regarded in the United States by the warmest friends of Venezuela, in the light of a spoliation so transcendant and gross, that an attempt to palliate or defend it would almost shrink one's reputation. As to the doctrine of retaliation I exposed it naked in its real shape & bearings. At this General B. was piqued, and wrote an angry note. I had also told him my belief, (in speaking the idea of menace) that any other than a mild, deliberative government, would on such an occurrence,

* What probably grated him most keenly was my observation, that the hypothesis of a blockade supposed the ability of Col. Soublette and his Llanero cavalry to enforce it, in spite of Caracas and La Guayra, to their having really swam into the river and taken possession of a brig which wind and current had driven close ashore.

have instantly dispatched a naval force to restrain his squadron from a repetition of such abuses. — However those notes were respectively withdrawn; for my part resolving not to leave a pretext here for denying reparation — especially as the case was not my own. There was not [illegible] personal in my note, and he ought never to have so construed it. He had previously invited me to accompany him to the Mission of Caroni, an invitation which I eagerly accepted — but left him a message declining the honor when the little unpleasant occurrence occurred. — I was the more indignant at the time as I thought there had been from the commencement a design, (a shallow artifice!) to cajole me through my known (and avowed) predilections. — This is not worth relating in itself, but I consider it a duty to inform you of the difficulties I had to encounter in this humble mission. — Thus matters rest for the moment.

September 18.

The appointment of Dr Roscio to four important offices, Intendant General of Rents or Finances, President of the Council of Government, Principal Judge and Superintendent of Registration and of the Distribution of Land or Military grants, I view as the last presage of the fortunate destinies of Venezuela. — This venerable man, as upright as Cato, will have great influence in the state. He told me, he disliked the business of attending to matters of revenue, which he knew his talents did not suit, but he accepted a commission for the present, in the hope of being useful. — I took the liberty on the occasion (being familiar with him) of advising him to invite a Mr. Lowes, a Scotchman from Philadelphia, to manage their treasury, or rather to instruct their people to organize and regulate such department.

Recent news from Barinas is very favorable. General Paez never ceases, even in the rainy season to harass the enemy by the guerrilla war. Land. Marino or Bermudez

Las captured a little place named Guiria, where Orion Lasalle taken several gunboats and other republic vessels became independents to the controul of the Gal of Paria, and several hundred emigrants, who had taken refuge in Trinidad, Curacoa &c have returned to the continent, many of them joining the standard of Bermudez. Such is the report here.

I am waiting most impatiently for the definitive answer of Bolivar, when I shall take an excursion of two, and return to the United States. — The British having cruizers constantly along this coast, protect the interests of their merchants and oblige both Spaniards and patriots to respect their flag in all quarters, or to afford immediate redress for any violation. — The British too being the only one nation of this government, are now best flattered and respected for that reason * though every British officer of worth has been maltreated, from the effect of that ingrate or inbred jealousy to characteristic of the Spanish blood. These instances of ingratitude are numerous and disgusting. — This is not always the fault of the govt or superior officers, but of the attributable to an ignorant savage people, who fancy themselves superior to all the world.

* At a dinner recently given by the N — n to a select party, the Supreme Chief proposed a brindis "to the Prince Regent" by an enthusiasm in which he carried none upon him than on an Aristides or Washington, and capped the climax by styling him "El Libertador de Europa" the Liberator of Europe &c. — Vox et praeterea nihil! a piece of politic flattery!

September 20.

I have not received any definitive answer from general Bolivar to my last letters, and therefore at liberty to write about the news of the day, &c.

Letters from the agents of this government in London, Messrs. Mendez and Walton, represent that Juvenal + Walton is the compiler of the Expose, and editor of the "Colonial Journal" a work

had been subscribed by individuals to enable Genl Mc Gregor to equip an expedition for the relief of the patriots of Venezuela; but that he had conducted himself badly and a Spanish patriot, a veteran general there in exile was substituted in his stead, who with Mr Palacios (formerly in the United States) was to embark for this country in June or July. The force is reduced from five or six 64's to one 64 and a brig. —— Of course, G. Britain for the present is the great point of attraction. —— My most difficult task has been to justify the Law of 1817, so far as it prevents our citizens from the benefits of passive commerce with South America by throwing impediments in the way of exportation in foreign vessels of any commodities. This Govt. (i.e. Genl. Bolivar) asks: If the Govt. of North America be not unfriendly, why does it prohibit our vessels or our friends from bringing away supplies at their own risk? — You perceive the footing on which I endeavor to place it in my letters to B; but this is the sticking point.

Accounts are also received to-day that Brion has been driven into Brion's toils by the British squadron. If this be the fact, there cannot be a more conclusive proof of the perfect understanding which prevails between this Govt. and that of England. — Aury formerly stood high, and has more talents & less cunning than Brion. He had sacrificed much at Carthagena &c. — I am told that the Govt. of New Grenada owed him $4 00,000. But Brion came into the ring with $80,000 at one leap, when Aury was only a candidate of the patriots, — and carried the

= which contains many sarcastic observations on the U. States. He also writes essays for the Ed. Chronicle in favor of South-American pretensions, or rather of British policy. —

day by being appointed admiral* This govt. now owes Brion $241,000 on his individual or loan account, besides his claims of pay &c.

Laying particular causes aside, which are transitory — and recurring to general ones which are more permanent, — I see no reason to change my former opinion — That there are two reasons for our befriending the South-Americans in this struggle: 1st. Sympathy for their sufferings and oppressions. 2dly, the policy of retaining their friendship, or at least of avoiding their enmity in the event of future wars with England or any other power. — This, I have no doubt, is the design of the Government. I am desirous of impressing on your mind the irksome task I have to persuade people here of the last, because of one feature of the existing law. — God forbid, that on this account we should succumb to the impudent and candalous robbery committed on our merchants by Brion, with the consent of the "powers that be" as I have reason to believe. The more I enquire into that transaction, the worse it appears.

* What I was on board of Brion's ship during the passage from Margarita to St. Martin's, B. related the affair of the three Islands, and, in speaking of Aury, observed that he would take measures to apprize the British admiral that W's commission could not be lawfully recognized. Brion paid little attention to it then, but I have since learned that he represented Aury by letter as an unauthorized cruizer, and the British chaser him from his cruizing ground accordingly — if recent news be correct.

September 24th

Visiting general Bolivar this morning, to apologize for not having sooner answered my last letter, saying that Col. Richards had not yet furnished him with the translation &c. (I suppose this fellow's mistranslation has been a principal cause of the delay and the misunderstanding.) Talking of the news, general B.

told me, on the authority of a letter from the Walton, joint agent with Mendez in London, that the Duke of San Carlos had made some overtures to W. on the subject of a pacification, and whether he as S. American deputy had power to treat of it. Walton replied, that he had not, without the preliminary sine qua non of the independence of South America being recognized by Spain.

During the forenoon, I visited Mr Peraltes, a worthy, intelligent member of the Council, who is very intimate with Bolivar. We had a long conversation on various topics, which I embraced the opportunity of observing to him, how much I regretted the effects of illicit arrizers and captures, the ill will and distrust they engendered — the difficulty of our government distinguishing between those who were authorized by the Venezuela and those who were not — especially since the conduct of admiral Brion, &c.; That it was my belief, that if some intelligent citizen acquainted with our language, like Dr Gual had been the Venezuelian Agent in the United States, all grounds of discord would have been removed or prevented by personal explanations: That to both countries must be attributed the law of March 3. 1817: and I further opinion, that loans might have been obtained by this time from some of our merchants: That I came to know the importance of friendship and intercourse with a people who wished success to the independents, without regard to commercial interests, or calculations of monopoly. ——— He appeared to be of my opinion, as he accorded perfectly with what I said. — He seemed to think that the war would yet endure a long time unless Venezuela received foreign aid. By way of sounding him on this subject after insinuating as above, what had been probably lost by the misconduct of arrizers &c. I expressed, as I felt

sincere regret, at learning that so brave, efficient and popular an officer as Mac Gregor had declined coming out again to aid the patriots, in which sentiment he fully participated. — So confident he will communicate my observations to his friends, please than to operate, if any operation they can have — after they are committed by so many round assertions of a blockade, about as well founded as Don Quixote's belief in giants, enchanters and enchanted castles. — The remarks about the Agent I made above with a view to have it understood, that Gen. Clements is not the fittest person. I suspect he writes inflammatory letters, and produces extravagant ideas. He is surrounded by a certain circle in Philadelphia, who consider the U. S. Govt very delinquent in not taking sides with South America and fighting her battles.

Gen. Thomas Montilla has letters for Cumana, to cooperate with Marino. He is a polite, well-informed, worthy man, but destitute, it is said, of the military talents of his brother Mariano. If the patriots can take Cumana before the arrival of a Spanish reinforcement, the acquisition will be important if this be certain, doubt, from the want of artillery.

Leaving time to unfold events, I will only remark, at present, that if the patriots have now a abundance of arms and ammunition, in which they were deficient last campaign, they are in want of men to fill the ranks, having lost their best troops the past season. — Little or no agriculture goes forward, — and should the patriots not gain their object in the approaching campaign, their resources must be at a low ebb. Let us hope they may triumph. They lack the Macedonian method of attaining empire by money; nor do they possess the ancient Roman faculty of securing it by men, discipline and bravery. But, though if there + Mac Gregor is to be admired by the people, who formerly knew him, or served with him, that if they perceive one deed gallant act, they call him a Gregoriano. — He best song extant is written on the battle of Juncal. — Were he to arrive with 1000 men, he could with that force alone drive Morillo out of Venezuela. — Thus the jealousy and ingratitude of worthless patriot-officers towards Mac Gregor now recoil upon the country and cause. — His fine victories are not forgotten. —

does not appear any eminent spirit, a Tell or a Washington, to "stand in the pass of fate" and conduct public affairs with a sagacity and firmness more than human, & hair cannot be finally victorious on that account. Cruelty and hate, mutually repulsive, will always maintain resistance. — When Bolivar did retire, Paez, Perez, [illegible] ino, &c. &c. continued to wage the petite guerre. The degree of prostration, havock, and waste is only alterable.

This moment I have received the Trinidad Courant of the 2d inst. Its tone being changed in an extraordinary manner respecting the patriots, I enclose it, lest you should not receive it through another channel. The patriots are extolled in a mere tune, and their gallant attack on Guiria deserves much credit, as their force was inferior, while the Spaniards are greeted with no other title than that of "the savages." Nor is it misapplied. The same butchers, who exterminated all the men of Cariaco, in New-Grenada, massacred seventy women at where the first action was fought after the capture of this place by the independents. — The very summary mode in which captain Elliott was about to reclaim and recover property captured by the Spaniards, is remarkable. Brion is said to have sailed to the island of Grenada to repair damages and endeavor to procure sailors in which he is greatly wanting. — None of his vessels are, or were of late, even half-manned.

October 1, 1818.

The final refusal of general Bolivar to make restitution for the outrageous spoliation, I have received and acknowledged this very day. I kept my letter open for something of the kind.

You will perceive, sir that the blockades consist of proclamations — and the strongest proofs of their reality are

positive affirmations positively without foundation. On this point I was transiently staggered or influenced by their grave fictions; but a few hints, a few explanatory incidents communicated to me by a couple of gentlemen (one of whom had been absent in the interior, another in the West Indies) unriddled the whole mystery and exhibited a complete chain of occurrences. Genl Bolivar seeing that every step he took only involved him in an awkward labyrinth, proposed the pacific scheme of an arbitration, which could have settled nothing save what he had decided by the very terms of the question. But had the matter at large been submitted to referees (a thing unprecedented once for which I had no authority) a decision by the neighing of a horse would have been every whit as wise and fair as by such arbitrators — viz. foreign merchants, who have accounts with this government and are enemies to ours, or native ones destitute of all faith and probity. — Thus perplexed, genl. B. magisterially terminated a discussion that was daily exposing him to ridicule, — desperately clinging to a piratical act as legal capture, and to the sentence of a dependent secretary as to an impartial judicial award. Like Macbeth, he deemed it too good, after the following declamation in which he had indulged, to advance as to recede and on he marches in contempt of truth and justice. Harsh as this language is, it is literally true. — This govt. found it more convenient to use American property than to pay for it, as was probably at first intended.

On one occasion, gen. B. mentioned the circumstance of some U. S. American vessels, among which were two Venezuelian ones being libelled in the U. S. American courts; upon which I observed, that doubtless his agent would attend to the case, and the courts there would render justice according to the laws pro-

tions. - He never made any formal remark on the subject in speech or writing.

There was a meeting to-day of the principal persons civil and military, to whom genl. B. made a fluent harangue on public affairs, which is to be printed. A committee of three, I understand, are named to suggest or draw up a better plan of provisional government. Worse than the present is impossible: therefore any change would be an improvement. Roscio, Cadiz, Peñalver, and such men may perhaps be enabled to restore government and save that country which has been more scourged and endangered by a Don Quixote, - with military ambition but un-military talents, than by the cruelty of a relentless and savage enemy. - General Valdez, the governor of this town, is also an independent man, a determined foe to quixotism. - I cannot at present foretell how this project now on the tapis will eventuate, but it is probably suggested to prevent B. from taking the field as generalissimo, as much as for any thing else. - In 1814, you recollect, he committed the like blunder, exhibiting his fondness as in 1816, and is of course untrachable. - After the battle of Carabobo, every thing seemed gained, except that Boves was at the head of a considerable body of cavalry. Without first beating him, Bolivar detached Mariño (the best officer he had) to San Fernando, & the Apure, with one division, and Urdaneta to Coro with another. Then Bovès fell upon the remainder of Bolivar's army, and annihilated it at La Puerta, - afterwards overrunning the whole country. - Here again Bolivar was the evil genius of his army and nation. - Later again, in 1816, when Labatut & MacGregor with 500 men at Choroni, he himself proceeded to Ocumare with the rest. to Command. He gallantly gained two battles, at Maracay and La Cabrera; but after

seeing Bolivar alone, as his army in pieces near Victoria after which Mac Gregor changed his route, as you have already seen, and gathered Laurels even in the face of despair wherever he marched. Genl. Mariño has been heard to say, that he had at different times furnished 12,000 men to Genl. Bolivar, & proceeded grants to conquer treble the enemy's.

It is a remarkable circumstance in the eventful history of this abused but fine country, that if it were not for the herds of cattle in the missions of the Franciscans and other Patosos the Llanos, the patriots at this moment would have no means of subsistence or commerce. This important source is daily drying up; and fortunate will it be, if independence be atchieved before the cattle are consumed. If the present stock holds out to the end of the contest, the Venezuelians like the Egyptians, ought to revere the ox and his image. There are probably not more exportable at this moment than those for which orders are given on the superintendants of the missions. After that, I think, the exportation must be prohibited.

The credit of this govt is drained like its resources; and I think it not improbable that one object of the meditated change is to fortify the nation on this delicate, vulnerable point. Any material alterations would attract some intelligent gentlemen, members of the first government, from their retreats in the West-Indies.

Should any thing important transpire, during my stay, I shall endeavor to transmit you early intelligence. If Bond one or two of Bolivars Letters untranslated you will attribute it to want of time to copy them from my letter book before the sailing of the schooner for Martinique. I look back with some vexation at the Cabon B's pertinacity imposed upon me but I rest satisfied with having done every thing directly and in-

directly to produce a result favorable to justice. — I
now fully convinced, that it was resolved from the beginni
to evade making indemnity. Therefore ~~were~~ sent to this country and wi
representation, like chosen troops, brought into the fie
to support injustice. It is no great deed it to triumph o
such hosts, but it is mortifying to ask no spoils of victory, in be
of the injured.

With considerations of the highest esteem, I remain

Sir,

Your very respectfully

Your obed. Servt.

The Hon. John Quincy Adams,
Secretary of State U.
States.

B. Irvine.

Wm. Bailie – Augusta, Geo. 14, 15, 24, 1818.

? 21 Dec.

Sir, Augustine, August 29, 1815. 98

I have this moment received and perused your Excellency's letter dated the 21th: and if I acknowledge its receipt so correctly as to its contents, without further delay, it is because long deliberation is not necessary on receiving a communication avowedly definitive, - because the subject is somewhat familiar, and because I am anxious to close a correspondence the subject of which always (I candidly confess) was a source of most poignant regret to me.

There never has been or imagined that you could cite authorities which had no existence; but the evidence which I felt myself bound to insist on, seems materially different from that to which you allude. Not was it the irregularities of procedure to which we objected, but the essential defects which the best forms are unimportant, save when, like shadows, they are signs of substance.

If the claimants, or their agents rather, were in general persons, whose testimony is to be disparaged on that account, are you not aware how much more strongly the objection recoils upon the captors, whose evidence was taken in the case?

We never thought of prescribing what tribunals you should establish, though we are entitled in the course of nations, wherever the court be located that is to administer them, to the observance by every people, you have necessarily followed pre-existing laws, and usages in each province, and modified or altered them as they may be until you can frame a better code to supersede them. But it was customary in Spain for the intendant or subdelegate of the port to decide on captures, we saw nothing novel or objectionable in a similar usage here, as far as more modified we had not observed both in substance. This is the ground on which restitution is claimed, and the reason why the Government of the United

States interposed in behalf of the applicants, — at least to enquire into and investigate the facts.

To postpone the alternative of a new trial at this late, & often so great a Caprice of time, when the party to whom may themselves aggrieved, or their interest, are dispersed over land and seas, or when sources of them may be dead, could afford no redress in any situation. In truth, if the arrest had not been seriously proposed and attended to, I would have regarded it, (proceeding from any other quarter) as a downright mockery. — The power of postponement, and the mode of opinion, which operate on all men, would prevent the same judge from altering his decision. Any superior judge was not known; and therefore, the application to the supreme functionary alone seemed adequate and eligible.

It is not very applicable to the matter in dispute to cite facts or authorities to elucidate the illegality of capturing contraband property, or it is stylish, on its destination or supposed destination, to an enemy's port. One recorded event is enough to shew the absurdity and injustice of the pretension on the part of those who sanction after the absolute sovereignty of the seas. In 1778, several Dutch merchants ships, bound to Rochefort, a port not blockaded, were nevertheless condemned in the British high Court of Admiralty, because the greater part of the French coast was blockaded, and it was affirmed, that the ships were steering towards the blockaded ports, — therefore liable to confiscation! What safety is there for neutrals if belligerents are thus permitted to judge intentions and punish them at discretion! I shall concede for a moment the right to dictate laws in places beyond their possession, we denounce all that is optionable and pernicious. But, the ablest and most learned publicists

pronounced such a presumption to be ~~a Law~~ tyranny.—
The very attempt, say they, "is to arrogate a sovereign
"right over persons and places that are not subject to
"us; it is an effort to enforce obedience from men in whose
"minds we have no obligation to obey." — Queen Elizabeth, of England,
when afterwards recalled all Drake most dictatorially,
very properly rebuked the extravagant demands of Don
Mendoza, who remonstrated against the English trading to the
Indian ocean. "She knew of no prerogative (she said) pos-
"sessed by the Spaniards, much less the power of prescribing laws to
"those who are not bound to obey them; the sea of the ocean
"on which the English sailed, was as common to them
"and to all mankind, as the air, and by their nature these
"elements could not be subjected to the power, or become
"the property of any person whatever." — Yet, the mandates,
open and secret, issued from Munich by 3 the November
1811, the whole series of acts assuming the right of dictation on the high sea, prove that this element was
regarded as a domain, or conquered province. — If their
"prerogative" covered so vast a field, they thus openly
claimed rights of a similar justification to that pleaded by
the pagan priests in vindication of ~~human sacrifices~~ ~~human~~ ~~sacrifices~~
especially with a decree. Whether virgins or wives were
objects of his godship's partiality, the ~~record~~ ~~of the day~~
visited, that there was nothing sinful in it, because
Jove had a right to do what he pleased with his own. Of the
"prerogative" of which he speaks, if precedent have some
thing in it, has the example of "divine right"? — Nothing
can be more hideous than the ~~to~~ pleasures employed in
the service of usurpation, — nor nothing more serious than
their effects. — As the ~~examination~~ examination of such abuses depends in

great part, on the conclusions deduced from the two preceding positions by the strong, it is to be supposed that they will cease, if ever the various powers become relatively or nearly equal.

Another decision of the court above mentioned, equally with a thousand others, denies to the neutral consequences of suffering even, the smallest departure from the solitary exception of actual blockade. It has been maintained that the destination of a cargo, consisting of articles of promiscuous use, to a port of formal equipment, converted it into contraband, — but if bound to a different port it would have been innocent!!! Subterfuges and pretexts like these, are ready, it seems, for every change of policy, or every change of the moon.

As we do not disagree on the principle, I shall only remark on this topic that some governments stalk over the prostrate world like giants, and others, like pigmies, are content to cower and truckle beneath their feet, — saying their prayers to propitiate their mercy. "But the example of a few feeble and unarmed "nations, whom necessity compels to yield, and to prefer a "temporary sacrifice of their commerce to a greater "evil, proves nothing against the invariable and uni-"versal practice of Europe, continued for so many "centuries." —— —— Galliani, Lampredi, and a host of illustrious writers maintain the principles for which we contend, — that in particular circumstances require it, the general law of nations authorises no such

new fangled doctrine relative to contraband as that attempted by some domineering powers.

It is doubtful whether the Spanish ordinance cited is applicable to the case, because none of the European powers more ardently acceded to the armed neutrality than Spain did on the 18th of April 1780. Its provisions with regard to blockade, I need not repeat: always excluding the idea of a hovering force, and requiring positive investment by vessels "which keep their places" at a "station."

"We do not stickle for the absolute necessity of making notifications of blockade to governments, though courtesy and usage are in favor of the measure; and, any of your friends, agents or correspondents can have enclosed the license to our Secretary of State. It is probably sufficient to advertise individuals of the fact. And, it is only when this is doubtful that the brave neutrals are justifiable in sailing to the point for the first time, - when uncertainty entitles them to warning.

With respect to the capture and blockade, it appears to me that a force above sans ligne can not well blockade a port below it, - that a few boats in any of the Corrio mouths of the Orinoco from the Gulf of Paria to Boca de la Serpiente, Boca Grande, were competent to blockade all these outlets, or a port above. From the nature of things there appears to have been no blockade de facto until the arrival of the Admiral in the latter end of June or beginning of July, and then his rights could not be retrospective. Consequently, the Tiger incurred no penalty. - But, the application of the vessels is a radically vital error, to which no subsequent sentence

could remove or undo. This alone is warrant to the parties in claiming reparation. - It always regarded that step as justifiable (and I first proposed it adopted) only on the principle of pre-empting very common formerly by belligerents took or intercepted ships or cargoes, on making full compensation to the neutral owners. - To appropriate them, without trial or equivalent, is contrary to universal usage. - Military possession does not change the property. Something more is necessary. - In that interval between capture and treaty when the vessels may be viewed in a civil sort of limbus patrum, the conversion of them into cruizers, is alike a breach of antient belligerent practice and neutral rights. - The restitution of the amount I sincerely think, is not worthy of mention in comparison with the principle so flagrantly violated, - or with the stigma which the rapacity therein displayed may imprint on the reputation of a young nation and government. To screen the grosser falsehood, is to assume it, but to do either, were the point disputed, appears to require a solemn parade.

Of the motives of the American policy, on which you present various conjectural solutions, but none founded on the fact, I shall once for all, observe, - and that with excessive reluctance, that those acts of the 1st session March 3d 1813) had their origin in the piratical orders or licentious acts of patriot cruizers, - as they were called, or as they is called. And it must have been more particularly for the orders given by a commodore Taylor to privateers, clandestinely fitted out and sailing from our ports, to capture

the respects of Portugal with whom both we and Buenos-Ayres were at peace) had it not been for these, I say, and the infamous system of pillage so audaciously prosecuted in the Gulf of Mexico, you never would have heard of the restrictive Law of 3d. March 1809. Formerly Piracy and cheek free-booters, is the duty of every state. If seamen once shake off subordination, what horrible scenes must the ocean exhibit! Every government ought to tremble at the thought, — none more than our own. The civilized world is interested in preserving safe and unobstructed the common thorough fare of nations.

It is possible that the congress of North-America confounded objects for a moment, which were blended in obscurity by the haze of distance. It was scarcely avoidable. Yet in legislating against transgressions of the description mentioned above, they have studiously manifested their regard for the champions of freedom, by enacting that vessels bearing the flag and commission of any existing government, even "claiming to be independent," i.e. struggling for liberty, shall be placed on the same footing with the flag of the oldest government.

As one apt to imbibe the partial opinion of Americans, in important affairs, and to be governed by preconceived notions, to the exclusion of impartial examination, I cannot but hope and recommend that your excellency will specially ponder this subject in your mind. — Before congress resolved on passing the Rubicon, — supposing that their intention, — I cannot inveigh against them for driving the Harpies and plunderers from its banks.

In transmitting this correspondence to my government, as in conducting it, I must repeat that it always gave me extreme uneasiness. With your answer which I understand to be conclusive, I leave the dispatches to the inspection and review of others; trusting that for the future no such acts may disturb the harmony or interrupt the intercourse which ought ever to subsist between two republics.

—— I feel some concern, that I have contributed to render the correspondence too desultory, - though with the intention of promoting a good understanding; and I should wonder, were I to receive censure for omitting more pointed remonstrances against the violent and unprecedented deed of the conversion, - an act which tarnished the character of your navy - an act, which reversed the course and sequence of cause and effect, transposed their order, and set the latter before the former; an act, which left nothing to the admiralty court but to register what had already been irrevocably done - and instituted a process resembling the ancient Egyptian trial of the dead, throw a decent pall over the defunct and embalm or inter the carcass in due form! - I do not censure the court - the novelty of the circumstances must have embarrassed it! - ——

Renewing my most respectful considerations personally for yourself and my best wishes for the prosperity and felicity of your country, I remain, Sir,

Your obed. servt

D. Irvine.

His Excellency Genl Bolivar,
Supreme Chief &c.

A. B. Annin's Esqr. U. S. N. 1818
Mr. I. Irvine's Letter 29 Aug. 1818

Angostura 6 de Setiembre de 1818=8.º

Señor Agente.

A su tiempo he tenido el honor de recibir las dos notas de V.ª fechas de 25 y 29 del mes próximo pasado. Como V.ª le parece en la primera de ver introducida en la discusion una nueva materia, he querido aguardar su segunda carta para contraher á ella sola mi respuesta, y no extender mas una digresion que, mezclada accidentalmente en nuestras comunicaciones, no debe distraherlas del asunto principal. Mi proviene contestacion será breve.

No me detendré sino en satisfacer á la única razon que ha reposado V.ª ahora, dandole un valor

Al Señor D. Simon Agente de los Estados Unidos de la América del Norte cerca de Venez.ª

que yo no le encontré quando en mi oficio del 6n de Agosto
la toqué de paso. Tan insignificante me pareció entonces,
que no creí necesario rebatir en mi último lo que V.S.
responde en el suyo del 19n, por que me parecía que en
nada perjudicaba al derecho para la confiscacion el acto de
servirse de los Buques antes de la condena, quando el Gobierno
era responsable de ellos, y quando los interesados prestaron su
consentimiento. Le suplico á V.S.d que relea con detencion lo que
dice en aquel oficio.

La simple concesion de los Buques en nacion
— les podria llamarse apropiacion, si hubiese sido contra la
voluntad de los que hacian veces de Dueños, y si no hubiesen
precedido proposiciones aceptadas en que el Gobierno se com-
— prometia á la satisfaccion de los perjuicios, que recibiesen,
esto de ser expresado ó determinado en aquel momento, y que
✓ resultasen absueltos. Los Buques debian sufrir mucho es-
— tando detenidos sin exercicio mientras no fueron juzgados

y yo no veo qué mal se les podia seguir de que fuesen empleados, quedando el Gobierno responsable á qualquier accidente de apresamiento &c. Además se ofrecian presentes otras razones que no eran despreciables. Esperabamos por momentos que el enemigo ocupase el rio y las plazas que ocupaba y para esto debia forzar nuestra linea de bloqueo. Si los buques, que estaban detenidos, no se armaban serian probablemente apresados, y servirian al enemigo no solamente para transportes, sino para proveerse de los víveres que contenian. Debiamos impedir al enemigo toda especie de socorro, y no teniamos otro medio para conseguirlo que armarlos. Un cúmulo de circunstancias concurrieron á hacer mas urgentes estas razones: nuestros puestos en la Ysla de Margarita y costa de Cumaná estaban mas ocupados por Morillo y estos bloqueados; no teniamos, pues, á donde enviarlos mientras terminaba la campaña del Orinoco. Medite S.ª por un instante nuestra delicada situacion y se

convencera de que elegimos el partido mas prudente y aun el mas moderado. Podiamos á exemplo de los Españoles forzar los buques á que nos sirvieren.

En el año de 1814 hemos apresado buques mercantes que estaban empleados en transportar tropas enemigas contra nosotros con la bandera Inglesa. En la causa que se les siguió, no alegaron los Capitanes otro pretexto que el de haber sido compelidos á ello por los Españoles, que fueron, sin embargo, bien servidos y no se ha visto que ninguna nacion haya reclamado contra esta infraccion. Si ellos usaban impunemente de los buques nuestros en nuestro daño, ¿por que derecho estabamos nosotros obligados á respetarlos mas? ¿Y no parece al contrario que nuestro estado de insurreccion hace mas necesarios nuevos saltos?

La observacion de Ud. con respecto al bloqueo, que no cree efectivo por que no pueden unos pocos botes situados arriba de San Miguel bloquear los sesenta ó setenta cañones del Orinoco

ni los puertos que estan abaxo de aquel punto, no tiene ninguna fuerza, si considera V.ª que el único puerto habilitado del Orinoco ha sido siempre la Angostura: este era el que nosotros bloqueabamos mas particularmente: á él entro y de él salió la Argel. Aun quando admitiesemos, pues, que antes de la llegada del Miniane Orian no habia un bloqueo efectivo para todo el Orinoco, es preciso confesar que lo habia para Angostura. Mas: el artículo 33.º de las ordenanzas de Cano, que antes he citado, establece terminantemente que incurren en la pena de confiscacion los buques nuestros que vayan destinados con víveres ó efectos de contrabando para plaza bloqueada por mar ó por tierra. Si V.ª no se convence de que el bloqueo marítimo de los puertos del Orinoco era efectivo, basta que lo haya sido el de tierra. Esta ley Española, única que puede regir nuestra conducta, asi por que no conocemos otra, como por que la represalia no obliga á aplicarla, fue pro-

- mulgada en 1796 y desde entonces ha estado en uso en
presencia de toda la Europa y de los mismos Estados
Unidos del Norte. Ninguna potencia la ha reclamado
y todas han sufrido y visto con indiferencia las ejecutadas
- sas transgresiones del derecho público en nuestra lucha actual
Las intenciones de los neutros han sido adivinadas, y las adi
- vinaciones han sido bastante causa para pronunciar confis
- cacion contra los buques y efectos, y prision contra las tripulacio
- nes de los buques apresados en el bloqueo de Cartagena. La
conducta de Venezuela ha sido incomparablemente mas regular
no se le puede atribuir un acto semejante.

Vsa se desentiende en su nota del 29 de
este argumento que es uno de los mas poderosos que propuse
en mi anterior. Yo sé que la España no puede dictar
leyes á las Naciones; pero tambien sé que las que esta-
- blezca y practique en odio de Venezuela, deben ser practi
- cadas por esta en odio de ella. Mientras Vsa no me pro

suada que el derecho de retaliacion es injusto, creeré que este solo argumento, (prescindiendo del bloqueo marítimo) es suficiente para calificar la justicia con que procedimos en las condenas de las galeras Frigg y Libertad. Los errores ó faltas que se observan en el modo y en los procedimientos, son, como he dicho antes, efectos inevitables de las extraordinarias circunstancias en que nos hallabamos, y no perjudican en nada á lo principal que es el derecho fundado en los hechos constantes por que han sido confesados judicialmente.

Insensiblemente he prolongado esta carta mas de lo que deseaba. Para una materia de tan poca importancia hemos extendido demasiado nuestra discusion, que no quiero hacer mas molesta añadiendo nuevas razones. Si las que he expuesto en mis cinco comunicaciones no prueban la justicia y rectitud con que se dictaron las condenas, las mas, en que pudiera dete-

— mente, solo servirian para hacer difícil la conferencia cerca
los deseos de V.ª y contra los mios propios.

Reniuevo á V.ª los testimonios de apre
cio y alta consideracion con que soy

De V.

el mas atento adicto servidor

Transcription of text
Texte transcrit

A. B. Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, España

Angostura, September 6th 1818.

Sir

Some additional facts and circumstances relative to the disagreeable subject of our recent Correspondence, having come into my possession to day by an arrival from Martinique, it becomes my duty to submit them to your Excellency's notice, which I do with sanguine expectation of their decisive effect. —

It is pertinent to the purpose however, previously to survey a passage or two in your last letter, which may have glided over too hastily. —

Under cover of an Old Ordinance of Spain your Excellency advances to the assault of neutral rights on the plea of your antagonists abuses at Carthagena &c. having on a former occasion referred to precedents of retaliatory outrages set by England and France. —

It is surely in the decrees of Monarchs, who assume the power on various pretences, of modifying, altering, or repealing the law of Nations, that we most readily find examples - but examples that ought to be avoided. - These royal mandates are exceptions to the common consent of nations & the opinions of jurists, they consequently furnish no standard for conduct or judgment. they must bend to the Law of nations, - not the law of nations to them. - Elizabeth of England would graciously permit neutral Vessels to sail for Ports not blockaded, "provided, says he, the enemies of my Crown observe on their part the same conduct"

The law of nations depends not on royal whimsies, so extravagant as the doctrine implied in this observation. - If the "enemy of his Crown" chose to assent to the proposition of his brother Monarch one thing would become law, - if not, it would be very different. Let us wonder no longer that Xerxes lashed the Hellespont, or that Darius Nicanute commanded the Ocean to recede from his royal feet. —

The lex talionis, with all that has been said of it, is foreign from the question. - Enemy may use it against Enemy - Even then, the rigorous Mosaical rule of eye for eye, and tooth for tooth does not authorize us to retort the atrocities of the guilty upon the innocent: a rule never, under any circumstances, can it be pretended that a belligerent can exercise it on a neutral. - The judicious Mackintosh has decided, conformably to reason and law, that an individual Government may in its own jurisdiction relax the Law of Nations in favor of Neutrals, but can by no means extend it to their prejudice. - That is, a nation may exercise its own rights, or dispose of its own goods, as it pleases but cannot presume to alter or meddle with the common rights of all nations. - They alone who have jointly instituted any system can abolish it by common consent. —

The supposed acquiescence of the United States in the abuses of your enemy, what soever could conceive, how ever positively is totally devoid of foundation. - In the correspondence between our Secretaries of State, and the Spanish Ambassador, it appears that our Government pursued its usual course with steady unwavering pace, declaring that nothing but actual blockade would be respected on our part. - Of this the Spanish Ambassador was formally notified. - Don Onis himself yielded to the sharp remonstrance, grounded on Morillo's proclamation of blockade, &c. —

In the correspondence between Mr. Madison (then Secretary of State) and Mr. Merry, the British Ambassador in 1804, the former having warmly protested against the general blockade of Martinique & Guadaloupe, which his Government had proclaimed, the Ambassador on the 12th of April 1804, apprised Mr. Madison officially, that the British Government had acceded to the demands of North America, had issued orders, "to Commodore Hood and to the Judges of the Vice-Admiralty Courts in the West Indies, not to consider any blockade of those Islands as existing unless in respect

of particular Ports, which may be actually invested, and then not to capture Vessels bound to such Ports unless they shall previously have been warned not to enter them." — This notification from the Admiralty Office (enclosed in Mr. Merry's dispatch) is dated the 5th January 1804.

Here, then, is another incident that demonstrates the tenacity of our Government in regard to its maritime rights: and the former one, I trust, will convince you, that your Enemy has not been licensed to indulge in abuses of public Law, whilst a rigid compliance with its very letter was exacted from Venezuela. —

The case of Great Britain is a complete answer to your insinuation, that it belongs to blockaders and besiegers alone (i.e. to Nations at War) "to decide on the description & number of forces" which they are to employ. — Britain thought otherwise in relation to blockade, and believed the United States entitled to an equal Vote in whatever concerned their rights. — Nations at War are exclusive judges of the force they array against the Enemy: Neutrals will judge of the legality or illegality of its exercise against their Ships and Property. —

It is with great pleasure I also refer your Excellency to another decision in point (and many might be cited) had by the High Court of Admiralty in Great Britain in the case of the Twee Gebroeders (See Robinson's Reports, p. 62.) It was there decided, that where there was a reasonable presumption that no actual blockade existed, the Vessel is entitled to warning off the Port or River. — The mere act of sailing for the Port under the dubious state of the actual blockade at the time was deemed insufficient to fix upon the Vessel the

penalty of breaking the Blockade".-

We have the very same authority & much more for maintaining, that a Naval Commander cannot revive a Blockade without the same form of notification that is necessary to establish an original one (6 Vol of Robinson's Reports p. 112) all this but confirms the doctrine of actual Blockade, & the nullity of Blockading by Proclamation.

Every Circumstance, every fact I have gleaned by the most diligent enquiry, satisfy me to the inmost recesses of my conscience and judgement, that the Ports of the Orinoco were never Blockaded in the legal sense of the term.- There never was the semblance of a competent force to effect it until the latter end of June or beginning of July when the Admiral arrived in the River with (6 sail (3 small Brigs, the remainder Schooners & Sloops) and 8 Flatboats which came about the same time from Guiana to co-operate with him.- All the attempts to prove a paper Blockade a real one, are unavailing.- What a few Canoes &c. could effect scarcely deserves a remark.- They were the "shadow of a Shade".- I speak from the testimony & proofs.-

It is in evidence, that Admiral Brion anxious to obtain supplies, had procured a cargo of Provisions to be shipped in the Schooner Trenton.- That very cargo was furnished to Captain Pollock by Messrs Leslie & Leamy for the Admiral.- When the Liberty sailed from Martinique, her Supercargo had instructions to look for a market at any point between Angostura and Para.- Arriving in the Orinoco the idea of a blockade was not then suggested.- The crew of the Flatboat that boarded her in the avidity with which they began to break open barrels of Provisions, proved that they were no strangers to hunger.- and the Pilot

put on board was to conduct her to meet the Admiral. — It never appeared reasonable, certainly, that People in want of food should suffer such a Cargo to leave the River (see Note B.) indeed the Admiral assured the Supercargo of payment for it, on his arrival at Angostura, in money, or Produce of the Country at a fair Price. — How different was the result! When the mistrustless Man was going to enquire about payment, he saw the Vessel advertised for Sale. —

The seizure and confiscation of the Tiger — the character of that or the occurrence just recited, I profess not language to describe. — Here were no Partisans, no Purveyors of Spain, as most strangely represented; but one in continuance of a Trade long pursued, the other in quest of a market between Para and Guayana for a simple Cargo of Provisions. — From a personal Knowledge of Mr. Leamy, one of the most respectable Citizens of Philadelphia, I never imagined that he could deviate from the road of impartiality & honor, & am convinced that he has not in the instance which you have thought proper to treat with so much asperity and censure. — His Partner Mr. Ledlie, I have no reason to think less respectable, nor has the Venezuelian Government. — He was a Captain in Miranda's expedition, ever an ardent advocate of South-American independence. He drained his purse, he risked his life for the liberty of Venezuela. — He even forwarded supplies & stores after he settled in Martinique, when other Merchants had declined it. Yet these highly reputable Gentlemen have been stigmatized as Spanish Partizans in disguise. — How egregiously has Your Excellency been deceived! How cruelly have your friends been requited! (See Note B.) A calm dispassionate Review of facts will shew, how little

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these worthy men have merited the imputations cast upon them. - It is with deep concern indeed, I hear that the loss sustained in the rapacious seizure of the Liberty has sensibly embarrassed these Merchants in their business, & besides opening responsible to Mr. Coulter for the value of the Schooner, they are so long deprived of their funds. - In fact they are ruined / (see Note C)

Contemplating the facts as they occurred, we must confess, that the Public forces of Venezuela seized a couple of American Schooners, ravenously devoured their Provisions, consumed the other parts of the Cargo, ejected the Officers and Crews, and incorporated the Vessels with their Squadron to act against the Enemy. - The intention of the Admiral then, was probably to vanquish the foe by hook or by Crook, & recompense the Owners afterwards: otherwise it is impossible to imagine more unjustifiable Captures. - It is useless to deviate from this point: The Public force made prey of the property, and the Government incurs the responsibility. - The posthumous trial in the Court scarcely deserves a place in the discussion. - It could not change the nature or motives of anterior transactions. -

The United States treating as sacred every thing consecrated by the name of Liberty, prefer to demonstrate / where other Governments appeal to force / & try to obtain justice. - This is the grand & immovable basis of their conduct with foreign Nations, & we trust it is equally prized in Venezuela. - If I have hitherto been disappointed in my confident expectations of restitution, I hope soon to remove all doubts of our right to it. -

If our first intercourse consists of complaint, as Your Excellency one lamented, in common with myself, the fact is not to be disguised that the fault lies not at the door of North America. -

Entertaining no doubt that the new light shed upon

the subject with flash conviction on your discerning mind
I gladly look forward to a speedy adjustment of these equitable
claims, and a happy termination of your special correspondence.

With sentiments of the highest regard
I remain Sir,
Your Excellency's Very Obt Servt
B. Irvine

His Excellency Genl
Bolivar, Supreme Chief
of Venezuela, &c.

(A) Merchants now in this City, by no means friendly to the United States, affirm, that the Crews of the Fleche and &c. were then in a starving Condition, could not have arrived at Guayana without the timely relief afforded by the Liberty's Cargo.

(B) The gallant Ledlie as I am informed, had advanced $8000 to General Miranda. — He seconded this by his personal services. — It is a fact that he was both reproached, persecuted by some inveterate French Royalists in Martinique for the part he acted in promoting assistance in South America against the legitimate Sovereign (to use the deceptions cant of monarchists) — His Politics injured his Commercial pursuits. — See then, how abortive are the attempts of informers be they who they may, to blacken the reputation of M. Ledlie! — If they wilfully misrepresented things to your Excellency, neither you nor I ought to forgive them. —

(C) Extract of a letter from Silas Marean, Esq. American Vice-Consul at Martinique, to B. Irvine.

"I am very glad to learn, that you have it in charge
"to claim the Vessels Captured last Year, I most sincerely hope
"you will succeed. — The Owners of the Liberty are established

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here: Her Capture has been the actual cause of the ruin of the House. - They suspended payment a few days since. - Could they recover this property, it would enable them to go on, & pay all. —

I only add, that it is difficult to reason coolly on certain points, whilst by implicating the character of worthy individuals never fail to enlist our feelings. - You I doubt not, will henceforth be indignant at the disingenuous attempts made to injure the good name of the Gentleman last mentioned. —

Angostura, September 10th 1818.

Sir

I had the honor of receiving Yesterday your communication of the 6th. - Mine of the same date, I promise myself will have had material influence in putting a period to this wearisome correspondence. Your last Letter obliges me to trouble Your Excellency with a few comments more; but this apart, I was about to communicate other circumstances & reflections. —

The appropriation is indefensible on any ground, plea, or condition, except that of preemption. - After that act, it was useless to institute any forms in the Court of Vice Admiralty. - Justice must be blind, impartial, unbiased. - To this end are the judiciary regulations of all Nations directed. - The consumption of the bales goes and denationalization of the Vessels, if they had not a direct tendency to bias the Court, are of themselves inadmissible. - Had the Vessels actually committed a breach of blockade, as they did not, most other Courts in Christendom would have decreed restitution for an anticipation so gross, as that of the Admiral in this case

You assign potent reasons for using the Vessels. - I could not

produce better for insisting on full compensation. – Important benefits received in the exigency of your affairs, ought to be remembered and returned with gratitude. – Your Squadron it is true, might have impressed the Vessels into the service, the Government thus becoming answerable for all damages and consequences. –

The captures of 1814 have not the remotest similarity to those we speak of, nor does it seem worth the while gravely to defend the conduct of one Nation by the abuses of another. – This would be to set up the right of abuse, which I am sure you do not intend. – But the slightest deviation from acknowledged law, brings us unawares by a quick transition to this ground. – However reprehensible the conduct of Spain may have been, no argument adverse to our claims can be founded on the imagined compliance of our Government, as the United States are at this moment calling Ferdinand VII. to a rigorous account. – I hope also to convince Your Excellency if I have not that the Merchants in question had particularities for South America rather than for Spain. – A Man who is swimming at sea for his life, receives six or seven wounds from the Spaniards, is not very likely to become their Assistant, friend, or satellite. –

The provisions furnished to Admiral Brion at Margarita about May 1817 by Captain Pollock, led to a Contract to supply one or two Cargoes in the Orinoco, whether the Squadron was preparing to come. – Pollock arrived in the Schooner Edenton, as stipulated, the shadow of doubt exists

with me, that the encouragement held out by Pollock in Martinique induced the Supercargo of the Liberty to steer hither to meet the Venezuela Squadron. — In a moral or probable view, the shipment may be regarded as relates to the Supercargo as part of Pollock's Contract. — What confirms this is the fact, that Admiral Brion addressed a note to the Officer of the American Schooner up the River, assuring him of security, supposing then no doubt, that the Tiger was one of the expected Vessels and the Liberty when boarded, was warned of the Spaniard being in the River (not a word of Blockade) and conducted to meet the Admiral.

So sanguine was Mr Ledlie of receiving restitution, that he ordered a Brig to this Port, where she is now waiting a Cargo of Produce, which he expected would undoubtedly be furnished on that account. — Such confidence in the justice of a Cause is corroborative proof of its being just indeed. —

The testimony now in my possession, together with a mass of local and circumstantial information relative to the reduction of Angostura force me to dispute the existence of a legal blockade, to deny it entirely as applicable to the question. I could enter into particular details, were I not averse from trespassing on your time and patience. — By Your Excellency's admission, the Tiger was not liable to Capture, because she sailed from Guayana where she finished loading, after much difficulty and delay in procuring funds or Merchandize of any sort, to enable the Supercargo to Conclude his business, & return with the proceeds of a previous trade. — By remaining he could have run no risk as shall be shewn, nor could he incur any by sailing out. — Neutral property is respected in Captured places, How could it be subject to Confiscation in a River not blockaded ?. — It is proper perhaps to mention here, that the Admiral after he began to think of making

Prize of this Vessel, demanded of Mr Lamson to give up the Note heretofore alluded to, promising protection &c; but Mr. Lamson refused the request. —

Mr L. (I repeat) was withdrawing from the Country all the funds or Goods he could collect for his principals. — There was no collusion, no concealment; he was winding up the concerns of Messrs Peabody & Tucker in an ordinary traffick, & the Tiger was not subject to any other interruption than that of being boarded & searched. —

With respect to British acknowledgments, we are perfectly aware, that when they are at peace, the British recognize no other Blockade as legitimate than actual investment by an adequate force; & am advised, that the Governor of St. Lucia obtained restitution for the capture of a British Vessel, made by Admiral Brion, in a manner less offensive than that of the American Schooners. —

The more closely we scrutinize those circumstances, and the character of the Merchants and Supercargoes in both cases, the more favorably will we be impressed with the fairness of the mercantile transactions. — The more we contemplate the behaviour of the Squadron on the other hand, the certainer we are of the Claimants being entitled to complete reparation. —

Although the amount claimed is inconsiderable, it may be of great Consequence to the Claimants. — The principles which appear to have been violated by the Admiral and the Count involve the most important Considerations the cheif cause of complaint and remonstrance. — That Your Excellency could not always, during

a War of extermination, prevent irregularities, is evident, because you could not be omnipresent. – Now that you are on the eve of reaping the rich reward of your bloody toils, that illustrious coadjutors are returning to co-operate in the administration of public concerns, and dedicate their talents to the commonwealth, I cannot apprehend a recurrence of incidents too well adapted to disturb public harmony. –

Before I close this last note, as I flatter myself it will be, permit me to remind Your Excellency of the embarrassment felt by the Government of the United States at perceiving the appearance of two Patriotic Governments in Venezuela. – One Constitution, formed at San Felippe de Caracas, the 8th May 1817, and consummated at Pamplatar the 21st of same month, was officially forwarded to our Government via Jamaica. – This Constitution seems a good one, celebrated names appear to have given it their sanction. – As we cannot serve two Masters at once we could not recognize two Governments over one, & the same people. Now, the occurrence is understood, but was a cause of hesitation and postponement. – The recollection of this fact is sufficient to annihilate prejudices on a certain topic, of which too much has been said already.

Reiterating my best wishes for Your Excellency's success in all Patriotic endeavours, and for your individual happiness, I remain Sir,

His Excellency Gen'l Bolivar,
Supreme Chief of
Venezuela &c. &c.

Your Obedient Servant
B. Irvine

Mr. B. Irvine to Gen. Bolivar, Jan. 15, 24, 1818

Mr. B. Irvine to Gen. Bolivar, Jan. 6 & 10, 1818

Sir, Angostura, October 10th 1818.

Although the correspondence between general Bolivar and myself, (unexpectedly continued till this time) does not lead a favorable issue, yet I am ordered to inform you of the disposition of my "supreme" disinstand. He has already undergone more changes than a butterfly, - successively passing through the stages of compliment, - complaint, - petulance, puerility and reproach; sophistry, false assumptions, and unfounded assertions, constituting his chief or only weapons. —— I think I have complied with my instructions, and exercised forbearance until it became useless. Since then I have dealt in strong representations on the actual subject. You will be struck with the imperious air with which he assumed a knowledge of every particular that had transpired at Guayana and Angostura, during the absence of the latter, - insinuating that he had directed the operations of sieges, (which never existed) whose every incident and movement "passed before his eyes." Notwithstanding all this confidence, it turns out, that the "supreme" generalissimo was not here at all, except on a temporary visit after the battle of San Felix; and of a most remarkable occurrence he had never heard until I communicated it accidentally by way of argument. - What romancing! what prevarication!

About the latter end of next week, I believe gen. B. will detour to join the army. - Eight or ten days ago, he convened an assembly of the principal citizens and officers, made them a speech on military and civil concerns, and concluded with desiring the election or appointment of a committee who should report to him before his departure their plans of organizing a government, when the Spaniards shall have been expelled, and the patriots are in possession of the country.

On this committee are the names of Roscio, Castro, Peñalver and 9 others, citizens of intelligence — Some suppose that B's regarding such a report at this time is combined with his particular views of ambition. — I content myself with stating the fact. I know that members of the committee are perplexed about the propositions they should make. Their study is to weaken the influence of military commanders, and reduce their power to reasonable dimensions — Hic labor, — hoc opus est!

Letters, I learn, have been lately received from Lopez Mendez, in London, brought by the last boat from Trinidad — They paint in feattering colors the liberality of some London merchants who sent him 1000 guineas for his personal expenses alone, — saying, that when he or his government could conveniently liquidate the sum, they might do it if they chused. He also intimates (to general B. declares) that general Mac Gregor would proceed for Venezuela, former difficulties being surmounted. — An 18-gun brig (the Imogen) has arrived at St. Barts. from London with muskets and munitions for this government; and the brig is to join Brion's squadron, which it is now believed, will be superior to the enemy's. — The junction of Bury, Jolly &c, is supposed to have put this matter beyond doubt. If so, the reduction of Cumana is practicable. Should the patriots gain that point without material damage, all is theirs. May they make a rational use of their independence!

With respect to the army we hear that Gen. Perez, in Casanare, (a district of New-Granada) will reinforce Paez in Barinas, if necessary, with 1500 or 2000 men, — or co-operate with the Venezuelian army in any other manner. —

+ the province — the town of Barinas being in possession of the royalists.

Spaniards in the more remote parts of New Granada we have not learned any additional intelligence of late.

From the nature of things, you cannot but perceive that British influence reigns here as elsewhere. Every nation and cabinet appear to bow before the almighty oligarchy of Great Britain. - I think it probable, that the Supreme Chief had rather look for models there than in the United States, or any other republic. He has talked otherwise at times; - but his professions are like the passing wind or fleeting clouds. - The prevailing report also of the restoration of Pensacola to Spain, causes some folks here to regard our government as intimidated by England, - a circumstance that (at the moment) promotes no respect on the part of men who esteem nothing but power. - I am without particular information, and merely reply to the many questions asked, - That our government will neither pursue a timid policy nor a rash one: if they relinquish Florida for the moment, they will take special care that no foreign nation, no third power, shall ever be permitted to occupy it on any account.

Before I close this note, I must observe that some members of the committee above mentioned are perfectly at ease with regard to the colored population. Indirect methods will be adopted to destroy their influence, - or rather to prevent it. - A considerable property qualification or condition annexed to suffrage, would make their numbers insignificant as ciphers; and some such measure will be resorted to, I am certain. In fact the great majority will be slaves as heretofore - all the blacks unquestionably. The Spaniards now hold these in servitude in all parts under their dominion. Should the patriots recover possession of the country,

* I trust it is unfounded.

and of their individual estate, the poor slaves must remain in state pro. affixed to the soil. No change will be wrought in their fate. No transformation will take place. None can prophesy when the sun will rise that is to light the poor negro to freedom. But, gladly quit the dreary and desolated theme, - wishing that there existed not white nor black nor colored slaves in the compass of the globe.

Now considering some one point of your instructions as faithfully fulfilled as I could. - On some of the remainder I fear I cannot afford any information. I shall collect what is practicable, - and when that is done, I foresee no motive for a longer residence in this quarter.

With sentiments of the highest regard
I remain, sir,
your very obed. servant.
B. Irvine.

Hon. John Quincy Adams
Secretary of State.

N.B. By this conveyance you will receive, I hope, copies of my letters of the 6. 10, & 26 Sept. to Gen. B. and of the 1st & 8th inst. with his also, - besides preceding ones previously mentioned. - I am concerned at the fewness of opportunities for writing regularly to the United States.

Relative to my correspondence, I have addressed a letter to Dr Forsyth, one of the most respectable men in Augustine, who has had the best means of knowing or seeing the events of the two last years. - On this account I was desirous of availing myself of his knowledge. Should he answer my interrogatories, and you think proper to use them, I hope his name will be withheld - else the consequences would be tragical, as persons under a despotic govt. and among a people accustomed to revenge injuries, or satisfy hatred with the daggers of hired assassins. Do excuse this inaccurate.

(Translation)

Angostura, 25th September 1818.

Sir,

With all the attention I have bestowed on your notes of the 6th and 10th, and how much soever I am interested by your description of the character and circumstances of Messrs. Leamy, Leslie and Lamson, I could not persuade myself of the illegality you undertake to prove in the condemnation of the schooners Tiger and Liberty. By constantly adding argument to argument without answering mine, we shall render the discussion interminable which might already have been concluded, if from the beginning we had limited and directed our arguments to the two principal points of the question. To show whether the places of Angostura and Guayana were blockaded or not, by sea or land, from the month of January last year, and whether during the blockade the Tiger entered and sailed from this port, and the Liberty intended to do so, ought to have been our only object.

The capture of these vessels far from being unjust, has been made conformably to the very doctrine which serves as a rule of conduct to the Captains of American vessels (See the work entitled, The American Shipmasters Daily Assistant, or Compendium of Marine Laws and Mercantile Regulations and Customs p. 30, Portland edition.) Blockade according to this doctrine is de facto or by notification. Actual investment of the place blockaded is necessary to the first: for the second, notification accompanied by a competent or incompetent force is sufficient, and both certainly the rights under this and more extensive than those of the other.

I have proved that the decree of blockade was issued seasonably, and published directly and indirectly according to our relations with foreign countries. The government of Venezuela was not bound to do more. I have likewise proved, that we kept forces without intermission in the river and avenues at sea, consequently no doubt can remain of the reality of the maritime

blockade. Nevertheless I am willing to admit this argument and confine myself solely to the authority we derived from blockade by land. — If our maritime forces have appeared to you insignificant, — the shadow of a shade, I think you will not harbor a like opinion of the army by land which was at least four-fold the number of the enemy's troops whom we blockaded.

The most expeditious method I perceive of prompt adjustment, is to submit this question to the decision of arbitrators. Whether the towns of Angostura and Guayana being blockaded or closed by a competent force, the neutral vessels that entered or intended to enter them, incurred the penalty of confiscation, according to Spanish ordinances and practice. The desire of seeing the special part of your mission terminated, which I hope may be accepted by you as the shortest and as promising the most satisfactory results.

Your observations concerning the schooner Liberty are founded on false or mistaken informations. The cargo of provisions she brought, not only came not to our squadron, but it was denounced as the property of Spaniards who had ordered those stores to Martinique to purchase them. This information was disregarded, because it was not deemed necessary to leave to whom belonged the cargo when the violation of blockade admitted of no doubt.

The right of retaliation of which I have spoken to you, authorises us to execute against Spain, our enemy, the laws and practice she exercises against Venezuela, be they to the prejudice of neutrals or not, without our conduct in this case being characterised as an innovation or transgression of public law. The nation which first violates the law, is the only one that can be called a transgressor, and is alone accountable for this offence. An enemy who makes use of the same weapons with which she is attacked, does no more

than defend herself. - This is the most ancient law, the most universally acknowledged and practised.

I know not what importance may be affixed to the paper directed by admiral Brion to the supercargo Lamson offering him good treatment. The admiral supposed, that the Tiger had not infringed the blockade, but having done it, neither the admiral nor anyone else could absolve her from the penalty decreed by law.

The appointment of referees to pronounce on the legality of blockade, as I have proposed above, exonerates me from extending this reply any further. I recommend to you therefore to take this expedient into consideration and apprize me of your resolution concerning it. I think that this is the clearest proof I can offer of the rectitude and impartiality of my intentions.

I have the honor &c. to be

Your most obedt. servt.

Bolivar.

To Mr Irvine, Agent of the U. States of N. America to Venezuela.

In B. Irvine's of 10 Oct. 1818.

Gen. Bolivar to Mr. I. 25 Sept. 1818

Angostura 25 de Setiembre de 1818.

Señor Agente

Por mas atencion que he prestado á las notas de V.S. de 6 y 10 del corriente, y por mas que interese la descripcion que V.S. hace en ellas de las calidades y circunstancias de los Señores Leamy, Ledli y Lanson, yo no he podido convencerme de la ilegalidad que pretende V.S. probar en las condenas de las goletas Tigre y Liberal. Añadiendo constantemente razones, sin responder á las que por mi parte le presento, hacemos interminable la discusion, que estaria ya concluida, si desde el principio hubiesemos limitado y dirigido nuestros argumentos á los dos puntos principales de la güestion. Demostrar si las plazas de Angostura y Guayana estaban, ó no, bloqueadas por mar ó tierra desde el mes de Enero del año proximo pasado, y si durante el

Al Señor D. Savine Agente de los Estados Unidos de la América del Norte cerca de Venezuela

bloqueo entro y salio la Fragt de este puerto, é intento hacerlo la Libertad, debio haber sido nuestro único objeto.

Lejos de ser injusto el apresamiento de estos dos buques ha sido hecho conforme á la doctrina misma que sirve de regla á la conducta de los Capitanes de los buques Americanos. (Vease la obra The American Ship master daily assistant, or compendium of marine Laws and mercantile regulations and customs = pag. 30 = edicion de Portland.) El bloqueo siguiendo esta doctrina es de hecho ó por notificacion. Para el primero se exige actual inocupacion de la plaza bloqueada: para el segundo basta la notificacion acompañada de una fuerza competente ó incompetente; y sin embargo los derechos que da este último son mas extensos que los del otro.

Yo he probado á V.E. que el decreto de bloqueo se expidio oportunamente y se publico directa ó indirectamente conforme á nuestras relaciones con los paises extrangeros. El Gobierno de Venezuela no estaba obligado á hacer mas. He probado tambien que conservamos sin intermision fuerzas en el rio y cruceros en el mar, consiguientemente ninguna duda puede quedar sobre la realidad del bloqueo marítimo. Quiero, no obstante, prescindir de este argumento y limitarme solo al derecho que nos daba el bloqueo por tierra. Si nuestras fuerzas marítimas han parecido á V.E. insignificantes y sombra de una sombra creo que no tendrá la misma idea del exército de tierra que era p

lo menos quádruplo respecto de las tropas enemigas que bloqueaba-
mos.

El medio mas breve que yo encuentro para una
buena transaccion es que sometamos la güestion al juicio de árbitros
que decidan: si quando bloqueadas por tierra las dos plazas de Nego-
cia y Guayana por fuerza competente, incurrieron en la pena de
confiscacion, segun las Ordenanzas y prácticas Españolas, los buques
neutros que entraron ó intentaron entrar en ellas. Los deseos de ver
terminada la parte especial de la mision de Vsa me han dictado
este medio que espero sea aceptado por Vsa como el mas breve y que
puede tener un resultado mas satisfactorio.

Las observaciones de Vsa relativamente á la goleta
Libertad estan fundadas sobre informes falsos ó equivocados. No so-
lamente no venia en auxilio de nuestra Esquadra el cargamento de
víveres que ella trahia, sino que le ha denunciado como propie-
dad de Españoles que habian mandado aquellos fondos á Martinica
para comprar víveres. Esta denunciacion fue despreciada, por-
que no le creyó necesario saber á quien pertenecia el cargamento
quando no admitia duda la violacion del bloqueo.

El derecho de retaliacion de que he hablado á Vsa
no es autorisa para executar contra nuestra enemiga la España

las leyes y prácticas que ella ejerce contra Venezuela, sean, ó no, en perjuicio de los neutros; sin que en este caso ninguna conducta pueda caracterizarse de innovacion ó transgresion de la ley pública. La nacion, que quebranta primero la ley, es la única que puede llamarse infractora: y es la sola responsable de este atentado. El enemigo que se sirve de las mismas armas con que se le ofende, no hace sino defenderse. Esta es la ley mas antigua y la mas universalmente conocida y practicada.

Yo no sé qué fuerza pueda darse al papel dirijido por el Almirante Brion al Sobrecargo Lanson ofreciendole que seria bien tratado. El Almirante suponia que la Jijre no hubiese violado el bloqueo, por que habiendolo hecho ni el Almirante ni nadie podia absolverla de la pena á que la ley la condenaba.

El nombramiento de árbitros que pronuncien sobre la legalidad del bloqueo, segun he propuesto arriba, me exime de estender mas esta contestacion. Lo recomiendo, pues, á V.S. que tome en consideracion este medio, y me participe su resolucion acerca de él. Creo que en este el testimonio mas claro que puedo dar de la rectitud é imparcialidad de mis intenciones.

Tengo el honor de reiterar los homena

ser sinceros de respeto y alta consideracion con q. soy

De V.S.a

el mas atento adicto Serv.

Bolivar

Angostura 25 de Setiembre de 1818=8.°

Señor Agente

La nota que tengo el honor de incluir a V.a responde a algunas de las razones que V.a me expuso en las suyas de 6 y 10 del corriente. No estando ni V.a ni yo convencidos con los argumentos hasta ahora presentados, sería prolongar interminablemente la conferencia continuarla del mismo modo que se ha conducido hasta aquí. Como una prueba de la sinceridad de mi deseo por verla terminada y por que la imparcialidad y rectitud sean las que dicten

Al Señor R. Irvine Agente de los Estados Unidos de la América del Norte cerca de Venezuela

la decision, propongo en conclusion el juicio de árbitros que h
elegirán y procederán á formar sus acuerdos inmediatamente que
V.S.a me participe su aceptacion.

Mientras que la question no ha decidida
ninguna disposicion puede tomarse con respecto al pago. Si en
la sentencia que se pronuncie se declaran insultos los apre-
samientos, yo ofrezco á V.S.a que se harán todos los esfuerzos
posibles por complacer á V.S.a socorriendo á los Señores Leandro
y Ledli, ó se harán los arreglos que se crean convenientes
conforme á la situacion de los interesados y del Gobierno de
Venezuela.

Soy con la mayor consideracion
De V.S.a
el mas atento obedo servr.

J. Olivos

Rec. from Gardner
of 4th June 1879.

Angostura, September 26th, 1818.

Sir,

Probably a re-examination of your letters & mine will convince Your Excellency, that all your remarks on retaliation have been answered. - When you carry retaliation to the length of atonement, it was not to be expected that I should employ much reasoning, since what is unsupported by Law, or color of Law, must fall to the ground. The doctrine of expiation may be good theology, according to various religious systems ancient & modern, but it forms no part of the Law of nations. - Neutrals cannot be disturbed, much less punished, for the excesses of a belligerent. - To suppose it, seems monstrous. - In classic mythology, to be sure, we read of sea monsters exacting tribute of the feeble or unoffending; but at the same time we learn, that their exterminators were regarded as heroes, or venerated as gods. - In truth, there is no foundation for your doctrine. - No jurist of ancient or modern times ever broached it. - Your Argument goes to dissolve the bands of international law. But you ought to consider, that the outrages of A. confer no right on B to cancel his obligation to C, or to others. - If belligerents pretend to act on this illegal principle, Neutrals must equip themselves, that arrows in their quiver for each offender, else there would be a rapid retrogression to universal anarchy or barbarity. - See how much farther your Arguments extend than your intentions! - I ought here to apprize you, or rather I ought to have done it long since, that Morillo's paper Blockades, and those of Admiral Brion stand on a par, in relation to us, whose Commerce they unjustly abridged. -

The American Book you quote, only proves the ignorance

of the Writer or Compiler — Our Reporters, Branch, Wheaton &c &c have given you correct information.

It is to be regretted that, the informer's name and denunciation were not recorded, as we might now so completely brand the one and the other as designedly "false or mistaken".† The Owners of the Liberty were, in that case impartial; they instructed the Supercargo to make Sale at any convenient place from Guayana to Barbados. — The Supercargo however has heard Pollock extol the character of Admiral Brion, whom he represents as his countryman, with whom his influence was great &c. did enter the Orinoco with the hope of meeting the advantageous market described.

Your Excellency's proposition of an Arbitration could only avail to postpone a decision of what we perfectly understand. — A delay of justice is sometimes equal to a denial of it. — Between Citizens of the same Country and Government, Arbitration is a salutary, excellent Practice. — Between Men of different Nations and languages it is almost impracticable. — I have no authority for accepting the proposal, nor would I if I had. — For, were there independant Practical Merchants here, the terms of your proposition would be founded on "Spanish Ordinances and usages", and not on the general Law of Nations, are inapplicable. —

I am not a little surprized at being so often presented with paper effigies of Blockade by sea or land. — I hope I have shewn that Admiral Brion possessed no right to make captures without commencing them on his entering the River. — The Liberty was entitled to warning of the Blockade from the Admiral — if he did not want her cargo for his Crew, which we are confident he did. — Whilst going down to meet the Admiral, he was coming up another branch of the Orinoco, and the flotillas had an engagement. — Surely these events gave the Admiral no right to seize a Schooner. — There was no Blockade of the River or Ports therefore. — What the Blockade was by land, may be decided by a glance. — One or two pieces of Ordinary battering Cannon, or a single Mortar, placed on the

† See note, commencing on next page.

opposite Light Pta Soledad would have enabled the besiegers to reduce Angostura to a heap of ruins in twenty-four hours. — The Artillery too would have given them some command of the narrow part of the River here. A body of Cavalry in motion or station between this and the Upper plains, could, as they did, prevent supplies from above, & the Blockaded were starved out in six or seven months, notwithstanding the actions and skirmishes, or the reinforcements thrown into the place. — Nay, the Cavalry did more: a detachment of Swimmers favored by wind and current, took possession of a Brig. — Thus it affords me pleasure to blazon that enterprize which occasionally supplied the want of Vessels on the water, and Artillery on the land. —

To pretend, then, to confiscate one Vessel for the breach of an imaginary blockade, and another for an intention to violate what had not legal existence, and of which she had not regular warning is to assume a position not tenable by the law of nations. —

Upon the whole, I see nothing exceptionable in the visit of Mr Sheldon to seek the golden market pourtrayed by Mr Pollock, the panegyrist of the Admiral, nor in that of Mr Lamson in the circumstances of the times, to extract as much of his property as possible from the Lion's claws. — But I fear, that the grasp of Romana by proceedings of the Squadron with the attempt to legalize them subsequently in Court, will not bear examination. — Such being my opinion I am proportionably mortified, at the result of our discussions hitherto. —

Trusting Your Excellency will, on perusing this, and pondering on all, be persuaded to alter your determination, I remain, Sir

Most respectfully,
Your Humble Servant
D. Irvine

His Excellency Gen'l Bolivar, S.C. of Venezuela &c.

[Note — One Diaz, commandant of the Alexanas, had made a deposition respecting his boarding the Liberty, in which

he assents, that on telling captain Hill that he must go down and speak the admiral, Hill replied that he did not like to do so, as he had Spanish property or cargo on board, belonging to Brent & Ferrand of the

Compare this with the assertions of Bolivar, that the vessel was warned of blockade and directly ordered to leave the river! Hill could not have told so simple or so false a thing. There were some trifling articles in the Liberty, as caps, combs &c. but they were private adventures which the secretary pried for. The invoice proves what and where the cargo. — I suspect, however, that this deposition was made for the occasion, to show that a brown loaf was a leg of mutton, or that pine-plank was barricoes. — This, as this circumstance is, I think it worth noting. — October 3.

h. R. 9 Annals 9 to Oct 1818

app 9 & Exam. Chron. Oct 26. 1818

Sir, Angostura September 28, 1818.

In enclosing the memorandum on the subject of violent myths in North America, I wish to avail myself of the opportunity to correct a partial inaccuracy in my letter of the 10th inst. to His Excellency the Supreme Chief. The action on board an English vessel, from St. Lucia was not up at Admiral Brion's. the sloop had been carried into Margarita, and afterwards dismissed by genl. Bermudez, there being no legal cause of detention. The merchandize landed in the island was also sent for subsequently. — Although this makes no alteration in the argument, but rather enforces it, yet I am anxious to correct a petty error in matter of fact, no less in justice to Admiral Brion than to myself. I request that you communicate this to the Supreme Chief at his first leisure moment.

Tender you, sir, the assurances of my most official regard, and remain

Your obliged Servant,

B. Irvine

Mr Pedro Briceño Mendez,
Secretary to Genl Bolivar
&c. &c. &c.

[Explanatory note now added. This explanation was rendered necessary by an error into which Capt. Irvine led me by assuming too confidently what he appears not to have understood accurately. I hope he may not have misled me in a few other remarks. However the main ground is unassailable.]

October 3, 1818.

other explanations may yet be amiss.

"Institutions of Venezuela" and such high sounding phrases in Mr. B's letters, are words only — Venezuela, since its existence first was, but remnants of shrunk bars, shamefully, weakly or corruptly administered. — But under the auspices of Bolivar &c. &c. she may soon be of service. — I am confident of a salutary amendment soon.

"Our maritime blockade" — a farce, a traitor, a deception.

"Our admiralty court" — Col. Richard, private secretary to the admiral and secretary to the consul, &c. judge!!

"The trial in Court" — The greatest farce of all. — How can it end. — —

"Siege of Angostina" — A very loose blockade by bodies of undisciplined cavalry, sometimes here, sometimes there, without any artillery or battery to annoy the town, and no possibility of commanding the water — once or twice broken up — but the blockade finally given out for want of supplies from abroad. Spain only supplies none from the islands &c. below — consequently, there was no blockading squadron, though there was a flotilla for one certainly.

"Siege of Guayana" — Idem as Angostina, except that Bolivar with his troops &c. &c. were surprised below it, under-cover of night, [illegible] by a stratagem, from the Spaniards, just before Brion's arrival. Brion came in the hope of catching booty at the evacuation, not to blockade the river, which he could not do without notifications, or warning to individuals.

Ph. Ph. Journal of 10 Oct. 1818

Mr. J. L. Mercier, Jr. of Fin. Balm. 18 Oct.

(Translation.) 125

Angostura, 29th September 1818.

Sir,

In proposing to you in my communication of the 25th, a trial by arbitration, in order to terminate our present conference, it was my principal object to shorten it and to separate from the discussion the slightest shade of partiality. By your non-acceptance of this mode and the extension of your arguments on the same principles previously urged, I find myself compelled by your last note of the 26th, to resolve the question at once.

On the 24th of August last I informed you, that the judicial proceedings of your court of admiralty should be the rule to which I should refer in discussing the case. The facts which you have presented do not impugn the truth of those which appear in the admiralty records, nor is it possible to undervalue these in contraposition with the information of private individuals with has a grievous disregard of the respect due to the laws.

Although you have endeavored in your late letters to prove that the Liberty came in quest of a market between Angostura (and Pareo) (not Paria) I cannot discover any probable point of view for this argument, much less that of the sought out our squadron in preference. By the vessels bill of lading it appears that her destination was Demerari, and Capt. Hill adds in his declaration, that on his voyage thither he learned the condition of Angostura and steered here. The second part of the argument is not only false but unfeasible. The Liberty was met by our light forces, warned of the blockade and ordered off, advising her first to speak with Admiral Brion who was already in the river. She showed a disposition to depart while our boats were present, but as soon as they separated she pursued her voyage for this place, and was overtaken ascending the river. Her intent had been to furnish

over Spain, she would have gone in search of it, or at least have waited for it. Even from doing so, she avoids us, and attempts to evade our blockade. I do not see in all this a single fact which proves her wishes to supply our rebels.

The consumption of the provisions by our troops or crews, does not exempt the owners of the Liberty from the penalty they incurred by her trespass. It is not conceivable how the justice or injustice of an act depends on the circumstances or situation in which we find it. According to your argument it might be said that the misery or abundance in which we may happen to find a land have an influence on the right to confiscate the property, but with the remarkable difference, that for the same reason we needed the cargo, you think we ought to pay for it and acquit the vessel.

If you have not been convinced that the right of retaliation is applicable to neutrals, it is because you confound the public law of nations with the civil law of each state. An individual, it is true, has no right to be delinquent to another because this may have been delinquent to him: the conduct of each ought to be conformable to the law, not to the conduct of his fellow citizens. Nations are governed by other rules. Among these no law is acknowledged to bind one party when the opposite thinks herself unbound. I have repeatedly demonstrated to you, that Venezuela stands in this predicament in her present struggle with Spain, and have just hereunto added that even though by the law of retaliation the vessels in question were not condemnable they are so by the ordinances of prizes which govern our admiralty courts until the peace of the republic we can amend our codes and institutions.

After the numerous arguments I have submitted to you in proof of the reality of blockade by sea and land, when the

† of cruising — literally.

Letter was sufficient for me. I know not to what to attribute your persistency in maintaining the nullity of both, except to sinister and mistaken information which you have received. Your last note has persuaded me that this is the true cause. Otherwise you would not venture to cite facts to me which having passed before my eyes, I disavow when you desire me them. Such is that of the brig Lavoner by wind and current, taken by a detachment of swimmers. Certainly whoever gave you this information has learned to ill of the passages of the Laurel and Aspine, in which some swimmers boarded the enemy's gun-boats, and confounded those events with the capture of a brig taken by our fleeters in front of Pensacola. But it is unluck to be lamented that the source from which you draw all your intelligence relative to the blockade of this place, should be so irritated and ill-informed about them. The fleeters station, situated above the mouth of the Perdido, is called in your account a corps of cavalry; and the aviso the Liberty ascending the river according to the declarations of Capt. Hill and the admiral, you call descending it to meet the squadron. I am confident that if you had received correct information of all circumstances, and had not been heired those I directed you were partial, we would have agreed from the beginning in the legality of the condemnations.

Notwithstanding all your arguments to prove the nullity of blockade by the insufficiency of our forces, I believe that it was effective. Even laying aside the enemy people in war is the absolute judge to decide on the quality & number of troops which ought to be employed in their military operations without the interference of any neutral in defining what are necessary for the enterprize, because this would be to dictate laws out of its jurisdiction, I have

in support of my opinion the result of our blockade and the acknowledgment of the forces blockading, which is the surrender.

All these reasons then being well founded, besides others which I have imparted to you in my former communications, to which I refer, I think I have satisfied and convinced you of the justice of the confiscations. The laws have been followed in them, and do not consider myself authorised to alter or infringe them in favour of the owners of the schooners Tiger and Liberty. This is the only answer I can give you in conclusion of our present conference.

With sentiments of the highest consideration and sincere friendship, I have the honor to repeat myself

Your very obed. devoted servant,

Sullivan

Wm B. Irvine Agent &c.
&c. &c.

Sullivan to Irvine 29 Oct. 1818

In Board of Assd. 29 Oct. 1818

SEE DESPATCH OF JUNE 4,1819.

Angostura 29 de Setiembre de 1818=2°

6

Señor Agente

Al proveer a U.ª en mi comunicacion del 25 el juicio de arbitros para terminar nuestra presente controversia, fue mi objeto principal abreviarla, y apartar de la decision hasta la mas ligera sombra de parcialidad. No aceptando U.ª aquel medio, y extendiendo sus razones sobre los mismos principios, antes alegados, me veo forzado por su ultima nota del 26 a resolver de una vez la question.

En 2 del proximo pasado Agente dice a U.ª que los procedimientos judiciales de nuestro Tribunal de Almirantazgo seguian la regla a que me refiria en la discusion del derecho. Los hechos, que U.ª ha presentado, no destruyen la verdad de los que constan en los procesos seguidos en nuestro Almirantazgo, ni es

Al Señor D. Jorge Agente de los Estados Unidos de la America del Norte cerca de Venezuela.

posible desprecio con la comparación de informes parciales
sin faltar gravemente al respeto debido á las leyes.

Suponga V.E. en sus últimas notas se ha esforzado
por probar, que la libertad venía á buscar un mercado entre
-gotera y Cádiz, yo no encuentro fundado en ninguna probabilidad
ese argumento, y mucho menos el que le inclinase á buscar un
-na escuadra con preferencia. En el conocimiento del buque consta
que su destino era para Demerara, y el Capitan Hill en su decla-
-racion añade que haciendo camino hácia allí, supo el estado en
que se hallaba Augosura, y se dirigió aquí. La segunda parte
del argumento es, no solamente falsa, sino inverosímil. La Liber
fue encontrada por nuestras fuerzas sutiles, avisada del bloqueo y mas
-dada salir previniendole hablase antes con el Almirante Brion
que estaba ya en el rio. Ella manifestó querer salir mientras estu
-viesen presentes nuestras embarcaciones; pero inmediatamente que se sepa
-raron estas siguió su viage para esta plaza, y fué alcanzada remol
-cando el rio. Si su destino hubiera sido proveer á nuestra Escuadra
ella habria ido á buscarla, ó por lo menos, la habria aguardado al
de ser esta su conducta, ella no huye y procura burlar nuestro
bloqueo. No no veo en todo esto un solo hecho que desdice lo

deseos de servir á nuestros Buques.

La consuncion de los víveres por nuestras Gentes o equivocaciones no libera a los dueños de la Libertad de la pena que merecian por su violacion. No puede concebirse, como es que la justicia ó injusticia de un hecho depende de las circunstancias ó situacion en que nos encontrabamos. Segun el argumento de Vga podria decirse que la miseria ó abundancia, en que nos hallasemos, debia influir en el Dro para confiscar la Libertad; pero con la notable diferencia de que Vga quiere que por lo mismo que necesitaba mas el cargamento, debiamos pagarlo, y dexar absuelto el Buque.

Si Vga no se ha convencido de que el derecho de Visitacion es aplicable a los neutros, es por que quiere Vga confundir la ley publica con la civil de cada Pueblo. Un individuo, es verdad, no tiene derecho para faltar á otro, por que este le haya faltado: la conducta de cada uno debe ser conforme á la ley y no conforme á la de su Conciudadano. Las naciones se gobiernan por otras reglas. Entre estas no se conoce ley que pueda obligar á una parte, quando la contraria se cree fuera de ella. En repetidas ocasiones he demostrado á Vga que Venezuela esta en este año en su actual lucha con la España, y ademas he añadido que aun quando por dere-

cho de retractación no fueron conformables los Lugares en giuerion, l
son por las ordenanzas de Cádiz, que rigen en nuestros Tribunale
de Almirantazgo, hasta que pacificada la República podamos
mejorar nuestro código e instituciones.

Después de las muchas razones que le presentad
a V.ª hasta demostrarle la realidad del hecho no creo y viendo
quando me contesta el seguid, no halle á que atribuir la
pertinacia de V.ª, en creerse la medidad de ambos, sino á lo
equivocados que había recibido. La última
vez de V.ª me acabo de persuadir que es esta la verdadera
causa. De otro modo no se concebiría V.ª á creerme hecho
que habiendo pasado por mi vista, los declaraciones quando V.ª lo
describe. Tal es el del Lugarcito, favorecido por el viento y la
corrientes aprendo por un desacuerdo de nadadores. Sin duda
el mismo día á V.ª en su informe, había oido hablar de los pasage
del Cauca y del Lynae, en que algunos nadadores se aborda-
ron los estimados enemigos, y confundió estos sucesos con el
abordamiento del Lugarcito, tomado por nuestras flechazos en
pleno de Lynapima. Pero es bien lamentable que la fuente
de que V.ª extrae todas las noticias, á que se refiere con

respecto al bloqueo de esta plaza, este tan viciada o mal instruida de ellas. El aportadero de flecheras, situado arriba de la boca del Yuquiano, se llama en su relacion cuerpo de Caballeria, y el acto de remontar el rio la Libertad, segun las declaraciones de el Capitan Hill y del Almirante, Usa dice que es bajando á encontrar la Esquadra. Estoy seguro que si Usa hubiese tenido estos informes de todas las circunstancias, y si no hubiese creido ficticios los que yo le he dirigido, habriamos convenido desde el principio en la legitimidad de las conducta.

Sin embargo de todo lo que Usa ha expuesto para probar la nulidad del bloqueo por la insuficiencia de nuestras fuerzas, yo creo que él ha sido efectivo. Sin precendido de que cada Pueblo en guerra es árbitro absoluto para decidir so- bre la especie y número de fuerzas que debe emplear en sus operaciones militares, sin que ninguno neutro pueda mezclarse en definir las que se necesitan para la empresa, por que esto seria dictar leyes fuera de su jurisdiccion, tengo en apoyo de mi opinion el resultado de nuestro bloqueo, y el conocimiento de las fuerzas destinadas que es la regla mas cierta.

Fundado, pues, en todas estas razones y las mas

de que he instruido a V.S. en mis anteriores comunicaciones, á q[ue] me refiero, creo haber satisfecho y persuadido a V.S. la justicia con que fueron dictadas las condenas. Las leyes se han cumpl[ido] en ellas, y no me juzgo autorisado para alterarlas e infringir las á favor de los dueños de las galeras Negro y Libertad. Esta es la única respuesta que puedo dar a V.S. en conclusion de nuestra presente conferencia.

Con sentimientos de la mas alta consideracion y mucha amistad tengo el honor de reproducirme

de V.S.

Atento, adicto servidor

[signature]

Rec'd in Mr Lovines
y. 4. June 1819. —

~~Mr Lovine (B) 4 June 1819~~

Angostura, October 1st 1818

Sir,

I have this moment received your Excellency's letter of the 29th Ult: on the hackneyed subject of the illegal Captures. If none of your arguments has been conclusive, I am glad that your present Answer is final. I ascribe not your failure to lack of ingenuity, but to the impossibility of defending successfully a cause (in my opinion) so desperate. When the illusive hope of redress exists no longer and persuasion is impossible, it is solely a sense of duty that prompts me to the unprofitable superfluous task of refuting your assumptions & errors for the last time. —

It is most unfortunate, that you confirm in your 3rd Paragraph the testimony for seven months in my possession. Messrs Hill, Lates, & Sheldon depose that on the 5th July the Liberty was boarded by six armed Launches, who put on board of her a Pilot, & ordered her to accompany them down the River after taking out 3 Barrels of Bread, 2½ Ditto Beef, and one Keg of Butter. — Proceeding downward, while it seems the Admiral happened to be coming up another branch, the Liberty ran aground, when an engagement ensued between the six Patriot Flatteras and fifteen Spanish Launches &c. By this accident was the Liberty for the moment taken out of possession of the Patriots, without yet speaking the Admiral, as you admit she was required to do before leaving the River. — Now, Sir, was it customary to escort Vessels out of the River with six Flatteras and Pilots, — Vessels in which you had no interest? "Credat Judaeus Apella, non Ego!" No, No; you had no disposeable force to spare for such purposes: but a Cargo of Provisions was so important as to be deemed worthy of a Guard until it should reach the Admiral. — Your Squadron in fact had occupied the Vessel, taken her in charge, & begun to consume the stores. — Having by mistake passed the Admiral, & fallen in with the Spanish flotilla, both yours & the

liberty had to reascend the Orinoco. — As the Navy seized the Libe
without notice of blockade, the Government, I repeat, is responsible th
could your Squadron have established a blockade, had they been in the
Orinoco, since the incorporation of the two Schooners was necessary to
enable the Admiral to pursue the Enemy's naval force after the ev
cuation of Guayana. — But whilst Admiral Brion lay at Margar
the Flankers were at Guiria, or sometimes at Margarita, t
Blockade existed only in Proclamations and empty duress. —

Not choosing for my part, to rate as immaterial circum
stances or incidents, the palpably illegal conduct of the Squadron,
of the Court, I leave those outrages and irregularities as I have alread
represented them; only adding, that as Captain Hill do understood t
Spanish language, they ought on that account to be the better judges
mis-statements of evidence. —

The right of retaliation has no existence, as you describe it
If you can cite a Military author of respectability in support of your
Paradox, I shall yield the argument to you; but that, I know,
impossible. — You attempt to draw a distinction where there is no
difference: The essential character of all law is the same: It must
emanate from competent authority, and constitute a rule of action
By your reasoning there would be no law, except during intervals of
Peace: but Peace would never happen, if Nations were to enjoy such
boundless Prerogatives by remaining at war. — Prerogatives and right
cannot subsist together. — Even Sir William Scott in the British
Admiralty Court has declared, that it is monstrous to suppose that be
cause one Country has been guilty of an irregularity, every other Countr
let loose from the law of Nations, and is at liberty to assume as muc
as it thinks fit. — Bynkershoek too had written, long before: "Retor
sion est nisi adversus eum qui ipse damni quid dedit ac deinde pe
tur, non vero adversus communem amicum". — —

Retaliatory coercion is only justifiable because it tends to force back again into the pale of Law a nation or Government that has forsaken it. — Thus your ground of Retaliation, as unstable as all the rest, slips from under your feet like a quicksand, and you are driven on the mysterious shoals of atonement. — But as Cervantes has with one lash of his satire, exposed the absurdity of vicarious flagellation, I pass it over. —

It is most certain, that I do maintain the entire nothingness or non-entity of Blockade by Land and Water, as relates to the question; & whether your Excellency were in Old Guayana or on the spot, I reiterate the singular but illustrative incident of the Llanero Cavalry, which I had confirmed to me at the fountain-head in this City, — I mean, by the Commander of the party, who favored by circumstances of Wind and Current, which brought the Brig near shore, swam alongside and climbed on board. —

"The station of Flacheras (you say) situated above the "mouth of the Infierno, is styled in your account a corps of "Cavalry, and the act of the Liberty's ascending the River, ac- "cording to the declarations of Captain Hill and the Admiral, "you call descending it to meet the Squadron". —

Pleasant enough, in all conscience! though it may be regretted that the correspondence was not discontinued before it degenerated into farce. — As el apostadero de Flacheras (an equivocal phrase, I confess,) was above the mouth of the Imperial River, that may account for their vanishing to the Shades, when they were required to be visible and present! — Hence the "divine Cavalry" which became a jocular proverb in Angostura, were put in requisition until the Flacheras should reappear! —

With respect to the Liberty's descending the River, it is

true that the Orinoco runs downward, it is as irrefragably true, that the Liberty both descended and ascended it in quest of the Admiral but it is not equally authentic, that I mistook those relative terms, or one operation for another. — Yet, if Your Excellency can find more accurate expressions than the solemn assertions of witnesses, I authorize you to adopt them instead of mine, which were mere repetitions, — faithful echoes of the testimony. — You can now judge whether any information be drawn from vitiated fountains. — Far different is the source. —

Finally then, the testimony of others, my own personal observation and enquiry, every thing, imprint more deeply on my mind the certainty of the illegal Captures, and the more lawless appropriation and confiscation of the Tiger and Liberty. — They are in my view "monstrous proceedings, — which had not imagined would be countenanced much less defended by this Government —

Having thus recorded my deliberate opinion, I take leave of the subject, and renew the considerations of respect with which I am

His Excellency General Bolivar, Supreme Chief of Venezuela &c.

Your very Obedient Servt

W. Irving

8 p. 13 Received 10 Oct. 1818.

W. 9 p. Ans. Octbr. 10. 1818.

(Translation) Augusta Oct. 7th 1818

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter of the 1st Instant in which you take leave of the conference concerning the Captures which you still persist in calling illegal. After having received a conclusive and final Answer, & when there no longer existed any illusive hopes either of compensation or persuasion, I think you might have been excused from the useless & superfluous task of confuting my assumptions and errors. If indeed such was your opinion at the period of your writing that Letter, you would have acted better in sparing yourself the trouble of answering my arguments, by falling again into the same faults you continued to correct in your communication of the 1st of last month.

If the proofs which have been seven months in your possession, are the same that you cited in the 2d Paragraph of your Letter, I do not know how you conclude, that the third Paragraph of my last confirms them. I never could have said that the Liberty was escorted by our Fisheries, nor that the chance of her having descended, was the cause of her separation from them. You surely must have read the passage in question very hastily or have misunderstood it. But granting that there was an escort or Guard, as you would assume, this would only show that our Fisheries were afraid the Liberty would proceed with the same bad faith demonstrated by her former conduct + permit me further to observe, that our Squadron had a real interest in not abandoning

+ This was the first time the Liberty was in their power. Of course insinuating about former conduct, are puerile, or ridiculous, groundless and disingenuous. Nothing is, or Can be, prior to first. B. J.

doming the Liberty while it was doubtfull whether she would not attempt to enter any of the Spanish ports. — The order she received to speak the Admiral, was that he might examine her, & not with the intention of seizing her Cargo, as you so gratuitously suppose. —

It is very extraordinary that you refer the force of my argument concerning retaliation to the opinion of any author I can cite. — Reason & justice need no other support than themselves. Authors add nothing to their strength. — In the whole of my Correspondence I have avoided quoting them as it only serves to render it unwieldy, and troublesome, and because I have observed that the few I have quoted as examples have incurred your contempt.

I should wish to know the name of the Commander of the Spanish swimming Cavalry who informed you of the seizure of the Brig favored by wind and Current. — You repeat this singular but illustrative incident with such positiveness and certainty that I am inclined to believe it may be some occurrence which had not hitherto come to my knowledge different from what I supposed in my former Letter. — It is difficult for me that it be the case, but neither can I persuade myself, that there is any one who amused himself by deceiving you with false tales. — You will oblige me much by informing me who your Author is. —

So far I have been able to reply to your letter in question but on arriving at the paragraph "pleasant enough, in all conscience!" I ought to stop my pen as I have suspended my opinion on its meaning, that our correspondence may not degenerate into farce. I cannot believe it to be your object to turn into ridicule a correspondence serious both on its own account and on that of the persons carrying it on, nor can I persuade myself that you are ignorant of the narrow and dangerous passage of the Bronco between two Rocks to which form the "Bora" called "del Inferno" — the sole cause of ambiguity in the paragraph of my Letter cited by you. —

The jocular proverb of the swimming Cavalry must allude to those brilliant and glorious enterprizes wherein small corps of patriot Cavalry, shaped by swimming the great Rivers of Caura, Caroní, and Apure, dislodging and beating the Spanish troops opposed to them, and boarding their Vessels of war. — Patriotic love and glory alone impelled to those undertakings, which far from being laughable deserve the admiration and applause of those who have a country and love its liberty. I repeat what I have already said, requesting you to read with more attention my letter of the 29th Ult. — It is necessary to change its sense and invert its phrases for you to assume to yourself what I said concerning the information you have received privately from sources which in reality are not badly informed, but corrupt.

I could wish to finish this letter, feigning ignorance of your last paragraph, because being extremely irritating and injurious to the Government of Venezuela, it would be necessary to answer it in your language so contrary to the modesty and decorum with which I have conducted the discussion. — Your pertinacious overheated zeal in maintaining what is not defensible, has ocasioned me to extend my view further than the boundary of our Conference; — I fancy you intend forcing me to a reciprocity of insults — it shall not be so — but I declare to you, that I will not suffer the Government nor rights of Venezuela to be outraged or treated with contempt. — In the defence of our rights against Spain a large proportion of our population has perished, and the rest are eager to risk the same fate. — Venezuela might as well fight against Spain as the whole World, if the whole World were

against the Spx.

I conclude by expressing my joy at taking leave of the subject which I consider terminated, — and by repeating to you the testimony of esteem and consideration with which I have the honor to be &c. &c. &c.

Bolivar

To M. Irvine, Agent of the U. States of North America, near Venezuela, &c. &c.

Recd Jamaica 10 Oct 1818.

from Bolivar 7 Oct 1818.

SEE DESPATCH OF JUNE 4,1819.

Angostura 7 de Enero de 1818 = 8.º

Señor Agente.

Tengo el honor de acusar a V.S. la recepcion de su nota de 1.º del corriente, en que se sirve V.S. de la conferencia sobre las expresiones que V.S. mira en llamar ilegales. Despues de haber recibido V.S. una respuesta concluciva y final y quando ya no existen sin discusion estimulos de compensacion ni de persuacion parece enorme el gasto superfluo empeño de repetir mis asunciones y cargos. Si en efecto juzgaba V.S. de este modo debia escusar su nota, habria sido mejor que se hubiese ahorrado la pena de negarme mis argumentos reincidiendo en las mismas faltas, que procuro corregir, de su comunicacion de 6, 10, y 15 del pasado.

Si la terminacion, que V.S. tiene en su poder, sirve para, son lo que ha ofrecido en el parrafo 2.º de su

Señor D. Antonio Agente
de los Estados Unidos de la America
del Norte cerca de Venezuela

para, no se de donde deduzca V.ª que el 3.º párrafo de mi anter
lo confirma. Ahora puede decir que la libertad fue escrita p
nuestras flechas, ni que la cantidad de hierro dado fue
la cruz de Isabel Segunda de oro. Siguiendo que V.ª no
ha leido muy detenidamente el párrafo en cuestion, o no
ha entendido. Pero aun quando fuese cierta la cosa q
dice que V.ª quiere suponer, esto no significaria sino que
nuestras flechas venian que la libertad procedia de tan
mala fe como su condena posterior demuestra. Demas de esta
observacion me permitia V.ª que añada que nuestra España
tenia un verdadero interes en no alarmar la libertad mien
no entrase lejos de que no emprenderia guerra a las plazas
Mauritanas. La orden que se le dió, para que hablase con el
Marroquino, fue con el objeto de que el la terminase, y no para
dilatarla del modo que tan gratuitamente se ha querido
suponer.

Es bien estraño que tenga V.ª la fuerza de sus
argumentos sobre recriminacion á la opinion de quatro asno
que yo pueda citar. La razon y la justicia no necesitan de
otro apoyo que de sí mismas para subsistir: las autor

no les dan ninguna fuerza. En toda mi correspondencia he evitado las citas, pues que solo sirven para hacer la pluma y cansadora, y por que he notado que las pocas que he hecho, instado por el exemplo de V.S., han merecido su desprecio.

Deseaba saber el nombre del Comandante de la partida de Caballeria Llanera madrileña que instruyó á V.S. del atrincheramiento del Empecinado favorecido por el terreno y las circunstancias. V.S. refiera este singular pero ilustrativo incidente con tal firmeza y seguridad que me hubiera á creer sea cierto algun suceso (que no haya llegado hasta ahora á mi noticia) diferente del que expuse á V.S. en mi narracion. Es muy difícil que asi sea; pero tampoco puedo persuadirme que haya habido quien se divierta engañando á V.S. con cuentos. V.S. me obligaria muy particularmente citandome el autor de este.

Hasta aqui he podido conservar la pluma de V.S. en mi mano; pero al llegar al párrafo. Versum cui non intelligit! debo suspender la pluma como he suspendido mi juicio, para que no degenere en farsa mi seria correspondencia. No me atrevo á creer que sea el objeto de V.S. convertir en ridiculo una conferencia seria por su misma, y por las personas que la tratan, ni puedo persuadirme que ignore V.S. el poco acierto y peligro del Arbitrio por

entre dos peñas, que forman la boca llamada del Infierno, un
cuna de Cundinamarca que encuentro en el párrafo de mi nota te
-cito por Ud. en la suya. El precioso jaro de la Caballeria na
-cional, si es que lo ha sido, debe atribuirse a las brillantes y gloriosa
jornadas en que pequeños Cuerpos formados de esta arma han
atravesado a nado los caudalosos rios Cauca, Orinoco y Apure,
derrotando y batiendo las tropas Españolas que se les oponian y
abordando buques de guerra. El amor a la Patria y a la glor
sobre han dirigido estas empresas, que, lexos de ser visibles, m
-recen la admiracion y aplausos de los que tienen una Patria
-mian su libertad. Vuelvo á Ud. lo que he dicho arriba supl
-endole que tenga mas atencion mi oficio del 23. Es preci
-quese rectificar su concepto é invertir sus frases para atribuirme
lo que yo decia de las noticias que ha recibido privadamente,
-frases que, á la verdad no estan mal instruidas, sino viciadas

Quisiera terminar esta nota desentendiendome de
penultimo parrafo de la de Ud. por que siendo en extremo choc
e injurioso al Gobierno de Venezuela seria preciso para contest
-arle del mismo lenguage de Ud. que contrario á la moderacion
decoro con que hoy mi pais ha conducido la question. El pesa
-pesio y menosprecio de Ud. en sostener lo que no es defens
sino atentado nuestros derechos, me hace extender la vist

mas allá del objeto á que la reunia nuestra conferencia. Parece que el interes de Vsa es forzarme á que reciproque los insultos: no lo haré; pero si protesto á Vsa que no permitiré que se ultrage ni desprecie el Gobierno y los derechos de Venezuela. Defendiéndolos contra la España ha desaparecido una gran parte de nuestra poblacion y el resto que queda ansia por merecer igual suerte. Lo mismo es para Venezuela combatir contra España que contra el mundo entero, si todo el mundo la ofende.

Concluyo celebrando con Vsa la despedida del Agente, que doy por terminada, y renovandole los testimonios del aprecio y consideracion con que tengo el honor de ser

de Vsa

el mas atento adicto servr.

Bolívar

Received this Letter
14. June 1819

Angostura Oct. 8th 1818.

Sir

Your Excellency's Letter of Yesterday has been duly recieved. — Its perusal was not unaccompanied by surprise, as it seemed strange, that you should write a new Letter without a new proposition or argument; more strange that you should dislike your favorite doctrine of retaliation when applied to yourself by gently retorting a satirical passage of your former letter; but strangest of all, that you should press me for references concerning events that occurred during the long some, tedious, and distant Blockade of Angostura by llanero Cavalry. — However as your Excellency reminds me of omissions and corrections, I shall briefly furnish both, Hope even now to remove all pretexts for denying restitution to the injured. —

First of all, as regards the Liberty, whatever silly aspersions certain depositions may contain, or whatever imputations you chuse to make, I must remind you, that whether she had been steering towards Para (not Paria) or Demerary, and chose to alter her Course for Angostura, she was perfectly justifiable in so doing, under the law of nations. — After six months of paper Blockade, without even a flotilla of Canoes in the Orono co to give it semblance of existence, her Officers might have known that if Admiral Brion should have arrived, he could not commence a Blockade without warning; and the well known wants of his Squadron might afford a very good market for her Cargo, as Pollock had assured Mr. Sheldon in Martinique. — Recollect too Sir, that when the Admiral had ascended as far as Point Cabrian a temporary fort was erected on that height to defend him and his Squadron, — a position for the latter being chosen in the narrow Channel between the opposite Island & that point. — This judicious measure prevented the Spaniards with their superior force from

attacking the Patriot Squadron to advantage in the straights (between the Island and right bank). — On ascending the River in July last, the Admiral, Colonel Jackson and myself went ashore at Point Cabrian, saw the position, talked over the circumstances just mentioned. — Notwithstanding the addition of the Tiger and Liberty, his Squadron was still incompetent to cope with the enemy's, — at least he deemed so. — He threatened to fire on a Commander, who was about weighing anchor, if he would not desist from jeopardizing his force by an attack on the enemy's united Squadron. — Hence the pursuit was tardy and shy, and had no important result in capturing boats or ships. — When such was the inferiority of all the Vessels the Admiral could muster, and when it is notorious that the intercourse between Trinidad and Angostura had been constantly carried on in open Boats, am I to be seriously told of maritime blockades? — I impute no ill faith to the Liberty, for there was none; but recollect, that there was no blockade. — My information on this head is too exact and particular to admit of doubt or illusion. — The Admiral was bound then either to wave the Liberty away, or to purchase her cargo. — His failure to do so, is the only instance of ill faith in the case — except the illegal Capture and Confiscation of the Tiger. —

The alledged siege of Angostura was equally a phantom so far as we are interested, — I mean, according to the law of nations regarding blockade. — In the eye of that law, as universally recognized, nothing but a stationed Squadron of competent force or a battery on land so placed as to have equivalent command of the harbour with a Squadron, can constitute a blockade. —

—— Corps of Cavalry, distant many miles, and frequently driven to a greater distance, formed what is miscalled the siege of Angostura. This place was reduced solely by the privation of regular supplies from above, — the intervention of those Corps of Cavalry being sufficient to intercept the principal droves of Cattle. —— Understanding

that Your Excellency did not arrive here until the battle of San Felix had been fought and won by the patriots under Gen.l Piar & Col. Hernandez &c. /a battle which fortunately decided the fate of Angostura/ I refer you to Col. Eugenio Chocas, and Lieut. Col. Rodriguez, for any circumstantial details you may be curious to learn, relative to the capture of the Brig, on which you have been pleased to play so many variations. — Permit me now to add, that the party's being instantly obliged by the approach of the Spanish gun boats, to set fire to and abandon the Brig, confirms /as every thing else does/ my assertion of the non existence of blockade. —

Were I not afraid of running into querulous declamation like that of your present letter, I should be almost tempted to reproach your Excellency with disingenuousness in supposing me capable of ridiculing the enterprize of your Cavalry, or of wanting sympathy for the sufferings of the afflicted People of Venezuela. — Remarks on this subject are foreign from reclamations for illegal Captures: but you knew enough to be assured, that I wished every tyrant hurled from power, and every people, free, Sovereign, happy, and independant — though I could countenance no nation or Government in delinquency. — National friendship requires Justice for its basis: Liberty needs Justice for a companion: The scales and sword of Justice are protective as the shield of Minerva. It would have been extraordinary, if, with these impressions, I had not expressed both wonder and aversion at your intimating a right to govern your conduct towards us, by the extravagance of Bolivar or of any one else toward you; — for your arguments on retaliation amount to this. — It would have been extraordinary if I, who so earnestly desire concord & intercourse between the United States and Venezuela, had not been alarmed at assumptions and conduct here, which threatened to traverse and frustrate such desirable relations. —

However I am relieved from such apprehensions by the light diffused
the laws of blockade. — Instead, therefore, of seeking for imaginary cause
in my letters which by the bye display extreme patience and conciliat
I hope you will reflect on the impossibility of justifying imaginary blocka
instead of upbraiding Merchants and Supercargoes undeservedly with
unneutral conduct, you will, I trust, order plenary redress for the wrong
and spoliations they have suffered. — This is the only essential amendment
or correction which I perceive to be necessary. —

Speaking as a friend, it is hereby my opinion, that the groun
you have been induced by wrong information to defend, is untenable
But being now undeceived, I hope you will unhesitatingly comply with
requisition. — I have no doubt you were misled by others; but you will a
mit that it is more honorable to relinquish error than to persist in it.
Depend upon it, it is not allowable to convert a blockade unenfo
for about six months into a trap for neutral property. —

With sincerest wishes for the welfare of your country, and
Yourself, I remain Sir,

Your very Obedient Servant

D. Irvine

His Excellency Genl. Bolivar
Supreme Chief of Venezuela
&c. &c. &c.

Dft Irvine to Gen. Bolivar, 8 Oct. 1818.

Irvine to Bolivar, 10 Oct. 1818.

Angostura, October 6, 1818.

Sir

The gazette I enclose contains some interesting articles, as Bolivar's harangue & Bowles's instructions &c. Although you cannot depend on every assertion of Bolivar, who is greatly vaunted as a Lacedemonian general and more than Greek statesman, yet you can gather something from the incapable that can possibly lead him to exhibit such a man as Rosseo to office, may be solicit him. For Mr. Michler is, and ever has resolved to devote himself to writing for and instructing the people. As his character carries weight with it, and his predecessor (Jean) was a native of Newfoundland, a learned Botanist &c. who had spent much of his time in Europe, being honorably, decided and liberal, & was little known in Venezuela comparatively, therefore this were obliged to give way to Mr. Rosseo and leave on friendly terms, but, on returning from office and from the editorship of the Correo del Orinoco, Jean flung behind him (like a Parthian spear) a bitter invective against the Supreme Chief which I have marked in the Gazette: & never being "right says he) of the grand cause of Independence,

Jamais adulateur et toujours citoyen,

he shall not only write upon it in foreign journals, but forward to that of the Orinoco whatever he may think interesting here, at the expence of the maniac who fancies that he gains all battles of the charlatan who celebrates them, and of the poor minions who persuade him that it is, &c. A pretty severe hit at the flatterers, who he like those of Lear "said aye and no to every thing Mr. said."

Rumours of insurrections in Cora, and of considerable desertion or desertion from the Llaneros, 300 of whom have passed over to Pao in the province of Barinas, with the expectation of

reducing Caracas, have elated the spirits of all the people here calculate with certainty on expelling the royalists in two months time.

The new open relations involve will be founded under the firm purpose of Rosseio and Cadiz, the only men of eminence here. Their talents and virtues would do honor to any country. D. flatters himself modestly that his artifice and his volubility of tongue will maintain his ascendancy, long as in any country where there are free press and public opinion he could not stand a month. The degradation, vice and ignorance of this population are all in his favor. Had Spain at this real character sooner, I think Lowe done no more than make a formal and precise demand of redress and convey his answer to Jose Port or Juan circumstances, the thing was impossible. Lowe however detected, exposed and deported a [illegible] of the first magnitude to London an expression from Congress.

They admit here, which is very insulting, that they would not have presumed to touch British vessels under like circumstances; because they dread British frigates and the prompt reclamation of their admirals &c.; whereas America, they think, will remonstrate (and pay foreigners, and abandon the interests of their citizens as &c. This impression is made more particularly by English merchants here, who are ever drawing comparisons in favor of their own country at the cost of ours. Sincerely wish that the nature of our governments allowed us to give an impressive and speedy lesson to this [illegible] without confounding him with his country.

Recurring for the last time to the correspondence it is swelled by another insolent note from "Bolivar." This

whole script was to put disingenuous declamation on paper, supposing that his fictions and false logic and irrelative rascality would gain him a splendid and victory. His shameless sensibility alone of my letters was "the flush of gratified, not modesty." For spoliation and misrepresentation he cares not, but the exposure of them wounds his vanity and mortifies his pride. It is not controversial acrimony that produces these remarks - it is justice.

By Monday or Tuesday next the Supreme Chief will probably sail from hence for Cumana, as it is rumored.

I take the liberty of enclosing the copy of a letter to our fellow-citizen, Mr Forsythe, a merchant of this city. The answer I shall follow whenever I receive it.

I am, With great respect, sir,

Your humble servt

P. Irvine

Hon. John Quincy Adams,
Secretary of State.

Irvine, Baptist – Angostura, 15 Oct. 1818

Rec'd

Ack'd 21 Dec.

(Private & Confy.)

Angostura, Octr 6th 1818

My esteemed Friend,

I have already told you in the frankness that marked our private and friendly conversations, a part of my errand to Venezuela, & the unexpected difficulties encountered in certain claims on this autocratical Government. These difficulties were heightened by the fabulous assertions to which my adversaries (in argument) resorted with respect to Blockade (for a pretended violation of which two American Schooners and Cargoes were seized and confiscated) & by the absence of every Citizen from Angostura with whom I could consult relative to facts. I mean in reality the groundless asseverations on the other side. - Though I was well acquainted with some merchants here, they are of a cast & Country not friendly to our Government, and if not hostile to me individually, - as they are not, would throw impediments in my way as American Agent, rather than promote my views. - Therefore I did not express the sincere satisfaction your arrival gave me, not only because I see in you a man of intelligence and experience, a Citizen warmly attached to the United States, - but also a person who had distinguished himself in a hazardous and gallant attempt (with a brave band of North Americans) to liberate Mexico in 1812. Let us hope that the dormant seeds of such spirit and enterprize will yet spring up and ripen into complete revolution.

As I am solicitous of obtaining your opinion on certain matters that concern me directly as an Agent, Your Country or Countrymen in their effect, I shall detain you with no further preface, but sketch something of what has taken

place, and then propound the points of enquiry. —

On the subject of restitution I commenced a correspondence with Gen.l Bolivar, not anticipating the necessity of doing more than unfolding the glaring facts of the violation of law by the Venezuelan Squadron, & our right to indemnity. — However he was ready with pretexts, & even turned the accuser of the Claimants, cast reflections on our Government, & when facts were wanting, supplied them from an inexhaustible imagination, whilst like Don Quixotes, created castles, flotillas, mischiefs, & blockades, & lines of circumvallation that never existed. — For a while I continued the correspondence, anxious of conciliation, — explanations in the spacious field of public law, natural and conventional, — making explanations and digressions, & epyres without number, to satisfy and inform him, and to dispose him to liberal principles; — in short, if I am allowed the expression, — writing more off the subject than on it. — It was all fruitless; — he was not bendable but seemed predetermined and stuck against conviction and justice. —

I had not at first conceived how men of such exalted station and character could coin so flippantly, but when I enquired about past occurrences, I discovered, that the story of blockade was a Romance, though the promulgation of it was a good ruse de guerre, whilst kept traders aloof. — I learned from Officers who knew not the drift of my questions, that this place had been slightly or loosely invested for seven months by a body of Llaneros Cavalry alone; that several rencontres happened, and Latorre the Spanish General, had thrown 1000 men into the City, after an action in the plains / whilst only fell from want of Provisions. I thought the question of blockade hardly deserved discussion, & others started no notice at all, yet when I perceived the obstin

stand made on this false ground, I confess I felt some in-
dignation. – As soon as some incidental circumstances
were communicated to me, I renewed the correspondence,
giving the Supreme Chief such intimations as must have
satisfied him of the extent of my information on minute and
connecting particulars. – Whether he was abashed at being
detected in tantas en gan as y falsedades, or chafed at
being overthrown in argument, or both, he seemed to wince
under exposure, & shewed a strong disposition to terminate the
correspondence. – He foresaw that the last of it was likely to
reflect the deformity of the first (I speak of his hyperbolical
declarations of Cities of blockade, siege by land &c.) and therefore
proposed to decide by arbitration whether Angostura had been
blockaded by land "according to Spanish Ordinances and prac-
tices"! – Although I could have proved that neither Angostura
nor Guayana was besieged, in the legal sense of the term, I saw
the folly and futility of any reference in a place like this. –
I saw that B– only sought to escape from the arena with the
appearance of Credit, without acknowledging the truth and
without retracting the aspersions on our Merchants &c. Still the
allowance of his manner forcibly reminded me of Butler's
ludicrous comparison: –

"That Cannon shot the higher pitches
The lower we let down their breeches"

My instructions from Mr. Adams, the Secretary of
State are couched in a generous spirit and an elegant style
and almost surpassed them in accommodating disposition &
deferential respect – but the obstinacy of B. was invincible –

He contended on three grounds; chosen, invented, or adapted to the occasion, and skirmished from one or all conformably to prevailing whim or exigency of the moment. — The first was maritime blockade. — Secondly, the right of besiegers; and the third, which seemed his favorite doctrine, he calls retaliation; but as for want of a descriptive term, am obliged to style, "Retaliation run mad" — The embers of this demoniac creed have been kept alive in Spanish bosoms ever since the wars of the Moors, and the establishment of the Inquisition. — They have changed the nobler dispositions in the dormant fires of vengeful or fanatical passions, and have merely shifted to another theatre in the changeing scenes of revolt. He claimed the privilege that Hudibras and Ralph claimed for the Puritans, viz. of committing acts as outrageous as those of the foulest malefactors, when necessary. — On this ground, he finally entrenched himself, when his march was interrupted to the others.

"Like Mules who, if they have not their will
To keep their own pace, stand stock still" —

Incredible as it may seem, Genl. B — endeavoured to push his doctrine still farther — He would have Neutrals to expiate the outrages of Spain! — It would lead us too far from the subject to Comment on the awful and consuming desolation, the secret murders, the atrocities by thousands, which this abominable principle has caused in Venezuela &c. Since this barbarous War began soldiers, whose subordinate situation allowed them neither volition nor ~~condition~~, have been assassinated on both sides in Cold Blood, ignorant labourers have been deliberately massacred, horrors as numberless as nameless perpetrated by both parties, all on the plea of "retaliation" — Friends, ardent Friends as we both are to the

dependance of Venezuela and of all the World, we cannot have lived a month in this Country and be ignorant of this melancholy fact. — For a confirmation of this we need only refer to the reason of Don M. Castillo's refusal to obey the orders of the present Chief at Carthagena viz/ "Bolivar's ambitious views and his sanguinary Career in Venezuela".

Yet as we have no business with such extravagance except where it touches our sympathies as members of the common family of mankind, let us contract our views to the subject. — When leisure permits I would be thankful for your answers or ideas on the questions or propositions which follow. — Nothing I am confident but cares of occupation will oblige you to withhold any thing directly or indirectly advantageous to our Country or fellow-Citizens. — I cannot but regret the sacrifice of time and useless labor here, which has hitherto prevented me from enquiries interesting to our Government, and from recreations and excursions beneficial to myself. I was naturally anxious to gain the special object, and left no matter of conciliation untried. — However I am now happy in the opportunity of opening a correspondence with a fellow-Citizen, whom I do not treat as a Gymnosophist, but as a friend. for truth, in offering the following, invite for information not attention —

Was there any Blockade of the River-ports before the evacuation of Angostura and Guayana, or could there have been any by the Patriots; inasmuch as the Spaniards possessed the whole Naval force, or nearly so on the Orinoco, until the arrival of Admiral Brion below Guayana? —

Before the evacuation, the American Schooners Liberty and Tiger were captured by the Patriot Squadron, the one ascending the River with a cargo of Provisions, the other sailing out with a cargo of Produce. — They were soon lightened of their freight,

and the Vessels converted into Cruizers by Brion who seemed anx-
ious to prepare for pursuing the Enemy, after he should embark, in
the hopes of intercepting Booty and Property. - To seize those Vessels
and apply them and their Cargoes to the uses just related, without mak-
ing or promising restitution, were not these unlawful, unjustifi-
able and buccaneering acts? - But the formal Condemnation of
the Vessels afterwards in Angostura in a pretended Court of
Admiralty (for alledged breach of Blockade) resembles, - does it not
~~appear like~~ farce after Tragedy? Was there any regular Tribunal
or a subdelegate Judge of independant Character or competent Know-
ledge?

Are you not familiar with the circumstance of that
honest Soldier, Colonel Martin, with a Party of Planters & Overseers
on board of a Merchant Brig some distance below this place? Col.
M. has assured me that they were instantly obliged to set fire to
and make their escape from the approaching Gun Boats of the
Enemy, who possessed the entire Command of the River - Was
this the case until the entrance of Brion, & the occupation of
position by the Patriots at Point Cabrian 8 or 10 miles ~~below~~ above
or less ~~below~~ Old Guayana?

Strident as these unjustifiable acts are - if fame
tells truth, they diminish into atoms compared with other frauds
and circumventions committed by the same persons or their abettors
who besides trepanning unsuspecting men into the hop of fraudulent
Vessels, did aggravate injustice by ingratitude and sometimes
Hatcherdads. - Should we therefore submit to lesser evils, because
unprotected individuals have borne with greater? On the contrary
as an ancient Philosopher would allow no student to enter his

his Academy who was ignorant of Geometry, would it not be very serviceable to impress on infant nations or Republics a similar lesson touching the indispensable qualification or observance of justice? However, as this involves delicate matters, you may lay it over, if you entertain any scruples. —

Does it appear probable, that Admiral Brion, latterly resolved to convert into prizes, what at first he intended to purchase? —

Was not Angostura reduced by bodies of Llaneros barely under Col Martin Torres, posted six or seven miles off, frequently driven off much farther by attacks or movements of the Enemy? —

Had not this loose blockade existed many months before Bolivar arrived here, as he did on a momentary visit, & again retired. — but luckily for his country he did not reach this vicinity until after the battle of San Felix, gained by Piar, Bermudez &c. are not these the facts? with what degree of truth can he declare or insinuate, that he superintended the operations of the siege, as he miscalls the distant blockade, whose efficacy consisted in cutting off the principal supplies of battle from above? Here were no lines of Circumvallation, no batteries, no Artillery. How then can the Supreme Chief pretend to strict siege, or to any force that could command the River? He has intimated that very thing at both places passed before his eyes!

Have you understood that there was any blockade of Guayana whatever? Have heard, that the Patriot Cavalry & were content as to it with the possession of the Missions below the River Caroni, and the battle of course. —

The artifice of making public offsets against particular claims, — or in other words, of liquidating thousands of dollars

in complaints of not being recognized, proceeded with a bad grace to
General Bolivar, when it was well known, that another plan of Govern-
ment had been formed at Cariaco in May 1817 and officially com-
municated to our Government? — Was not that Constitution intended
to bridle the intrigues and animosities, the insubordination and ambition
of military Chiefs, & effect other salutary purposes? — Have not several
of the Patriots exiled themselves from Venezuela rather than submit to
the weak and worthless dictatorship of General Bolivar?

With reference then to the special matter, — the cause of
complaint, it would perhaps be rendering essential service to this Gov-
ernment & the people, to compel it to respect the fair rights of neutrals. — I
will not hereby intimate, that we ought ever to exclude belligerents from
a peaceful commerce, at least, that is, the sale of any productions on our
own territory, they taking it away at their own risk. — I extremely
regret I am not informed of the reasons for shutting up this fair trade: I know
not whether it is our interest. Yet if Belligerents equally excluded both
belligerents, there was the less provocation to rail about partiality. — It
was perhaps a pretext to throw a veil over robbery which by its enormity
is near akin to piracy. —

Although the jealous and intriguing spirit of the present
Chief has successively prostituted the ruin of Castillo, M. Montilla
MacGregor & H. H. H. of Paez, Marino, and every man of talent
Civil or military, must not the sceptre be wrung from his hands at
termination of the war, and the establishment of independance? —
there are few men of talent and purity known in the country, and those obscure
there will be a mighty change. — Thus to pass from what is rather
particular and personal, to enquiry more general and agreeable; I
in justice state that General Bolivar has pledged himself to convene a con-
and of course to resign his power which was never lawfully conferred, an
account for his stewardship. — Let me also add, that the esteemed Doctr

Boscio is sanguine of introducing a free constitution, with due caution at its benefits. — Your speculation on this delicate topic, whilst we only claim the right of talking about not interfering in —

The several states though now subject to direct arbitrary military power, is it not probable that even this diversion of terror may first lead to curb the uncivilized, and next to favor liberty, — each state or circle forming a barrier against the encroachments of a central government.

The intention tacitly evinced of abridging rather than enlarging the privileges of the black Sect will probably be pursued by the next Government, and suffrage be so regulated as to retain the principal power in the hands of the whites, as at present. —

It does not seem probable that a region so vast as New Grenada can be politically connected with Venezuela, i.e. under the same government. — If it be not too extensive for a federal Republic, (it does not appear that it is being rather of Mr Jefferson's notion) it is not likely that the people, Chiefs, and all, will coincide in opinion. Certainly General Santander, and Col Urdaneta are ordered to Cucuta and other parts to collect scattered detachments, at later [illegible] date ; and as certainly Gen: Bolivar is Captain General (by the grace of God or otherwise) of the armies of New Grenada : but on the other hand, the Supreme Director of Buenos Ayres at the head of the "United provinces of South America" threatens by the extent and expansibility of his title, to come in competition with the "Supreme Chief" of Venezuela. — Since Hinting to the belief, that New Grenada will not dissolve about either of these suns, but shine with unborrowed light. —

Contemplating the independance of Spanish America, be it effected by whom it may, as the most important event in the History of the new World, because we have reason to hope that the moral

melioration of the inhabitants will bear some proportion to the grandeur of the natural scene, & their ascent in the scale of Civilization equal and opposite to their former degradation: Contemplating the diversity of Climate & soils, of fossil, mineral, and vegetable wealth, we naturally speculate on the theatre and the field thus opened to the enterprize, skill, industry and Commerce of the World. — British manufactures will form the principal articles of importation and consumption for half a Century; but there must be several sources of trade with North America, Especially with the tropical parts. — Our Naval constructors, our ingenious artizans, and mechanicians will find a mart for the work of their hands, and patronage for their superintending skill, in a region so extensive and various. — Many products of our Orchard, farms, & fisheries, will also meet a ready sale. —

— The famous & familiar projet of opening a navigable communication between the Oceans, and its advantages may be considered certain; — that work will be completed. — In leaving those subjects for the present, as Depons & Humboldt, & M de Torres &c. have left us more than gleanings behind them even to the most intelligent Writer — we may affirm, that the prosperity of one Country can be no injury to another. — Emulation in all the peaceful walks of industry must be advantageous. — If more Gold & Silver be extracted from the mines than usual, its circulation will produce more labour; if not, labour will always have its reward. — More than this we ought not to wish. Probably M^D^ Torres has in his pamphlet most clearly and concisely explained the necessity & utility of South-American Commerce to North America. —

The Dutch formerly paid large sums of money, besides hinting coercion, to some abject Princes in the East as an inducement, rooting up all their plantations of Cloves and Cinnamon trees, in order to secure their own monopoly in the spice trade; — and that proved as com-

a trifle as tramplings on the Cross in Japan, or Genuflections and Prostrations in Rome. — There are some churlish evils to dry in the West Indies, who would envionsly consign just thank God they cannot millions of people on this Continent to endless Slavery, rather than that their Estates Slaves should yield a reduced income. — Let us rather rejoice, if a number of industrious Emigrants with the means to improve Venezuela ere long, as to relieve us from dependance on petty enterprizes to the Islands — and from the caprice of rulers who may open them a month to prevent famine & close them again when the danger is over. — South America will afford regular supplies, after a few Years, and purchases will not be precarious. — Your ideas, briefly on this matter, & of the relative importance of Venezuela, New Grenada, and Mexico, to our interests in relation to the United States. —

At all events, honorable friendship and intercourse with South America must be our policy. — In the event of a future War, it is of some moment that we should have no Enemies on our flanks on this Continent. — But to procure friendship, it is never wise, necessary or politic, to submit to wrong — nor to recognize a dictatorial Government, nor to overlook Piratical Captures. — The first duty of a Government is to protect its Citizens in their persons and property, while engaged in lawful pursuits. —

I am both vexed & surprized to find the latitude & longitude of this Letter. I therefore desire you may attend only to the first part of it for the present. — Hereafter we will expatiate in our walks, or morning rides, on the more speculative parts. —

Bolivar's dictatorship must have an end. — The wheels of his Government are clogged already by imbecility — Had

a Grace in every quarter of administration. — It cannot make the man Revolutions more. — This is my impression. — The arrival of Doctor Roscio (although B — had ridiculed his Book) this employment good augures; but the best presagement to the most flattering pro nostics, I have yet noted, are the circumstances of Doctor Caldwell's Dr R — others being engaged in devising some more eligible plan of government — though it should prove to be only temporary or provisional, it may be the precursor of a solid, salutary, and generally wise it cannot usher in than the present. — As these citizens are enlightened, honest, I look for happy consequences from their influence — unless Genl Bolivar by another Coup d'etat, again dashes the cup of hope from expecting lips, or fills it with despair. —

Accept dear Sir the sincere assurance of the esteem and consideration with which I subscribe myself —

Your ardent friend —

B Irvine

Lewis D. Forsyth Esqr

October 7th

On perusing the foregoing notwithstanding its prolixity, I find some things are omitted in the haste of composition which it was my intention to mention. — First of all, my surprise that a man of high rank & of higher pretensions should so pertinaciously defend the spoliations described. — Though of debauched morals this personage is undoubtedly liberal in many respects — if we may credit his professions. — Think you that he was impelled to the refusal of restitution from want of revenue, or want of principle, from the force of secret mutual league & obligation with Admiral Brion, or from a prospect

to bear rather on England than on the United States? — Or did he earnestly set from a credibility of mind which in the end induced him to believe as a matter of fact what was at first notorious fiction? — If I speak with any degree of asperity of this Gentleman, it is because I feel that truth requires it; it is because his conduct is as unjust to individuals as unpropitious to the relations of amity and policy which we see established between the United States and Venezuela; it is because as a friend to Venezuela, I lament the mismanagement which has depopulated her, without introducing one improvement, one germ of discipline after seven Years War, or a ray of Civilization, — but the reverse of all these. —

Of the commercial part of the letter it occurs to me, that the multiplication of raw materials for manufacture in South America cannot operate hurtfully to the United States for any length of time, as it must either reduce the price of the manufactured Article, or expedite the establishment of manufactories there, — which however a curtailment of paper currency would facilitate more effectually. — It is a curious fact, as I am assured it is, though I have here no book of reference to verify it, that about 60 Years ago the raw material in England was in proportion to the cost of the manufacturing process as 1 to 3; now the ratio is reversed, the article costing 3/4 ths, the manufacture 1/4 th; having thus interchanged places, one (as it were) in the ascending the other in the descending scale. — What a remarkable revolution! — What a monument of the persevering industry and inventive faculties of man! —

For the rest, the increase of sugar, coffee & such luxuries, or (as they become by use) necessaries, will bring about a corresponding Con-

sumption, - augment the comforts of mankind, and quicken the activity of labour and Commerce. - We are warranted in this conclusion from what has happened in Europe and America in our own times with regard to the same or similar causes - The illustrious Franklin who united in himself powers of speculative and practical knowledge beyond all men of his day, demonstrated the same result to the Ancients of Paris. - So that, let us view the probable consequences of South American emancipation on what side we may, an enlightened mind discerns nought but beneficient changes, - a rational and protective Government at being presupposed. -

Your friend as before -

B. I.

In B. Inv.ies of 15 Oct. 1818

Mr. J (private) to Dr. Forsyth 6 Oct 1818

In B. Orinoco of 15 Oct. 1818.

CORREO DEL ORINOCO.

Nº. 12. ANGOSTURA SABADO 10 DE OCTUBRE DE 1818. 8º. TOM. I.

A LA GAZETA.

☞ Interrumpido el curso de nuestra Gazeta por enfermedad del Impresor, hemos tenido el dolor de acumular ineditos varios documentos importantes, y de privar à los Lectores y Subscriptores de su noticia.—Estando ya removido en gran parte este impedimento, continuaremos la publicacion de nuestro Periodico en papel mayor que el anterior, y procuraremos acertar en la preferencia y órden de los materiales retenidos.

☞ El Redactor de esta Gazeta precisado à ausentarse por algun tiempo del pais, tiene la satisfaccion de que uno de nuestros mas ilustres Ciudadanos, no menos conocido por su caracter y virtudes públicas, que por sus escritos y por su erudicion, se haya encargado de continuarla. Se complacerà siempre de haber sido autor del primer papel pùblico del Orinoco, en donde la existencia sola de una IMPRENTA puede mirarse como uno de los fenomenos de la libertad naciente. Tiene el sentimiento de que su situacion actual no le haya permidido ni aùn concluir el articulo de la *Mediacion*, que se terminarà en el N.º siguiente.—No perdiendo nunca de vista la gran Causa de la INDEPENDENCIA,

Jamais adulateur, et toujours citoyen,

no solo escribirà sobre ella en los papeles estrangeros, sino que remitirà para el del Orinoco lo que crea puede interesar aqui, à expensas del maniatico que crée ganar todas las batallas, del necio que las celebra, y de los bien aventurados pobres de espiritu que se lo persuaden.

"Les sots sont ici-bas pour nos mêmes plaisirs."

ESTADO MAYOR GENERAL.

BOLETIN

Del Exército Libertador de Venezuela del dia 19 de Setiembre de 1818. 8º.

Con el objecto de pacificar el golfo Triste proteger nuestro comercio, y privar à los enemigos de los recursos que sacan de la costa de Barlovento para sostener la plaza de Cumanà, se ordenó al General Bermudez que con 100 hombres del batallon Valeroso, y 300 del exército de Cumanà que deberian reunirsele en el puerto de Tabasca, y la Esquadrilla Sutil al mando del Capitan de navio Antonio Diaz, se apoderase del puerto de Guiria. Esta operacion debia ser apoyada por S.E.el Almirante Brion, que con parte de nuestros buques mayores salia al mismo tiempo del Orinoco. En conseqüencia la esquadrilla Sutil se levó el 14 del pasado del puerto de la Antigua-Guayana, y el 15 no habiendo aùn llegado à Tabasca las tropas que debian componer la expedicion, el General Bermudez se decidió à continuar su movimiento por no faltar à lo combinado con el Almirante. El 19 salió al mar, y el 22 se le reunió al frente de la Isla de Trinidad.

El siguiente dia 23, debió ser atacada la plaza de Guiria, el extravio la noche anterior de tres buques de los menores que contenian casi la mitad de la tropa de desembarco, y el viento que favoreció à los mayores hizo atrasar las fuerzas Sutiles, y à las 11 de la mañana el Almirante se vió en la necesidad de comprometer accion, por que habiendo escaseado la brisa, y hallandose fondeados el bergantin-goleta *Colombia*, y la goleta *Favorita*, fueron acometidos por los enemigos, el bergantin fué apresado, y su tripulacion se salvó en la goleta.

Al amanecer del 24, desembarcó el General Bermudez en el puerto de Quebranta con solos 60 hombres de infantería, y despues de dividirlos en cinco guerrillas emprendió marcha por la playa hasta apostarse en la posa de Chachà, à aguardar la señal de ataque convenida con el Almirante: el Comandante de la plaza intentó sorprenderlo por su flanco derecho; pero fué rechazado. El Gen. Bermudez ocupó su posicion hasta las 4 de la tarde, por que el tiempo no permitió à nuestra fuerza maritima hacer movimiento alguno, y habiendo observado que à dicha hora se levaban, hizo que una pequeña avanzada pasase el puente del camino de la plaza para observar de mas cerca al enemigo, este la atacó con un piquete de 30 hombres y los nuestros reforzados por la 1a. y 2a guerrilla hicieron un fuego tan vivo que obligaron al enemigo à retirarse, pero volviò al ataque reforzado con una columna de 150 hombres y el General Bermudez hizo entrar entonces al fuego la 3a. y 4a. guerrilla, y progresivamente él mismo poniendose à la cabeza de la 5a. acometió tan determinadamente que atropellados los enemigos huyeron en el mayor desórden, y se acogieron al fuerte.

Al mismo tiempo el Capitan de navio Antonio Diaz, con la fuerzas Sutiles de su mando atacó las enemigas en el puerto, y aunque opusieron la mayor resistencia sufriendo nuestros fuegos à tiro de pistola, se apoderó de todas ellas, y reprès el bergantin *Colombia*, causando grande estrago en sus tripulaciones; entonces la mayor parte de nuestros marineros desembarcaron armados de fusiles para proteger al General Bermudez que tenia al enemigo reducido al fuerte cuya guarnicion lo evaquó à las 2, de la mañana siguiente retirandose por el camino de Punta-de-piedra.

El resultado de tan brillante accion ha sido la toma de 16 buques entre ellos ocho de guerra con su artilleria y municiones, la retoma del bergantin *Colombia*, la ocupacion de la plaza de Guiria, y su fuerte con 6 piezas de artillería montadas, 331 cartuchos de cañon de diversos calibres, 6800 de fusil, 94 fusiles utiles, 17 de poca composicion, tres cornetas, tres caxas de guerra, y quanto tenian los enemigos cuya pérdida en muertos y heridos pasa de 100 hombres. Por nuestra parte tuvimos al Capitan graduado José Antonio Colmenares muerto, y quatro heridos levemente en las tropas de tierra; y en la mariua dos muertos, y nueve heridos.

El Coronel Juan Càrlos Fouchet, que estaba en aquellos montes, se presentó el dia 26 al General Bermudez con 200 hombres. Los enemigos siguieron su retirada sobre Rio-Caribe, y el pueblo de Yrapa fué mandado à ocupar.

El General Gefe del Estado-Mayor General,

C. SOUBLETTE.

Extracto de la Gazeta de Trinidad del Miercoles 2 de Setiembre de 1818:—

"Quando hicimos mencion en nuestro ùltimo n.º de la arrivada y salida de la Esquadra del Almirante Brion, nos abstuvimos de anunciar una circunstancia que entonces imaginamos de algun modo connexa con ellas, pero despues hemos sido informados de que era totalmente distinta tanto en su objeto como en su conseqüencia.

"Hacemos alusion à la fragata de S. M. el *Scamander* que dexó el fondeadero del Almirante poco despues que la esquadra de este habia levado el ancla, y siguiendo el mismo rumbo hacia el poniente, fondeo delante de Guiria algunas horas antes que ella.

"Ahora estamos informados de que la mision del capitan Elliott era reclamar una balandra de Mr. Joell que habia sido apresada algunos meses ha dentro del tiro del cañones de la punta de Icacos por las flecheras españolas, y llevada à Guiria, en donde fué robada de su cargamento y aparejo, y detenida con el pretexto de infraccion del bloqueo, à pesar de que habia sido reclamada repetidas veces por S.E. el Señor Ralph Woodford, probando claramente la ilegalidad de la presa.

"Anclado el *Scanmader* delante de Guiria, el capitan Elliott envió un oficial con despacho para el Comandante, avisandole el servicio de que habia sido encargado por el Almirante Harvey advirtiendole que si rehusaba restituir la balandra de Mr. Joell, la tomaria por la fuerza (pues habia sido arrastreda à la playa).

"La respuesta del Comandante fué muy corta: ella incluia una perentoria repulsa de la demanda del capitan Elliott; y que si recurria à la fuerza, estaba preparado à rechazarla.

"Al recibir esta contestacion el cap. Elliott inmediatamente se dispuso à la accion, batió la generala, é isó la señal de combate en el palo-mayor. Los marineros se alegraron—ellos se consideraban sobre la costa de México—y que los bastiones del reducto que seria tomado por asalto, estaban compuestos de saco. Entretanto fué despachado un oficial à sondear, y se averiguó que la fragata podia ser introducida hasta tres brazas à tiro de metralla. Estaba yà todo listo; pero habiendo anclado el Almirante Brion, determinó el capitan Elliott suspender sus operaciones hasta despues del exito del ataque de aquel sobre la plaza, esperando que si fuese favorable, le pondria en posesion de la balandra sin oposicion, y si contrario, seria reforzado con sus cañones.

"El capitan Elliott significó al Comandante esta determinacion por medio de un oficial, en cuya presencia se deliberaba detenerle prisionero por haber llevado un mensage tan insolente.

"Inmediatamente despues se efectuó el desembarque de las lanchas cañoneras, y los salvages en número de 350, que intentaban oponerse, fueron compelidos à meterse en el fuerte, que fué tomado por asalto, como antes lo hemos dicho, à las 10 de la noche, por un ataque combinado de las fuerzas de mar y tierra, y verificado, no obstante, con efusion de sangre. La metralla del cañon largo de la *Victoria* hizo grande execucion. Treinta muertos fueron hallados en el reducto, y muchos de los heridos se metieron gateando en los bosques, de donde ellos fueron luego alanceados y extraidos por los cazadores de Juan Càrlos.

"Se nos ha dicho que la pérdida del Almirante Brion fué la de un oficial y seis hombres en la accion, y nueve de sus mejores marineros, por la accidental descarga de un cañon de 18, mientras ellos estaban arrastrandolo à lo largo de la cubierta desde el medio de la fragata hasta el portalon de popa para hacer fuego sobre el reducto. En el afan de la gente se enredó la cuerda del rastrillo de la llave del cañon, disparó la pieza, y murieron todos los que se hallaban à la boca.

"Tambien hemos referido otra ocurrencia connectada con el asunto, que servirà para distinguir la crueldad de estos salvages, y demostrar à nuestros desgraciados paysanos lo que ellos podran esperar, si caen en sus manos.

"El bergantin *Columbia* de un cañon giratorio, y malamente manejado, se habia acercado à la costa de Guiria, quando sobrevino una calma chicha, que hizo al buque impracticable. En esta situacion [illegible] à su ataque tres lanchas cañoneras, y se habian aproximado bastantemente quando el capitan viendo la imposibilidad de evitarlas, ò de usar de su cañon por falta de viento para la maniobra del vaxel, lo abandonó en sus botes y se transbordó à la goleta *Favorita* que estaba cerca de él. Toda la tripulacion salió con el Capitan menos el Cirujano que habia baxado à su puesto, y no

sabiendo nada de lo que pasaba sobre la cubierta, quedó solo. Aquellos perros de caza, ó ventores al descubrir à este desgraciado hombre, lo sacaron de la bodega por los cabellos, y levantandolo sobre lo mas alto de la popa de tal modo que fuese visto de la *Favorita*, fué acribillado, y su cabeza casi separada de su cuerpo de manera que solamente dependia del hueso del espinazo. No contentos con esta carneceria repitieron innumerables puñaladas sobre el cadàver, y lo arrojaron à la agua.

"Poco despues fué recobrada la *Columbia*, tomado el cadàver y conducido à la costa, en donde fué manifestado por el Almirante Brion al capitan Elliott con esta observacion: 'Mire Vmd. capitan Elliott, como tratan los aliados de S. M. B. à sus buenos subditos!'

"Declararíamos un acontecimiento todavía de mas atroz condicion, que acaecio algun tiempo hà en el Orinoco à dos lindos jóvenes, tenientes ambos de marina de S.M.B. pero como los autores de este sangriento homicidio han caido por decreto del Todopoderoso en manos de la justicia, estan en segura custodia, y su proceso se està siguiendo conforme à las ritualidades de derecho, nos abstendremos de referir particularidades hasta que seamos informados del resultado, y se pronuncie la sentencia del condigno castigo, si es que puede haber alguno proporcionado para un asesinato tan cruento de dos hombres inocentes, cuyo solo crimen à los ojos de los salvages que le cometieron fué el de ser Ingleses. Somos tambien informados de que se ha descubierto en el exâmen que el gefe de esta partida era el homicida del capitan y tripulacion del barquillo pescador que arribó aqui de Malta como 18 meses hà con el fin de formar un establecimento para la pesca de tortuga; y habiendose provisto de lo necesario, y salido en su pequeña embarcacion al Sur de la Isla en busca de una bahia para su intento, fué allí abordado por este monstruo, él y su tripulacion asesinados, y el barco sumergido despues de haber sido saqueado. Por mucho tiempo fué aquí una maxima de sorpresa el ignorarse que seria de este vasel, que habiendo de volver al puerto de tiempo en tiempo con el suceso de su industria, no lo habia verificado; pero ningunas noticias se obtenian de su paradero hasta que fué la voluntad del Cielo descubrir esta piratería sanguinaria, y traerla à juicio.

"No podemos concluir este, sin expresar el alto concepto del zelo que ha desplegado el capitan Elliott en esta y en aquella ocasion, en que el comercio de cabotage del país estaba en cierto modo interrumpido y malamente; ni deberiamos retardar nuestro tributo de gratitud al Almirante Brion por haber removido de nuestras inmediaciones esta gavilla de salvages, y restituido à sus legítimas dueños la propiedad que aquellos habian tomado por medio de la piratería.

"Hemos omitido decir en su propio lugar que las mismas lanchas cañoneras que abordaron y llevaron la *Colombia*, emprendieron luego abordar la *Favorita* (inmobil tambien por la calma), pero fueron rechazadas por el valor del capitan Bernard y su tripulacion.

"Tenemos que corregir un error (aunque no de importancia) con respecto à la manera en que fué asesinado el desgraciado Cirujano de la *Colombia*, lo qual sin embargo solamente servirà para aumentar el horror que causarà en nuestros lectores la ferocidad con que fué executada su muerte. Parece que él se habia ocultado en la bodega, quando los Españoles abordaron la *Colombia*, pero presto fué descubierto, y extraido violentamente al combes, en donde fué mortalmente herido con varios golpes de sable sobre la cabeza. Al apoderarse las [illegible] de todas, huyeron los Españoles que ocupaban la *Colombia*, llevandose con sigo al miserable Cirujano, à quien ellos echaron sobre la playa arenosa, expuesto à un sol abrasador sin ningun socorro ni asistencia, y allí permanecio hasta que fué tomada la plaza, pero al retirarse los vencidos mataron à este hombre desgraciado, horadando diferentes partes de su cuerpo con varios golpes de puñal."

Entre los papeles aprendidos en la accion de Guiria se hallaron dos que merecen lugar en nuestra Gazeta. Daremos una copia entera del que lleva la nota de *muy reservado*, y entresacaremos los artículos mas importantes del otro, escrito con el título de *Instrucciones para el Comandante de Clarines.*

"CIRCULAR.=*Muy reservado.*= El Señor Capitan-General interino de las Provincias de Venezuela, en oficio de 8 de Febrero último, me ha insertado la Real Orden del tenor siguiente: El Exmo. Sr Secretario de Estado y del Despacho universal de la guerra en Real Orden muy reservada de 12 de Noviembre último me dice lo que sigue:=Aunque el Rey N. S. ha hecho uso de varias medidas politicas para evitar un *rompimiento* con los Estados-Unidos, es de temer que este se verifique muy pronto, si por desgracia, no surten el efecto que se desea las que últimamente ha dictado con aquel objeto, y siendo asimismo muy probable que en el caso de principiarse una guerra con los Anglo-Americanos, se dirijan los primeros pasos de su Gobierno à reconocer los de los Insurgentes en esos dominios y à enviar à ellos expediciones de toda especie, es la soberana voluntad de S.M. que V.S. tome desde luego quantas medidas crea conducentes para evitar toda incursion en el territorio de su cargo y que teniendo presente lo que sobre este propio asunto se dixo à V.S. por Real Orden de 20 de Diciembre y 28 de Junio últimos, se prepare à recibir qualquiera hostilidad valiendose de todos los recursos que le dicten su experiencia y zelo por el mejor servicio, sin causar sospecha alguna, ni dar lugar à reclamaciones, que puedan anticipar el mal; cohonestando sus medidas con algunos motivo, que parezcan verosimiles, y que no lo sean en la realidad. Lo participo à V.S. de Real Orden para su inteligencia y cumplimiento. Cuya Real Orden trasladado à V.S. para su inteligencia y gobierno, dandole el mas estrecho cumplimiento en todas sus partes, y viviendo vigilentísimo para obrar ofensivamente se llegase el desgraciado caso que se indica.

Dios guarde à Vmd. muchos años, Cumanà Marzo 26 de 1818.=*Tomas de Cires.*=Señor Comandante de Cariaco y circular hasta Guiria.

Instrucciones que debe observar el Teniente-coronel Don Francisco Ximenez, Comandante del batallon de Clarines.

"Art. 5. Queda autorizado para extraer todos los recursos que proporcione el pais que domine, para el auxilio de sus tropas y operaciones, bien sea secandolos de los que pertenezcan al Rey, ó bien à particulares, llevando cuenta de todo, y de su inversion.

"6. Queda igualmente autorizado para formar en casos urgentes un consejo de guerra verbal, en el que juzgarà los desertores y los enemigos del Rey que sean aprehendidos con las armas en la mano, *haciendo executar la sentencia, y remitiendome la causa para su aprobacion*; debiendo asistir à aquel, si es posible un Asesor que sea de probidad y amante de la causa del Rey.

"8. Si se hallase en el caso de abandonar el pais, destruirà los cafetales, cacaguales, haciendas, y todo quanto pueda ser util à los enemigos, y lo mismo practicarà en el caso de no poder apoderarse del fuerte de Guiria y su guarnicion.

"9. Todos los esclavos que encuentre en las haciendas que sean utiles para las armas, los [illegible] ellas con la vana esperanza de libertad.

"11. A la [illegible] manifestarà que todos los recursos de las haciendas deben servir para ellos, tanto para su vestuario y armamento, como para la subsistencia y demas que se necesita.

"Quartel-general de Pampatar 13 de Agosto de 1817. —— (Firmado) —— MORILLO."

HA venido últimamente à nuestras manos un FOLLETO muy interesante, que contiene dos piezas de Pio VII. precedidas de un discurso del Doctor Don JUAN GERMAN ROSCIO. Este escrito merece la mayor atencion del Pùblico, y recomendamos su lectura por ser del mayor interés. Entre otros documentos hay uno que ha llamado muy particularmente nuestra atencion. Es un articulo que puéde llamarse oficial, y es el siguiente:—

"*No està muy lexos el tiempo (dice la gazeta de Madrid de 7 de Julio de* 1817) *en que la política mas ilustrada haga conocer à los que se ocupan en sus varias combinaciones, que este (la reconquista del nuevo mundo) no es bien peculiar para la España, sino que su general interés abraza à la Europa entera, cuyn antigua primacia y preponderancia sobre las demas partes del globo se desvaneceria bien pronto, desde luego que la Independencia lograse afirmar su pavellon soberano en regiones tan privilegiadas por sus ventajas naturales. La activa industria y las artes se afanarian por traspiantarse de Europa à aquellos climas fecundos, viniendo à parar en servidumbre la antigua preponderancia de lo que con razon hemos considerado hasta el dia como centro de la civilizacion de los hombres.*"

Este parrafo de la gazeta oficial de la Corte de Madrid, baxo la inmediata dependencia de su Ministerio, es la respuesta mas contundente que se puede dar a la gazeta de Caracas, que con tanto empeño se esmera en probar la desgracia y miseria, que consigo trae la Independencia de nuestra bella América. "La activa industria y las artes se afanarian por trasplantarse de Europa à aquellos climas fecundos."—Bien claro està que el Señor Fernando 7.° conoce y confiesa que la Independencia de América produciria à esta mitad del mundo todos los bienes, que el saber, el poder y la fortuna pueden conceder à los hombres. Fernando dice implicitamente que la dependencia del nuevo mundo lo tiene en el estado de esterilidad y de miquilacion, à que se halla reducido. La dependencia ha esterilizado los campos, tapado las minas, cegado los puertos, embrutecido los hombres y abandonado la inmensa Colombia a un anonadamiento universal. La Independencia por el contrario ofrece abrir los puertos, navegar los rios, explotar las minas, cultivar los campos, ilustrar los espiritus, mejorar los hombres, y restituir à nuestro Globo su mas preciosa porcion.

¡Responded vanos declamadores, ciegos apologistas del despotismo, de la ignorancia, y de la miseria!—¡Responded si atinais à ello! Como resolvereis el problema que vuestro propio Monarca por su gazeta de Madrid ha ofrecido à la consideracion del mundo? Vosotros decis, que todos los males son consiguientes à la revolucion, que debe producir nuestra separacion de España, por que es por el bien de la América que se la retiene en la servidumbre. Fernando teme que una prodigiosa prosperidad, en favor de la América, venga à cambiar el equilibrio del mundo, y que la antigua preponderancia de la Europa pase al nuevo Emisferio y lo haga el centro de la civilizacion.

Concedemos el principio, pero negamos las consequencias. La América alcanzarà sin duda

todo el fomento, toda la gloria, y toda la dicha à que està destinada por la naturaleza.— Pero esta dicha y esta gloria no seràn arrancadas al antiguo Continente. Seràn si, el efecto de la propagacion de las luces, de las riquezas, y de las virtudes politicas. El bien, la virtud, y la luz se aumentan quando se comunican: no son ciertamente de aquella especie de propiedades mezquinas é incompatibles, que se alimentan de la exclusion. El genero humano tocarà al colmo de su destino, quando el nuevo mundo complete el desarrollo de sus facultades. La Europa misma completarà el brillante lote, que le ha cabido en la particion del universo. La imaginacion se pierde, por mucho que se eleve, al contemplar la hermosa perspectiva que ofrece à nuestra especie la libertad y la civilizacion de la grande América. La Europa, mas que las otras, se enriquecerà con nuestra opulencia: se ilustrarà con la ciencia que yace oculta en este ignorado mundo: su propio poder serà aumentado con las fuerzas que vamos à adquirir. El Asia se acercarà à la Europa, quando la América le abra sus puertas y frecuente sus mercados, y hasta los ardientes médanos de la Africa veran caer sobre su seno los benéficos rocios de la fortuna Américana. La misma España, la ciega y enemiga España recibirà à su pesar bienes que no ha merecido, favores que no agradezca. La España semejante à la oveja descarriada serà llevada por fuerza al rebaño, y serà contra su propia voluntad forzada à la industria, à la ilustracion y à la libertad, y podriamos decirle con el Salvador. "Si el hijo os pone en libertad, vosotros sereis entónces verdaderamente libres." Si: los Américanos, los Américanos pagaràn à su madrasta, por las cadenas que de ella han recibido, el exemplo de la virtud, del valor, y de la industria, y à esta noble leccion añadiràn un beneficio mayor, la sabia y fuerte necesidad.

Obligada la España à ilustrarse, para perfeccionar sus ciencias, lograrà poder alternar con las otras naciones, que ahora la burlan y la destruyen. El despotismo, que la aniquila, es incompatible con su propia existencia, luego que la independencia Américana la haya librado de la necesidad de sostener el grave peso del parricida Fernando y su monstruoso Gobierno.

☞ VENTA DE IMPRESOS.

En el Almacen del Ciudadano Juan José Revenga se venden exemplares del Folleto que dexamos indicado, y los de otra obra titulada 'El Triunfo de la Libertad sobre el Despotismo.' *Su objeto es rebatir con la sagrada Escritura los errores politicos y religiosos con que la tiranía remacha los hierros de la esclavitud. De la misma fuente de donde los tiranos turbando su pureza extraen el veneno de la falsa doctrina, manan las aguas saludables y cristalinas de este Impreso. Si los enemigos de la libertad, de las luces, y del bien estar de los hombres dando tormento à las expresiones mas claras del nuevo y viejo testamento, erigieron sobre ellas el idolo de la tiranía; el Escritor del "Triunfo de la Libertad," recurriendo à los mismos libros, à la historia del siglo, y de la Religion, à la practica de todos los pueblos, à las maximas de los philosophos antiguos y modernos, à los axiomas de la sana politica, al dictamen de la razon, exibe el testimonio mas autentico de la verdad, y la defensa mas concluyente de los derechos imprescriptibles del hombre y de la sociedad.*

Creyendo el autor que las absurdas y violentas glosas de los lugares politicos de la Escritura son la raiz del despotismo que abruma à la España, y del furor con que el tirano y sus verdugos degnellan à los ilustres hijos de Colombia que resisten su poder arbitrario, que luchan por recobrar la elevada dignidad de hombres libres, ha reducido el argumento de la obra à demostrar que nada hay en la Biblia que favorezca al poder arbitrario de los monarcas absolutos, ni à la ficcion del derecho divino que se arrogan: expone muy exactamente la ignorancia, ó la malicia de aquellos que han pretendido amasar al Cristianismo con el despotismo para lisongear la ambicion, y codicia de los despotas: y concluye probando que los libros de la Religion son el mejor apoyo de la libertad, y de la soberanía de los pueblos y el mas seguro garante del derecho de insurreccion contra la tiranía.

De la misma raiz se persuade el autor que nace la ceguera, ó preocupacion con que siguen las banderas del tirano muchos de los mismos Américanos del Sur, que bien hallados con las cadenas de la servidumbre estan auxiliando à los opresores de su Patria, y de sus hermanos para que jamas sean independientes y libres. De esta persuasion se derivan innumerables reflexiones que tacita, ó expresamente se dirigen al desengaño de esta infeliz porcion de alucinados. Entre otras sobresale una que à todas luces nos parece un convencimiento incluctable de la justicia de nuestros pasos, y de la fascinacion de los Colombianos que se oponen à ellos, y por desgracia estan sirviendo à la pesima causa de nuestros enemigos: convencimiento que desenvuelve la malicia de los artificiosos, y pesados comentarios de las paginas politicas de uno y otro testamento: y que enseñado en media hora à qualquier rudo Africano, podra confundir y hacer callar sin duda à los mas insignes oradores de la tiranía. Està fundado sobre hechos incuestionables, y lo reproduciremos aqui para mejor instruccion de los que necesiten de este auxilio.

Fué la España una de las provincias del imperio Romano mas distinguidas en su insurreccion contra aquellos mismos monarcas, cuya autoridad habia sido recomendada por San Pedro y San Pablo en los textos siniestramente glosados por los despotas y sus aduladores. Desde el reinado de Neron empezaron las conmociones de aquellos provinciales, y se encarnizaron tanto contra los Emperadores en los últimos dias de su revolucion, que prohibieron con pena de muerte alegar en juicio leyes imperiales.

Al Gobierno de los Godos, y demas barbaros que invadieron y destruyeron el imperio, sucedio el de los Arabes que auxiliados del Conde Don Julian y del Obispo de Sevilla, deudo del rey Don Rodrigo, se apoderaron de la Peninsula por el derecho llamado de conquista, y la dominaron por mas que doble tiempo del que ha llevado la América de usurpacion española; sin embargo de lo qual fué sacudido el yugo de aquella conquista por medio de la rebelion.

Contra la Casa de Austria se levantaron los cantones de la Suiza à principios del siglo XIII. y los Reyes de España reconocen el exito de esta sublevacion. Por el tratado de Paris de 30 de Mayo de 1814 se restablece su independencia y soberanía, revocandose el nuevo sistema imperial de la Francia que la habia alterado; y Fernando VII. cooperà à su restablecimiento.

Insurrectos los Holandeses contra los Reyes de España quedan emancipados y libres de la dominacion española, despues de una contienda larguísima y sangrienta.

Dos veces rebelado el Portugal contra los mismos Reyes ha obtenido otras tantas su independencia y libertad por medio de la fuerza armada.

Carlos III. de España auxilia la insurreccion de los Américanos del Norte contra Jorge III. de Inglaterra, y con su auxilio, el de la Francia y Holanda resultan emancipados, y constituidos republicanamente.

Un motin de Carlos III. al frente del motin de Aranjuez ofende la autoridad de Carlos IV. le compele emigrar à las Andalucias y de allí à ultramar. Con la fuerza de otro motin se resiste, y frustra la Real Orden por la qual el Principe de la Paz habia de ser trasladado à la rambla de Granada, y de hecho es el Rey intimidado y apremiado à cederle la corona à Fernando, el corifeo de tales conmociones.

La enormidad de los agravios que han excitado nuestra resolucion no es comparable con la que ha justificado todas las rebeliones que hemos citado.— El mundo entero invocamos por testigo de esta verdad, y añadiremos una confesion solemne del pueblo Español en el Decreto y Proclama de 14 de Febrero de 1810, con que la primera Regencia, instalada en la isla de Leon, llamó nuestra atencion y nos invitó à sus Cortes. Yà la junta central habia declarado que estos paises no eran colonias, sino parte integrante de la monarquia española.— Los primeros Regentes reproducen su declaratoria, y por via de apostrofe nos dicen lo siguiente:

"Desde este momento, Españoles Américanos, os veis elevados à la alta dignidad de hombres libres. Yà no sois los mismos que antes encorvados bajo un yugo tanto mas duro mientras mas distantes estabais del centro del poder, mirados con indiferencia, vexados por la codicia, destruidos por la ignorancia."

El mal de la distancia no admite mas remedio que el de la Independencia y Libertad; los demas en vez de remediarse, vinieron à reagravarse por la tirania de Fernando, paliada dolosamente en su Decreto de Valencia, y en la Proclama con que este fué comunicado à la América insurrecta.

Si comparamos los tiempos de posesion entre nuestros opresores, y los mas notables conquistadores de su Peninsula, hallaremos todavia mas justificado nuestro sacudimiento. Sobre 600 años, por lo menos, fueron dueños de la España los Romanos, aunque su dominacion no se cuente sino desde el de 216 antes de Cristo, en que ellos empezaron la conquista de aquel territorio, hasta el de 416 despues del Cristianismo, en que comenzaron à ocuparlo los Godos: pues si hacemos el computo desde la entrada del primer exército Romano, hasta el año de 623 de la era Cristiana, en que acabaron de perder los Emperadores lo que tenian en España, resultaran mas de 800 de posesion.

La que adquirieron en ella los Moros excedio de 22 generaciones. Introducidos en el año de 714, no principiaron à ser turbados en su posesion hasta el siglo X. por el lado de las montañas de Cantabria y Asturias, ni fueron enteramente arrojados del suelo Español hasta algunos años despues del descubrimiento de Colon, aunque desde 1492 habia sido recuperada Granada, ultimo reyno de los monarcas Arabes en aquella Peninsula.

A pesar de una posesion tan prolonga en favor de los Romanos, y Mahometanos, no son vituperados, sino alabados los Españoles rebelados contra sus emperadores y reyes. Ningun historiador de los suyos, ó de los extrangeros los tacha de criminales, ni de infractores de la doctrina de San Pedro y San Pablo. De igual tacha estan exentos los demas casos mencionados, y lo està igualmente el de la ùltima revolucion de España contra el Emperador de los Franceses, y ungido de Pio VII. no obstante que en las transacciones de Bayona permaneciá ilesa la independencia y soberanía del territorio Español, y obtenia una constitucion incomparable con el despotismo religioso y político que por tantos años habia hollado y embrutecido à la nacion.

Pretermitimos la memoria del sacudimiento del yugo de los Phenicios y Cartagineses, porque entonces aún no existian las Epistolas de San Pedro y San Pablo, ni el concilio de Constanza con que los alcahuetes de la tiranía aturden al incauto pueblo que los escucha y los cree. Pero existian otros lugares de la Escritura antigua, de que abusan los tiranos y sus partidarios, aunque en el reinado de sus predecesores jamas habian sido convertidos contra las naciones que oprimian se levantaban contra sus monarcas opresores, y recobraban su libertad primitiva. Desde que apareció la opresion en el órden social, ningun pueblo ha dexado de revolverse contra ella muchas veces, y muy lexos de ser denigrados los revolucionarios con la mala nota de que usan nuestros enemigos y opresores, estan coronados de gloria y honor en los anales del

tiempo. *Aquel mismo pueblo que era regido por el mismo Dios y por las Escrituras del viejo Testamento nos exhibe pruebas del hecho y del Derecho de resistencia contra el poder arbitrario de sus reyes. Omitiremos el caso de Abraham contra el monarca de los Elamitas y sus aliados, y en favor de los insurgentes de la Pentapolis: dexaremos en silencio el de Moyses, y demas Israelitas contra el rey Pharaon: nada escribiremos acerca de los contenidos en el lib. de Josue y de los Jueces, ni de la insurreccion de David contra el primer monarca Hebreo, porque los idolatras de la tirania todavía no han podido tergiversar contra estos hechos las clausulas de sus respectivos libros.*

Los tiros enemigos empiezan por la falsa y violenta interpretacion de algunos textos de Salomon; pero para confusion de tales interpretes se presenta luego que falleció este Rey el acontecimiento mas oportuno para aplicar su doctrina, si ella fuese tal, qual la suponen en el dia sus extravagantes glosadores. Rebelados contra Roboan casi todas las tribus de Israel, no hubo entre todos los consejeros de este monarca quien alegase contra los insurgentes ninguna sentencia de los escritos de su padre. La insurreccion fué aprobada expresamente por el mismo Dios, y no hay siquiera una de las paginas posteriores à este caso que lo califique de criminal.

En los dos reynos que fueron el producto de esta revolucion, se suscitaron otras muy funestas para sus monarcas despoticos, pero ninguna fué impugnada con textos de Salomon, ni de otro escritor sagrado. Muy digna de notarse es la acusacion, el juicio y execucion de Amasias, rey de Judà, pero todo muy conforme à la practica y derecho de la nacion y del Sanedrin expresos en los libros anteriores.

Termina la Escritura antigua con los dos de los Macabeos, y en ellos se lee muy circunstanciadamente la famosa sublevacion de estos heroes contra monarcas reconocidos por el derecho de conquista, y por las condiciones con que Ciro habia alzado à los Judios el largo cautiverio de Babilonia. Sin embargo de todo esto nada se halla de peraminoso en el acto de insurreccion, ni en la prolongada y sangrienta lucha de tales patriotas; ni de parte de los reyes empeñados en la reconquista ó pacificacion se encuentra alegada ninguna clausula del testamento viejo para reprimir à los sublevados.

¿Porque pues alegar contra nosotros tantas interpretaciones modernas, desconocidas entre los cristianos de las paginas interpretadas, y entre los primeros siglos subsequentes à su publicacion, y desmentidas por la inalterable practica de todos los pueblos?

Son muy obvios para la parte raciocinante de la España[illegible] acontecimientos historicos que alegamos como pertenecientes à ella, y sus monarcas. El Español instruido de estos hechos y reflexivo menosprecia soberanamente à los Colombianos prostituidos à la causa del tirano, à los Américanos que tienen la imbecilidad de creer y de ceder à la falacia de sus indultos, como si fueran deliquentes, ó como si fuese delito la emancipacion y libertad de nuestros paises.— Escuchad el idioma secreto de su fundada irrision.

"Si nuestros progenitores hubiesen estado animados de las ideas, y sentimientos de la multitud de Américanos que estan obrando contra la Independencia y libertad de su pais; ¿quando hubieran ellos sacudido el yugo de los Romanos, de los Arabes, &c.? Si ellos en lugar de armarse contra [illegible] eradores de Roma, contra los Reyes [illegible] &c. hubiesen tomado el partido verg[illegible] las Imperiales y Reales indulgencias [illegible]dia sido de sus derechos, de su emane[illegible] libertad? ¿quien hubiera cantado sus [illegible] sus victorias y patriotismo?"

¡Ved aqu[illegible]ge con que la porcion raciocinante [illegible]ia se burla de vosotros, Américanos [illegible]vis al Gobierno opresivo de nuestra P[illegible] vosotros los que os acogeis à sus al[illegible]rdones! ¡Pero jamas oireis de su l[illegible]rcion, ni llegareis à entender qua[illegible]ion los sentimientos de su corazon [illegible]ca pública con que os acarician, à[illegible]ias de honor y estima- [illegible]n en la ilusion y à los dictados de [illegible] tributan à la traicion que haceis à [illegible], y à la causa de la libertad en [illegible]

Hablamos [illegible]os Españoles de razon que por desg[illegible] la tirania; interesados en el suceso de nuestra lucha no escarnecen, sino compadecen à los de Colombia que la hostilizan incorporados con los Españoles serviles. Estos indistintamente se regocijan de la matanza de los Colombianos. Con tal que sean de este número los muertos y heridos de su parte, no les es sensible su pérdida; ellos la celebran diciendo: "De nuestros enemigos los menos."—"Mañana estos mismos Américanos que hoy engañados nos auxilian, abriendo los ojos del desengaño, nos abandonaran, se convertiran à la causa de su Patria, y volveran contra nosotros las mismas armas que ponemos en sus manos para degollar à sus propios hermanos."

"*La traicion me agrada; el traidor no.*"

Este proverbio antiquisimo sirve de regla al Español pensador para calificar à los hijos de Colombia que por un plato de lentejas venden su rico patrimonio; que por un puñado de cevada, y un mendrugo de pan enagenan la independencia y libertad de su tierna madre.— Acordaos siempre de esta verdad, y apresuraos à quitar el blanco de su aplicacion. ¡Volved al seno de nuestra Patria; ella, y vuestros fieles hermanos os esperan con los brazos abiertos, y con el osculo de la paz y reconciliacion!

ANGOSTURA OCTUBRE 10 DE 1818.

SESION

DEL CONSEJO DE ESTADO DEL 1.° OCTUBRE.

Reunidos los Miembros del Consejo de Estado en el Palacio del Gobierno por órden de S. E. que lo presidió, abrió la Sesion el GEFE SUPREMO con el Discurso siguiente:—

"SEÑORES DEL CONSEJO DE ESTADO!

"Llamado por mi deber al campo del honor no puedo separarme de la Capital sin consultar antes el dictamen del Consejo de Estado. Con la mayor satisfaccion yo presento à V.E. el tenor de los Decretos que ùltimamente se han expedido: revisados, modificados, y corregidos por la sabiduria del Consejo pueden alcanzar su perfeccion. El Consejo de Estado por su institucion goza de una gran parte de las atribuciones del Poder Legislativo, y es de su obligacion exercerlas à beneficio de la Repùblica.

"Yo me lisongeo al abrir la presente campaña que las Armas de Venezuela conservando su antigua gloria adquiriran nuevas ventajas, y completarán el restablecimiento de la Repùblica. La sangre de centenares de millares de hombres no se habra derramado en sus campos sin lavar las manchas de la tirania. La libertad de Venezuela à despecho de todo el poder Español, parece infalible. Las armas del Rey humilladas en tantos sangrientos y gloriosos combates, han perdido todos los prestigios que las hacian formidables: su número se ha disminuido considerablemente, y su moral ha decaido en tan tanto grado que han perdido toda confianza, y ninguna esperanza las anima. Nuestro Exército ha recibido lo que siempre le ha faltado, *armas y municiones*; y se ha equipado tan completamente quanto era de apetecer.

"Extrangeros liberales, y sobre todo, bravos Ingleses sedientos de una gloria benefica, se han incorporado en nuestros tropas. Por todas partes hemos experimentado los favores de la Providencia: los amigos de la justicia, de la humanidad y del comercio han enviado desde paises remotes, auxilios à Venezuela. Con estos auxilios todas nuestras Divisiones se han aumentado hasta un pie de fuerza que cada una puede obrar por su parte. El enemigo serà atacado simultaneamente sobre todos los puntos que ocupa; y si la suerte nos concede la victoria, como todo lo promete, muy pronto llegarà el dichoso dia, en que veamos nuestro territorio libre de tiranos, y restablecido en toda su perfeccion el Gobierno de la Repùblica.

"Animado de tan alagüeñas esperanzas yo me apresuro à proponer al Consejo de Estado la *convocacion del Congreso de Venezuela*. Y aunque el momento no ha llegado en que nuestra afligida Patria goce de la tranquilidad que se requiere para deliberar con inteligencia y acierto, podemos, sin embargo, anticipar todos los pasos que aceleren la marcha de la restauracion de nuestras Instituciones Repùblicanas. Por ardua que parezca esta empresa, no deben detenernos los obstàculos: otros infinitamente mayores hemos superado; y nada parece imposible para hombres que lo han sacrificado *todo* por conseguir la libertad. En tanto que nuestros guerreros combaten, que nuestros Ciudadanos pacificos exerzan las augustas funciones de la soberania. *Todos* debemos ocuparnos en la salud de la Repùblica, como debemos desear que todos à la vez la consigamos. No basta que nuestros Exércitos sean victoriosos: no basta que los enemigos desaparezcan de nuestro territorio, ni que el mundo entero reconozca nuestra Independencia; necesitamos aun mas, *ser libres* baxo los auspicios liberales, emanados del Pueblo.

"Yo he convocado à V.E. para que delibere sobre los saludables objetos que *tengo* el honor de ofrecer à su consideracion; y llamo muy particularmente la atencion del Consejo sobre la inmediata convocacion del Congreso Nacional: sin ella no [illegible]

"El Consejo, si lo juzga conveniente, puede nombrar una *Comision Especial*, encargada de la formacion del *proyecto* y *modo* de llevar à efecto las elecciones populares.

"El Consejo de Gobierno vuelve à llenar las funciones de su instituto; y quederá reinstalado el mismo dia de mi partida.

"Yo invito las Secciones del Consejo de Estado à que revisen con la mas escrupulosa atencion los Decretos yà expedidos; y recibiré con toda la consideracion y docilidad debidas quantas observaciones, addiciones y representaciones el Consejo conceptue conveniente hacerme sobre qualesquiera de los ramos que abraza la esfera de sus alcances."

En seguida se leyeron todos los Decretos presentados à la consideracion del Consejo, y luego se mandaron distribuir à las diferentes Secciones para hacer su revision y presentar estos trabajos al Consejo en la proxima Sesion.

El GEFE SUPREMO continuó su Discurso, manifestando la necesidad y la importancia de la creacion de un Cuerpo Constituyente que dé al Gobierno una forma y un caracter de legalidad y permanencia. Para organizar las Asambleas populares, el GEFE SUPREMO indicò de nuevo la urgencia de una Comision Especial para formar el proyecto del reglamento que debe regir las elecciones que han de preceder à la convocacion del Congreso. Esta materia se discutió detenidamente, y todos los Miembros del Consejo convinieron al fin, y nombraron la Comision Especial, compuesta de seis Vocales, à saber: los Señores, Director de las Rentas Juan German Roscio, Presidente de ella; Intendente de Exército Fernando Peñalver; Presidente de la Alta Corte de Justicia, Dr. Juan Martinez; Fiscal de la misma, Dr. Ramon Garcia Cadiz; Ministro de ella, Dr. Luis Peraza; y Auditor de Guerra, L. Diego Urbaneja.

El GEFE SUPREMO declaró al Consejo de Estado los vehementes deseos que lo animan de ver restablecer el Gobierno de la Repùblica lo mas prontamente posible, baxo las formas representativas; manifestando la imposibilidad que hay para que un General sea à un mismo tiempo el Magistrado y el Creador de un nuevo Gobierno: que nada era tan incompatible con su caracter personal, su deber, y su destino, como el exercicio de las funciones gubernativas: que hasta ahora habia llenado por necesidad deberes tan opuestos: pero que el tiempo habia llegado en que tantos ilustres Ciudadanos capaces de desempeñar los diferentes departamentos de Gobierno le descargasen del enorme peso que lo aflige.

El Consejo de Estado ofrecio llenar los votos del Gefe Supremo, y acelerar quanto fuese posible la marcha de un negocio que tanto interesa al restablecimiento y al reposo de la Repùblica.

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El GEFE SUPREMO ha nombrado por Presidente Interino del Consejo de Gobierno al Señor General de Division Rafael Urdaneta, y por Vocales al Señor Director de Rentas Juan German Roscio, y al Señor Intendente de Exército Fernando Peñalver.

Nombró tambien para Secretario del Consejo de Estado al Señor Fiscal de la Alta Corte de Justicia, Doctor Ramon Garcia Cadiz.

Estados Unidos de la América del Norte.

Estamos informados que el Estado de Kentucky en la última Sesion de su Legislatura dirigio al Congreso Federal una expresion de sus sentimientos por la causa de los Patriotas de la América del Sur. Todavía no hemos tenidad la fortuna de adquirir una copia de lo acordado en el Cuerpo Legislativo de aquel Estado. Aunque sabemos haberse publicado el acuerdo en su propia Gazeta, y en la *Aurora* de Philadelfia, no hemos podido obtener ningun exemplar de su publicacion. Reservamos la expresion de nuestra gratitud para quando hayamos favorecidos con la lectura del distinguido acto de los Honorables Legisladores de Kentucky. Somos deudores à la inmensa mayoria de los Estados-Unidos de su innata simpatia por el suceso de nuestra gloriosa insurreccion. Si todos ellos no han hecho una solemne emision de sus votos por el triunfo de la libertad de Colombia sobre el despotismo de la España, tal como la que deramos indicada, serà tal vez por que no todos poseen aquel grado de vivacidad y eloqüencia que no admite morosidades en su exercicio.— Podemos decir lo mismo quando leemos las mociones saludables y los ardientes discursos del orador de la Camarà de Representantes del Congreso de la Union, Mr. Clay, quando vemos en la *Aurora* de Pensilvania la defensa de los Derechos de la América insurrecta contra el poder arbitrario [illegible] Editor de este periodico, Mr. Duane, del mismo acto que el Honorable Orador de la Camarà por la causa de la Libertad, nada lexa que alegar contra esta Dridad bienhechora à sus barbaros enemigos.—¡Puedan al fin triunfar ambos del monstruo de la tirania!

[illegible]bierno.

Sir, Angostura, October 18, 1818.

I forward the last note (gracias á Dios) of the Dictator, received between 3 & 4 o'clock yesterday afternoon. I shall spare comments on its manner, and briefly explain the declarations I have undersigned that you may comprehend the enormous profligacy of him who could deliberately pen them.

My letter was translated for him by Richards, the same English Jew, who figures as admiral B's secretary, and subdelegate judge! — In the interval, the dictator espying the name of Col. Martin instantly sent col. Rivas to demand of him whether he had ever given me any information about the capture of the brig. Col. M. replied, that he had, as I had visited him two or three times during his fever, and (towards his convalescence) made many enquiries about the operations of the war, the species of troop that blockaded Angostura, and the like. — The Dictator had also cross-examined and treated Rodriguez very harshly, for saying that Col. Martin, the senior colonel in Zaraza's cavalry, is an honest veteran soldier, a Polander by birth, who has served in Venezuela ever since the war began. He has fought and endured much. Several years pay are due him; and, knowing the vengeful despotic nature of the Dictator, he fee[ls] very uneasy. I am sorry for it, but I intended no harm to him when I was collecting matter to refute the mendacious assertions of a man whom now regard as "drenched and mined with infamy." — Col. M. had the principal direction of the blockade of Angostura; Rodriguez now in the fun boat was then a captain under him. The dictator insisted (I hear) that Rodriguez the other day, the capture was made by the marine corps. The latter observed that Hernandez cavalry who had captured Sandoval in the Caura, did not thereby become a marine corps, &c. &c.

was not a gunboat belonging to the patriot expedition, which
the cavalry had planned to take in passing the Boca de
Infierno, that every thing done on the river was effected
by cavalry, the only species of troops or blockading force
they had. There was not even a musket to have made
any armament aboard of boats if they (had so possessed
them. — The Dictator thus frustrated in finding com-
purgators or supporters among the officers who (had actually
bloodhounded this feud; enraged that they who depended on his
smile or nod or frown, for life or death, had committed
themselves by previous confessions and could not now affirm
that white was black, or black white, he again takes
refuge in a false pretense, and quits the stage with
counterfeit majesty. He did not return the letter of the
30th until he was convinced that it was impossible to
answer it without a confession of numerous untruths from
beginning to end.

Nothing has given me greater disgust than the disap-
pointment I met in the little affair of recalling my note of
the 10th alto. As he (Gen. B.) had indicated feeling in two no
I conceived he might possess principle. Therefore, to cut off all
excuse, I withdrew the letter. and, on his proposing to
cancel his two notes (which he did cancel) I voluntarily recalled
all the letters from the renewal of the correspondence, viz. of the
6th, 10th & 15th to Sept.r — incorporating the two last in that of
the 10th. So slight were the alterations made that I had
them copied and returned in a few hours. — So confident was
I of success then, that I enclosed them in a private note
proposing means (and modes of payment, particularly in behalf
of Col. Ledlie, I and from whom I had received some ad-

festing letters. I was soon undeceived, and discovered that Gen. B's sole object had been to obliterate certain facts from record respecting his side, and to enjoy the privilege of spinning testimony, spider-like, from his own ingenious resources (or those of his caterers) and of palming on me for fact the inventions of the brain. I could not permit this; and the correspondence ended, as you perceive, in alienation or rupture. But enough of Gen. B and I hope he has not wearied your patience.

October 20, 1818

It was finally determined at the meeting of yesterday to convene a Congress, the several provinces to be invited to elect deputies. It will be an auspicious and important beginning, — the acknowledgment of a great principle, springing partly from the advice and influence of D. Rosas, Cadiz &c.; partly from the spirit of rivalship, and from the feebleness, disorder and inefficiency of the dictatorial govt. It is converting necessity into a merit, which the Chief does with good grace and art. The government must be for many years in the hands of a few, because the many are enveloped in all the darkness of ignorance. I shall forward the project adopted, or an epitome of it by the first opportunity.

A body of troops have just arrived from the Lower Missions, in some of which a great mortality has prevailed — though foreign officers extol the climate and country as a paradise contrasted with Augostura and its vicinity. These troops are destined, I presume for Cumana, and with the others for the Plume.

general Lisino, will more joined in a couple of days. Llaneros chiefly Indians, are well clothed and armed, - but appear to have in spirit as to be fitter for any thing else than soldiers. How different from the Indians of N. America, or the mountainous portions of South America! General Marino, I hope, has more mettlesome troops than these.

October 21.

I received a note to-day from col. Mendez, the secretary of Genl. Bolivar, advertising me, by order of the latter, that he should leave Angostura on the 23d inst. to direct the military operations of the armies, and that in his absence the Council of Government, composed of Messrs Urdaneta, Rosci & Peñalver, were charged to hear and treat with me on any subject I might chuse to propose. - I intend to enquire of the Council or one of its members whether they are empowered to settle the claim for spoliation: if answered in the affirmative, I shall send in a brief recapitulation or argument; if not, not. - My fault has been in allowing myself to write too much about it already - inveigled as I was into a long and fruitless disputation. - An admission of the claim is the utmost that can now be effected, whether it be agitated again or not: this govt possesses no funds to liquidate any of the demands against it. All has been a prey of improvidence, waste and mismanagement - officers exercising arbitrary power and preying on all that came in their way. 200,000 dollars, at least, might have been saved to govt by hide and tallow of the cattle slaughtered within the last year - but this important item was never thought of. - The dictatorship, consumed by its errors and folly, must expire like an extinguished volcano by the exhaustion of the elements that fed its combustion, or minister to its extravagance. - The next govt, I hope, will merit more confidence and respect and I would fain hope, also, that a few months may turn the scale completely in favor of the independents.

October 24.

This morning, General Bolivar crossed the river and proceeded on his march towards Cumana with an escort of cavalry; the other troops having embarked and gone down a short distance upwards but intended for Cumana, others destined for San Fernando. The object of General B's journey is supposed to be rather political than military, to heal all difference with gen. Marino and establish a mutual understanding and scheme of co-operation. Genl B. has certainly determined, if my information be correct, to return to this place before the 1st of January — to resign his power into the hands of the Congress. — Some hopes are entertained here of recovering Cumana, if the admiral can maintain a superiority at sea and intercept supplies. I have doubts, — or rather I am not clearly informed of the opposite forces or resources. Some assert that Cumana can withstand a blockade of 9 months, as it is. — If so, that important point remains in the hands of Spain, — unless Paez can entice Morillo into the plains, harass and defeat him, and arrive at Caracas by the eligible route of San Carlos & Valencia. I do not hazard a conjecture, because a few months will give us the event. (1)

Meeting Dr Cadiz yesterday, we happened to converse about the claims, when he related those circumstances: General Bolivar had asked his opinion on the validity of the grounds on which the captures had been made. Cadiz answered that, according to the testimony before him and the authorities he had been able to examine, the capture of the Tiger was illegal, although his sentiment was unessential, as she had not been taken in the act: that the Liberty's cargo appeared to him con-

(1) See note at [illegible]

[illegible] liable, because destined to a place besieged (and blockaded, - but not the repeal. - You perceive, sir, he adopts the old principles recognized in a French Ordinance of Marine, &c. &c. which are much more liberal than the doctrine and practice which England has latterly imposed on the world. - But, a truce with comment. - I observed to this modest civilian (and worthy man, that if he had seen the testimony, I was assured he would have agreed with me completely in opinion, that the seizure of the Liberty was no less illegal than that of the Tiger, - as there was no siege, in a legal sense, and no maritime blockade was established, the admiral not having even arrived at his station but was sailing towards it when he encountered the Liberty and took her without any formal warning or legal authority.

This incident shows that Dr C's opinions were unpalatable to general Bolivar, who preferred doctrines more arbitrary and simple. - Dr C. mentioned the anecdote as a private thing, and as such I repeat it, not wishing to injure one of the very few honest men in Angostura.

The project for convening a Congress to deliberate on governmental affairs, the formation of a constitution, adoption of that heretofore formed, the translation of the government to Valencia (when taken) as its permanent seat, &c. is now in the press. This interesting paper is from the pen of Rosecrans. A proclamation of the Supreme Chief is also published. His action now appears as ardent in favor of anarchy

ent at the government as he has been against it. If I can procure copies in time for the sailing of the Olympia I shall forward them either to your Department, or to some friend in Baltimore who will translate and publish them. In the meanwhile, I am, sir,

Most respectfully,

The Hon. John Quincy Adams, Secy. Dept. of State.

Your obedient servt

B. Irvine

(1) Since writing the above, I have conversed with an intelligent gentleman who waited on gen. B. to have some account to hasten, before his departure. He says the general hopes to return in 20 days. † If Cumana cannot be speedily taken, it is proposed that Marino, Hernandez &c. unite their forces with Paez, and move against the main point as already stated. This design seems more prudent than former ones. A concentration of force may insure success. Be this as it may, B. has also engaged to be here at the opening of the congress. — The independents cannot conclude the war, nor commence their institutions too soon, for their men are diminishing, and the debt, I am now assured, is little short of a million and a half of dollars — a sum beyond their actual resources. Every thing is disorganized. but Rocio and a few more are exerting uncommon zeal to establish a government, without which "ways and means" cannot be created, nor abuses corrected.

† Such was General B's haste and impatience that he set off without an escort, which was left for this side.

Irvine, Baptis - Angostura, Oct. 18, 20, 21, 24, 1818

Rec'd
Ack'd 21 Dec

Angostura, October 13th, 1818.

Sir,

I have had the honor of receiving your Excellency's note of yesterday; and, if, in terminating the discussion, you had not committed a portion to writing which I cannot admit for an instant, you should not be troubled with this letter. — You need not have barred the door against discussion, as carefully as a miser locks his chest, for, I have long foreseen, that argument was utterly useless, and could not alter a predetermined course. — I regard myself now as entering a protest in behalf of plundered citizens, in compliance with my duty to the United States — These duties discharged, I must leave the injured to their protectors, to adopt such means of redress as they may think expedient —

It is perhaps not worth the while to animadvert on the tone and spirit, the affected air of superiority with which your present letter and parts of preceding ones are penned (1) Every man has his peculiar style and manner. — Perhaps the manner of Cincinnatus was different from that of Camillas; but neither was overbearing! — I should not have taken any notice of this point, had it not been for the sensibility manifested if not felt, in writing your note of the 7th. — When conduct will not bear scrutiny, and one still attempts to defend it, extreme sensibility seems out of place. (1) To borrow a phrase from Scripture, it resembles straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel". — But let us dispatch this review, even if we must mingle with it some of your favorite lucubrations of retaliation".

In yours of the 7th, your Excellency speaks of the "former Conduct" of the Liberty, when in truth she was for the first time boarded by your flecheras. — According to this new logic, there is something antecedent to first! — Possibly some Cuentista led you into this Solecism. —

(1) See note A

Yes, indeed, Sir, the siege of this place, which however does not concern us, was a phantom. — It gave the Admiral no right to seize, nor you to Condemn the Tiger. — Whether you metamorphoze besiegers into blockaders, or vice versa, blockaders into besiegers, — shift your ground or change the shape of your argument as nimbly as Proteus, the law, the rule of right, is unalterable. — By your reasoning, if your cavalry had been thirty, forty, fifty, or one hundred miles distant, it would have been still a Blockade, — such as the law of nations requires; for avenues & roads may be occupied at any distance however indefinite. — To such [illegible] do sophisms lead, by confounding Spaniard with neutrals. —

On the same subject you afterwards add; "nothing of whatever nature you can say, can overthrow the superiority of our land army over the Enemy. But this is not my business — it belongs not to neutrals. — Your defeating the Spaniards or their defeating you, authorizes neither the one nor the other to despoil neutrals of their property in a lawful trade. — Your recent Capture of Guiria (at which place) does not invest your Excellency or the Admiral with a right to Capture more innocent neutrals; but it would be just as reasonable to argue that it does so, as to maintain the positions you do. —

Surprised as I had been at some of your former premises and deductions, I confess I was not sufficiently habituated to the marvellous to avoid a faint degree of wonder at the following passages: — "The fact of having the Brig as a prize against the existence of our light forces, nor does it prove that she was boarded by swimming". — I gave you intrinsick & circumstantial evidence of the fact, with a reference to Officers who could satisfy you of particulars. — Still you relapse into assertions of a contrary tenor: "The same fleshers as those which took possession of the Brig, reinforced soon after by those on the station of San Miguel" &c. &c. The same fleshers! How and whence came fleshers as into the scene? Like the soldiers of Cadmus they must have emerged into being from non existence, or from the Dragons teeth, ready armed for combat. — They passed through

midst of the whole Spanish Squadron, and joined those on the station above the Boca del Infierno? "Fuerzas sutiles" truly! but whether they were submarine Boats, or Bongos, Curiaras, or light Canoes, as pointed as the nib of a pen; whether employed by fewer fishermen as grapplers, I cannot tell. I can resolve the difficulty in one way. A Canoe paddled by a couple of Indian boys, with bows and arrows, is literally a "buque de guerra," - a Vessel of War, - being offensively or defensively armed. A little Squadron of these may be truly termed, light forces; and such I contend is the fashion in the regions of the Orinoco.

Again: Colonel Eugenio Roxas, whom I have not, and Lieut. Colonel Rodriguez, would have given you information of all their "effective operations, instead of the fictitious tales (los cuentos) which they "have invented for amusement."

Col. Eugenio Roxas, I understand, is an Officer in your Guard of honor; - but your Excellency cannot recognize him! - You are intimately acquainted with Eugenio Roxas nevertheless, titles of rank &c. apart. I yield you all the benefit of the evasion or quirk, whilst I repeat the authentic tale of the Clamboro party captured by the Brig, and avail myself of all its advantages in dispelling error or sophistry, or romance, ~~if upon the latter should I meet with it~~.

Of Flechoras I ought to dispute no further. - They multiply by destruction, like the Heads of the Hydra. - Lo! here are three lines of them: one above San Miguel; another, some where else (station not described) and the third above the Boca del Infierno, which is naturally the non plus ultra! (2) Perhaps as your Excellency were absent a considerable time during the operations of which you speak, your information was derived from those, who "invent tales for amusement" but not from such a fountain as you kindly think I have extracted mine, i.e. in your own language, "ill informed or corrupt." A concise review will prove who has lent the readiest ear to fictitious

(2) See note B

take /los Cuentos/. —

A notice of blockade is prepared or proclaimed at Barcelona, and slowly dispersed here, and there; Admiral Brion writing to his private friends, that it was a ruse de guerre, a good one it proved. He had but four Vessels, and those of feeble force. — Coasts however were to be laied, and harbours invested with Squadrons of all kinds! — The Admiral does not approach the Bronco, until about six months after, and then retires himself in the narrow Channel between Point Cabrian and the Island, as already stated. — He did not venture to engage the Enemy who kept command of the River, till they sailed out of it. — The capture of a few small clumsy Vessels that could not sail with the Convoy, argues nothing. — The denationalization of the Tiger and Liberty in order to increase his Strength, proves enough. — He could at the utmost have only blockaded some narrow branch of the River, and then could not Capture Neutral Vessels without instituting the blockade, and warning them of it. What he then did from necessity /against right/ ought not to be coolly justified now. It is they think doubles the injury to our Citizens, and the insult to our flag. — It is in this attempt that the laws of nations, and moral obligation, are evaded, burlesqued, denied or explained away; — some fabler no doubt having persuaded Your Excellency that there was an effective blockade somewhere here. —

Why did not some of Your Apostaderos of Fishermen detach from about Angostura to reinforce the six launches at the mouth of the River, and to aid the Admiral in his exigency. ? —

If you could maintain an effigy of blockade previous as I deny, why were the open Boats not intercepted which passed almost daily from hence to Trinidad, with Spanish plate, Jewels, & other valuable Articles ?

In my former Letters, I cited the positive testimony of the Tigers Officers &c. attesting that there was no blockade; and every enquiry

least to the same result. I am assured, you had not one competent boat, nor a piece of Artillery afloat, before the arrival of the flotilla from Guiria or Margarita. Of some intelligent Citizens, I asked the following questions, and receives the answers annexed:

Q. What was this pretended Blockade?

A. A farce. [The admiral

Q. What think you, Gentlemen, of the trial in Court?

A. That it was a greater farce.

A million of sophisms and pretences cannot justify the spoliations of which we write: (They were not merely illegal, but insulting:) Nor can a million of assertions create one gun boat.(3)

It becomes my duty on this occasion, to represent, that such irregularities as these, against which I remonstrate, as they cannot be justified by any regular Government, must operate as a discouragement to the United States, and react injuriously to Venezuela, under the name of whose authority they are practised. — No People can claim the rights and prerogatives of independant States without conforming to the duties by which independant states are bound. At the same time, I was instructed, and it accorded completely with my principles and predelictions, to suggest this in the "most friendly and respectful manner"

This is at once an evidence of the alarm with which the captures were veiwed by our Government, and of the friendly spirit with which they resorted to admonition and reclamation. — Your Government has had ample opportunity of repairing the wrong, by disavowing ~~discovering~~ extravagant pretensions. — If you have done neither, but aspersed our Merchants and spurned expositions of the law of nations, — this Correspondence bears witness that the fault is not mine.

Deeply deploring the necessity you have imposed upon me,

(3) See Note C

of speaking severe truths of any functionary, Squadron, or Tribunal of Venezu
I hope that this Republic will hence forth pursue a different course, becom
free, and happy, and deserve the esteem of the World. — The return of her
venerable and illustrious Citizens occupied at this moment in laying the
foundations, or sketching the plan of political institutions of the effect
this correspondence, and the desired approach of independance pa
suade me that my hopes are not illusory. —

Nevertheless, I cannot promise you that the grievances c
plained of Can or will be overlooked, without reparation and atonem
I am of opinion that they ought not.

I am Sir,

His Excellency General
Bolivar, Supreme Chief
of Venezuela &c &c &c

very respectfully,
Your Most Obo Servt
B. Irvine

(A) In order to render this protest as perfect as it ought to be, I a
obliged to make a comment here, on the tenor (I had almost said rudene
of your letters, but more particularly on your arrogating a very opposit
principle of action in your note of the 7th. — You there say, that you
conducted the discussion with "a modesty and decorum" &c. not to be
on my side! Such an attack demands notice. — Lenity to your present not
an example of these sensitive qualities, as was the case from the commenc
ment. — Having previously asserted, that every thing had passed before
eyes here, with a hint of my presumption in affirming facts, you co
pelled me to remind you of your absence from the scene of action.
Although I had the most respectable testimony, that you had not a
Boat on the River, which could effect any Blockade, — out of delica
a person who stood committed (on what authority I know not) by h
strong assertions in former letters, proved by induction that you h

none. — The circumstance of the Brig taken near Sabaneta, by a party of Colonel Martin's Cavalry, with Officers' names &c. was referred to. — In the present Letter you indirectly deny this notable event, and by one stroke of the pen for testimony unknown I conjure up one, two, or three, apostaderos of flecheras. — Was this "modest"?

I had shown, that there was no Blockading force, and consequently that the Capture of neutrals for alledged breach of Blockade was illegal. — You declared, in reply, that exclusive of the Admiral squadron (and that very sheader) you had a sufficient force in the River!!! At the same time you scornfully rejected the acknowledged Law of nations on Blockade. — Was this modest? —

You impeached the character of men who are irreproachable, never resorting your observations when I proved the censure groundless. — Was this decorous?

Failing in your attempts to prove a maritime blockade, you went ashore, and argued on the validity of the siege of Angostura. — I demonstrated that in the legal sense, as applicable to this Case, there never was a siege. — You now flinch from your own ground, and descant on Blockade. — But, to avoid further enquiry, it is modest to endeavour to close this discussion! —

Finally I shewed that if a blockade had really existed the Capture of the Tiger was unjustifiable, and that the Liberty could not be detained without notice from the Admiral. — In contempt of this Chain of fact and argument, you assure me that all those "lights" "only" confirm you more and more in your opinion of the "legality" of the seizure and confiscations. — Nevertheless "modesty and decorum" characterize such language, — in your judgment! —

(B) There was commonly a party of Cavalry at the advantageous position near the Boca del Infierno, but I have the most positive

appearances, no subterfuge whatever. — To debate on this subject would resemble the obstinate disputation in a celebrated romance, whether a certain implement was a barber's bason or the helmet of Mambrino. I can unravel sophistry; but I shall never again argue about matters of fact in Angostura! —

Save, that in discharging this painful duty, I harbor no intention of concluding by reproach a correspondence that began in compliment. — It is to vindicate my motives and conduct, and to enable my Government to compare with the greater facility and certainty, the frankness or disingenuousness, veracity or error, that mark our respective letters. — It may serve as a mirror to Your Excellency likewise, and perhaps produce a change of sentiment. —

The Admiral might have been driven to seize the Schooners for his preservation and security. — Necessity is a paramount law. — But your defence (à outrance, sir,) of the Capture and confiscation, stands without example, and consists in principles, which, if reduced to general practice, would dissolve the band of society and bring in universal anarchy. — ~~Therefore~~ defeated, — ~~and though my fair reputation~~ almost

(C.) We have heard of water being changed into wine, — we have read of Solon's miraculously renewing his youth in old age, and we have read of the sun reversing his course, as if to avoid beholding the atrocious murder and sacrilegious banquet of Atreus: but no power, human or divine can transform fiction into fact. All the testimony in my reach declares the one craft of light galley, (human entities) as a blockading force necessary to be a very small, absolutely fabulous. Your witnesses talk very differently; and

either you or I must be groply imputed upon. I hope your excellency will lose no time in making an enquiry. I will unite with you in the comparison. But I will not admit, that a squadron of cavalry shall pass for a squadron of feathers, nor that any number of canoes so far above this place as the Boca del Infierno could blockade the port of Angostura and Guayana, or afford any pretence for robbing neutrals.

If your letters and conduct have changed my favourable impression in to contrary impressions; if any delicacy towards you in cancelling expressions at which you were dissatisfied, - if I did this, I say, in the hopes of inducing you to retrace your steps and make compensation to the claimants; you cannot now complain if those expressions are reinstated with additions. Let the government and the public judge between us. In conscience I could not permit your letters to be transmitted to my Government without the antidote of this proof. You have extorted this. + Bell's Mouth, literally.

2 B. Irvine's of Oct. 18, &c. 1818.

Mr. I. to Gen. Bolivar, 13 Oct. 1818.

Angostura 12 de Octubre de 1818 = 8.º

Señor Agente

Con mucha razon dice Ud.a en su nota de 8 del corriente, (que tuve el honor de recibir oportunamente) que mi communicacion del 7 fué leida con sorpresa de parte de Ud.a, por que no esperaba una nueva carta sin que hubiese precedido una nueva proposicion. Si la nota de Ud.a de 1.º del corriente se hubiese limitado a despedirse del punto, y no hubiese Ud.a añadido otras observaciones, mi sorpresa habria sido justa, como lo ha sido la mia al ver renovar una güestion que, despues de la mas prolixa discusion, ha sido terminada formalmente por mi parte.

Pero quando los argumentos de que Ud.a se sirve, fuesen nuevos, y no una repeticion de los que he respondido ya, no me empeñaria en contestarlos, para que no crea Ud.a que acepto y ennu

Al Señor Bautista Irvine
Agente de los Estados Unidos de
la America del Norte cerca de
Venezuela

otra vez en la conferencia. Reclamo, sin embargo, el permiso de
V.ª para responderle, que si hay algunas apariencias ó pretextos pa
negar el bloqueo marítimo de esta plaza, es preciso estar ciego á la
luz y á la razon para afirmar, que el de tierra era una farsa
ó por lo menos, es necesario confundir el sitio con el bloqueo, y exig
para este lo que no corresponde sino á aquel. La ley de las nac
-ones y la Española que he citado á V.ª no hablan sino de bloqueo, p
-ra el qual basta que se prive á la plaza la introduccion de provisi
-nes, tomando las avenidas ó caminos sin necesidad de establecer
atrincheramientos, ni formar líneas de circunvalacion, ni contrav
-lacion. Jamas fue nuestro objeto sitiar á Algeciras: nuestras
operaciones y posiciones siempre fueron de bloqueadores.

El hecho de haber incendiado el bergantin no arguye
contra la evidencia de nuestras fuerzas navales, ni prueba que fue
abordado nadando. Nosotros no teníamos gente de mar para tripula
ni puerto cómodo y seguro para conservarlo. Esta es la causa por
haberlo quemado, lo mismo que hicimos con los demas buques
-ques que se apresaron, aun quando eran tomados á gran distancia
las baterías enemigas. Las mismas flechas que se apoderaron d
bergantin, reforzadas poco despues con las del aprestadero de San Migu
barrieron y tomaron los buques de guerra Españoles surtos en Sa
se pasaron al frente de esta plaza, por medio de toda la Escuadra Esp
-ñola, para ir á batir la expedicion que salió de aquí contra el

apostadero que teniamos establecido arriba de la boca del Mississipi.
Logrado este suceso completamente, regresaron á sus antiguas posiciones
volviendose á burlar de la plaza y de los buques de guerra. El Coro-
nel Eugenio Morvan, á quien no conoces, y el Teniente Coronel Rodri-
guez podian haber dado á V.a noticia de todas estas operaciones efectivas,
en lugar de los cuentos que le han divertido en invernar.

Nada, de quanto V.a diga, puede destruir la superioridad de
nuestro exército de tierra sobre el enemigo, y lo que V.a alega para pro-
bar la insuficiencia de nuestras fuerzas navales, convenceria, á lo mas,
que nuestra Esquadra no constaba de tantos buques como la Española,
que al acto de evacuar las plazas y el rio, fue engrosada con los bu-
ques mercantes armados y tripulados con parte de la artilleria y con las
municiones de los fuertes que abandonaba. Pero si eramos tan infe-
riores ¿por qué no le atrevió á presentarnos batalla? ¿por qué en una
distancia de mas de cinqüenta leguas no nos espió, ni nos obligó á reti-
rar de ella? ¿por que huyendo en una dispersion espantosa la dexó apre-
sar una multitud de buques, la mayor parte de ellos armados? El
valor y la habilidad, Señor Agente, suplen con ventaja al número.
Infelices los hombres si estas virtudes morales no equilibrasen y aun
superasen las físicas! El Reyno mas poblado seria bien pronto
Señor de toda la tierra. Con fortuna se ha visto con frecuencia un
puñado de hombres libres vencer á Imperios poderosos.

Siento que las nuevas luces con que ha querido V.a

ilustrar la qüestion sobre las capturas, lejos de desengañarme, como Vsa. espera, me confirmen mas y mas en mi opinion de su legalidad. No creo que haya ningun argumento bastante fuerte para que pueda contrapesarse o balancear siquiera la autoridad de las leyes que se han aplicado. Así tengo derecho para esperar que cese la correspondencia de que han sido objeto.

Con sinceros sentimientos de amistad y consideracion tengo el honor de ser

de Vsa.

el mas atento afecto seno.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Extract of a Letter to Admᵗ Louis Brion, dated 20th October 1818, in reply to his of the 31st August, not received until this day. —

"I do not wonder that Spain expected a rupture with the United States, because she had given provocation for War: but at late hour, Ferdinan counsellors seem to have begun to think that their precious master had Enemies enough to deal with already. — So they said peccavi, and promised amendment to satisfy North America. — This is my conclusion from some imperfect accounts in the News papers! — I am without particular information, as I daily expect letters from the United States. —

"As a person delighting from principle in the progress of freedom, and wishing to cultivate honest friendship with its friends, I must frankly express my extreme disappointment at the issue of the correspondence with General Bolivar on the subject of the Captured Schooners. — According to the laws of nations, the Captures were illegal; there having been no effective blockade. — On no ground whatever could you Capture the Tiger; and the Liberty you could not detain, as she had not been warned by the Admiral (yourself) of a blockade de facto, which you could not do, as you had not then gained your station, but were sailing towards it. — On the fullest deliberation this is my opinion. — The amount is small, but the reclamation involves an important principle. — I am extremely concerned therefore, that the demeanour and determination of the Supreme Chief should aggravate the injury. — As I declined entering into particulars when aboard, I exercise the more frankness now, when the discussion is closed. —

"I am not changed in my principles, though my

opinion of some men may be changed, by this result - and true that henceforth Venezuela will rather annoy her foes than her friends. — Strict conformity with the laws of nations is indispensible; & am your best adviser when I tell you so".

[Taking it for granted that Brion would communicate this to the Supreme Chief, or others in the govt. I thought it best to utter my opinion freely. It may also produce some effect on Brion himself, who is rather an illiterate man, although he speaks several languages and has seen much of the world.]

Jn. B. Irvine to Oct. 18, 1818.

J. B. Irvine, 20 Oct. 1818.

Angostura Octubre 21 de 1818 – 8°

Señor

Llamado S. E. el Gefe Supremo á dirigir inmediatamente las operaciones militares de nuestros exércitos, me ha mandado participe á V.a que partirá de esta Capital el 23 del corriente, y que en su ausencia el Consejo de Gobierno, compuesto de los Señores Vidaurre, Roscio y Peñalver, queda encargado de oir y tratar con V.a sobre todos los asuntos que guiera V.a proponer.

Tengo el honor de renovar á V.a los homenages de la alta consideracion y respeto con que soy

de V.a

el mas atento y obediente Serv.

Fco. Xavier Mendez

Al Señor D. Jaime
Agente de los Estados
Unidos de la America
del Norte cerca de
Venezuela

Rec.d from Mr Krusinski
7th June 1809.

Angostura, October 29, 1818.

Sir Before leaving this place for a short time, I have waited for the publication of Bolivar's proclamation and the first act of convening a new congress. I enclose a newspaper containing the former, and the greater part of the latter, the printer being taken ill of fever I cannot tell when the remainder will appear in print. It will be partially circulated in manuscript.

Bolivar's proclamation is well calculated to answer the purpose of its author. Under a pretence of humility and disinterestedness, he wishes to perpetuate his power by planting himself at the head of the new government. By formally proffering to restore the sovereign power to the people, he insinuates that his dictatorial authority was conferred upon him by the people; which is not the fact. A small faction in the city of Caracas nominated him Dictator, and subsequently a few persons in the island of Margarita named him commander in chief. As this occurred when he was in deep disgrace, which further development confirmed more and more, as the desertion of his companion by a silent and shameful flight from Ocumare &c. &c. Pierr, Marino, and Bermudez, if I am rightly informed, refused at the time to acknowledge it.* We have since seen that he took the first

* It was Bolivar came to Guiria from Bonaire, after his second defeat (for he has had more flights than Mahomet) he was so exhausted and almost lifeless. He begged however for a hearing from Pierr, Marino, and Bermudez: in this they indulged him, but to avoid contempt, he was obliged to re-embark. Even Brion was so disgusted with his repeated failures and flights, that he peremptorily swore, he (Bolivar) must return to the continent and fight it out. He gave him the Diana to carry him, but not a soul would accompany him except one Perez, then a poor lieut. and his present aid-de-camp. - Brion in obeying Brion then bombarded the capital and rebuke at Guiria, already mentioned.

of portunity of being avenged of the first. Many do not hesitate to declare that this was Bs real offence, the other but being a false imputation.

You must not mind the flourishes of this man, if you would extract fact from his speeches, because dissimulation, lurking in abortion and a spirit of intrigue, a determination to gain his ambitious ends by any means are the leading traits of his character. He contrives every thing ad captandum vulgus. It is no exageration to say that he would disregard the perpetration of any crime (perhaps regard it as meritorious) if it favoured his designs, provided concealment and impunity were certain. Most of his speeches are intended to gain him eclat abroad, the population here being so debased (with few exceptions) as to be scarcely worthy of the dexterous arts of deception. Therefore the "tenders" of B. in this proclamation are like Polonius's view of Hamlets professions: "mere springes to catch woodcocks." By vaulting into the new saddle, he expects to ride over Paez, and others who rendered important service to their country, and raised its declining head whilst he was a fugitive in the islands. How things will eventuate I need not guess. Whatever be the form of government the population are incapable of self government. Its effectual power and influence must remain in the hands of a very few.

Public pecuniary embarrassments, the apprehension of being rejected by Paez &c. the moment that public exigency ceases, and a notice be inferred from one of my letters (though I neither intended nor was authorised to convey it) that the government of the United States would never recognize his dictatorial power, are the causes of the present overture.

Seeing that Gen. By renunciation of civil power was unequivocal and absolute, I enquired of Dr Cadiz whether the intent

corresponded to the words. He answered that the Supreme Chief still assumed all his wonted power. To ascertain the fact and decide whether I should send a brief note to the Counsel of Government, I waited on Dr Rossis about half an hour after— asking him whether the renunciation was complete, and whether the Council would undertake to review a decision which the Supreme Chief had altered, or reverse a decision he had made. He replied, that the resignation was a proposition which the congress or people must first accept. Of course, the Council could only exercise the power delegated to it respecting new cases, or correspondence. — Consequently, I omitted stating the question anew, and, were it not for the interests of the sufferers, I am glad of it; as it has already given me much dissatisfaction. I felt even sick as a human being when I was driven to convict a "Supreme Chief" of mendacity. — Such was the naked fact.

The project contemplates the election of thirty representatives, for Venezuela, to a congress which is to convene in Angostura the 1st of January next. These are to be elected by the army &c. in the "military divisions and free provinces of each province." Nothing partial is intended at the commencement, and I suppose, a central government, one and indivisible, is deemed the strongest and simplest, best adapted for a degraded people, and for throwing most power into the hands of the chief.

The views thrown out to wheedle New Grenada into connexion with Venezuela, are in compliance with Bolivar's favorite objects. It is impossible these can succeed, though he has dispatched Montilla and 5 members to the Congress, because Bolivar is regarded by the best patriots of that country with de-

testation. They accuse, justly or unjustly, numerous
persons and the devastation of Santa Fe &c. to the robberies
and crimes of Bolivars officers and soldiers, after the
surrender of Santa Fe. The principal citizens, who were
secured by the articles of capitulation, having a safe passage
guaranteed to them out of the country were perfidiously
butchered on their journey towards the coast. Being under
an escort commanded by a col. of Alcantara, they disap-
peared before the escort arrived at Mompox, or the city
called this and other atrocities, though the royalists in
the first example, prove at last how nearly the parties
resemble each other in cruelty, especially since Bolivar
became Dictator. Without an element of military in-
stinct. He affects the language of Napoleon, without the
key of true political knowledge, or a trust of morality,
he apes the style (and it is said) claims the character of
Washington. However he possesses some redeeming, and
can surpass all his present competitors by his knack of composition
and fluency of speech. A man's superiority is judged by a comparis-
on with those around him not by a foreign standard.

Doctor Salazar, a most distinguished patriot of
New Grenada, now in Trinidad, affirms that ardently as
he wishes for the independence of his country, he had
rather see it twelve years more under Spanish thral-
dom, than have it liberated after the manner or under
the auspices of Bolivar. And Mr Fea thinks our earth
will revolve round the moon, when New Grenada receives
law from Venezuela.

You will probably see all these things confirmed
by and by. In the meanwhile I have supposed it

not be amiss to paint characters in true colours, more especially as I was deceived for a moment by the marks of [illegible] to [illegible] individuals and their influence are transient and perishable, whilst revolutions make durable and lasting impressions. In estimating the interests of a nation, a statesman will not attach undue importance to the former, nor yet wholly overlook it, in reflecting on the latter.

I remain, sir,

Your most respectfully yours,

D. Erving

Hon. John Quincy Adams,
Secy. of State.

Before the publication of the Project, the printer fell into an error by mistaking the recital of old plans (of 1810-'11) for the plan of new measures. It is now rectified by the document itself, which is confined to one purpose, the election of a congress for Venezuela, &c. alone.

October 30.

Some account from Porto, who has not requisite professional knowledge or means to keep up a squadron, as his officers and men are restrained from emigrating and desert in consequence, murmuring and unpaid, some speak accounts of this kind, I fear, seem to render the capture of Cumana very doubtful. Yet, if Mariño can be induced to unite with Paez, &c. an active and successful campaign may while give independence to the suffering people of Venezuela. &c. Pinched by hard necessity, and

often abandoned by their chiefs, we need not wonder that they are sunk so low in the scale of civilization and morality. With all their vices they are entitled to our pity, if we could so distinguish between the keeper and the herd, the shepherd and the flock.

Gen. Mc Gregor and nearly all the New-Grenadian officers have retired from the army of Venezuela, and are returning to Cartagena to co-operate in the liberation of their country — a country that will never more submit to the Dictator of Venezuela.

It is stated today, but not officially, that general Bermudez has taken the fort of Curiaco; and that the Flecheras have captured an enemy's brig of war. Europeans no. — Marinos and Bermudez have above 1800 men under their command, principally infantry. If these unite with Paez, they can unquestionably defeat the Spaniards in every quarter.

I enclose a true copy of a document, which some English and foreign merchants have had drawn up, I requested me to perusal; but it contained so many blanks, that I was obliged to wait on the Alderman and supply the omissions from the original. This shows how much it is to be regretted. Much more might have been stated; but, I suppose the persons concerned wished to fix attention on a flagrant act of injustice.

Irvine, Baptis – Angostura, 29 Oct. 1818.

Rec?

Ack? 21 Dec.

Council of

To their Excellencies the Government of the Republic of Venezuela,

Gentlemen

It is with profound regret that your memorialists (undersigned) find themselves compelled to address you on the subject of grievances, at a moment when your consultations are required for and devoted to the great objects of independance. But the magnitude of the cause which provokes this Memorial will excuse its presentation, and confirm the necessity of immediate reformation. So far as it has this tendency we shall be found cooperating in your laudable labors. That this is casual. We the signers not being citizens disclaim all right of meddling in your affairs. Security of life, liberty and property, is all we crave. Many invasions and losses of property we have endured and endure, - indeed as the laws generally afford no redress, we must bear with such abuses; but when the assassin's dagger is suborned with triumphant impunity, it is time to speak out: Silence would be unpardonable.

The anomalous and extraordinary proceedings in a recent instance, and the unprecedented result, have excited strong sensations in every breast; but poignant as are our feelings, we shall endeavour to smother indignation and submit a brief statement of facts and remarks to your Excellencies. As we shall perform this in the most respectful manner possible, we request a patient hearing.

It is the boast and glory of the people among whom most of us have been born and educated, that every citizen or subject injured in his person, property or character can procure redress from the laws; that he can obtain

Justice without sale, denial or delay;" is not alleged to
purchase it, wait for it till Patience is exhausted, nor
bear a refusal in the end. The individual there is not
obliged to bear the expense of prosecution. The law supp
that a lawless injury is enough and provides means
punishing the offender, at the Public expense. The At
General of the State pursues the Delinquent to every
quarter, and puts all the Ministers of Justice upon
until the culprit is dragged to the Tribunal to atone
for his crime. Every Man is protected by the shield
the law. How different is the proof and result in
case of Henry John Carew! By this deception no man's
is secure for an instant against a villain rich enough
to bribe an assassin, and this in a country contending a
Spain and her despotical iniquities.

A reference to the minutes exhibit these facts
On the 7th inst Carew, (who had come hither from Mart
for Mercantile purposes) appeared before the Political
Governor ad interim, C. José Thomas Machado, Judge
de Primera instancia in legal form he made his decla
or complaint against a certain Mulatto and Negro, t
had attempted to assassinate him the Preceding Nig
in the street of the Muralla near the Prison. - H
Knocked down with a bludgeon, and received several
blows; when the Negro took him by the legs and w
drawing him among the Weeds, the Mulatto at the
crisis drawing his Knife to despatch him. Noise
lights at hand rescued Carew from impending death

Three days before this attack, one Juan Jar
who had had some previous altercations with Carew, in
House of Madame Harriette. was observed Privately po
out by Signs the Person of Carew to the Mulatto

who subsequently attacked him, while passing on the street. It is also in proof, that Garcia complaining of and resenting Carew's alledged intimacy with the Francesa, M. C. spurned him of his Mistake, and offered him any honorable satisfaction; which Garcia declined, with a dark menace of his intention to rely on the Knife. Before this date, Garcia had applied to a Gentleman here to borrow for him a Pair of Pistols, and wishing him to be his second in an affair of honor with Carew. - The Pistols were finally obtained but the Person requested had not consented to espouse the quarrel of either, and from that or some other cause the meditated duel ended in Vapor. It was after this abortion that Garcia showed C's Person to the Assassin.

It is also in evidence, that Garcia threatened Carew with having cause to remember him before he left the country, and that he should bear his Mark.

The Superintendant of Mules for Capt. Carew testifies, that Garcia offered him first 25 Dollars and finally 50. to induce him to kill all the Mules and Animals that might be imbarked in Carew's brigantine.

On the examination of the Accused the Mulatto and Negro who attempted to assassinate Carew, or the Persons who according to circumstantial evidence must have employed them, we abstain from remark. No testimony is of any moment coming from an impeached source, except voluntary confession of guilt in open court. Men who are capable of committing the highest crimes will not hesitate to perpetrate lesser ones. There is a palpable contradiction between such laws and the natural sentiments of Mankind in the case of oaths, which are administered to a criminal to make him speak the truth, when the contrary is his greatest interest; as if a man could think himself

"obliged to contribute to his own destruction". — By the unnatural practice, conscience becomes callous, bal a mere forms, and Religion an empty formality. "Ex says the same illustrious author, "proves their inutility, all laws are useless, and in consequence destructive, which contradict the natural feelings of Mankind." — what might have been extracted from the criminals by separa them apart, was frustrated by the access which the suppo instigator is said to have had with them in Prison, w there was an opportunity to dictate artful lessons and injunctions to them, and suborn them again.

We sincerely wish we could passover the sequel, a for the honor of Venezuela or the actual government, bury it in oblivion. — But we should be disloyal traito truth, Justice, liberty and humanity, if we could connive at it. To suppress it is impossible. It stands recorded in the Process. —

Mr Carew having suffered such cruel treatment appealed to the laws for redress, notwithstanding so many provocations to wreak instant Vengeance on the assassin and the suborner. — He gave in his testimony, and others made depositions. He had discharged his duty, and the conservation of the law and the enforcement of Justice fairly devolved on the functionaries of this governm But no effort is made to bring the Villains to condign punishment; no endeavors made to repair the wrongs suffered by Carew. on the contrary, he is required to replication to the denials of the accused, - as if accused would condemn themselves. Yet his testimony stands u contradicted by any disinterested Witness. By what mysterious motive then, has it come to pass, that culprits are dismissed without trial and the inju compelled to stay out? That he is detained to an the impeachments of men already accused of atroci

crimes? We cannot comprehend how was man who only states facts, and facts never contradicted by any respectable impartial witness, can be arraigned as the slanderer of the fair fame of the Mulatto who actually knocked him down, beat him nearly to death and drew his his knife to complete the assassination.

We cannot conceive by what legerdemain the probable instigator not only receives dispensation, absolution and impunity, but is converted into a plaintiff, mourning over his wounded reputation whilst no impartial Witness whatever pretends to gainsay or controvert the concurrent proofs of so many persons.

It is in evidence, that Garcia had thought of fighting Carew in an honorable manner, but from want of courage, or some cause unknown, declined it, after a person had actually borrowed a pair Pistols for him. - It is in evidence, that he threatened Carew with Vengeance; that he pointed him out to the assassins that he offered a sum of money to the corporal de mulatos to kill all the Whites &c.

It is in evidence, that the assassins waited on Garcia next morning early after their attempt.

The very assassin identified by Carew is also permitted to complain of a slanderous Accusation.

Carew received no redress whatever, but was detained at the risk of losing his Vessel and Cargo, and of being again assailed with a sharpair dagger or a surer blow. It is pretended, that he did not prosecute or plead. It was only his duty to state truth when summoned to declare it. Was he so cited or summoned? Did any thing appear before him but an accumulation of cost and

trouble?; and was there any particular inducement
him to exert more industry than he did, when he learned
the tempter, the principal culprit (if circumstances
constitute evidence of guilt) was still at liberty to
suborn new accusers? — May, we are sorry to be obliged
to assert, that Rumour represented it as a party quar
between foreigners and natives: and that Garcia c
not be punished because he was a native of Caracas

Such reasons appear ridiculous and monstro
and would to God! that we could style them chimeri
But every effect has its proper cause. The governor
political, who is judge of the court of the premera
instancia, acknowledges that he was not perm
to exercise an unbiassed judgment in the case.
Gentlemen high in office, who ought to set an exam
more worthy of their professions of honor and liberty
and the rights of man, interfered with him and controu
or overawed him. Such is his own voluntary confessio

This interference is truly alarming. It proclai
that law is at an end; and, the consequence is, that eve
Man must have recourse to the rights of nature and be h
avenger of his own wrongs. We tremble at the prosp
catastrophes of which this denial of justice is pr
and we entreat your Excellencies to take this mem
into solemn consideration. — The cause of law, Yo
Excellencies perceive, is the more necessary where re
restraint is relaxed (in many cases destroyed) by t
deteriorating policy of Spain and the hapless events of
revolution. Many of these were unavoidable, but
time to set bounds to Anarchy, and bridle licentiou
— Impunity of one crime is a reward and incentive
committing another. We forbear to animadver

on the depredations to which cattle and mules are subject, and the impossibility we often find of procuring any satisfaction against a leagued banditti. But when the dagger is brandished without Penalty, we must resort to remonstrance or the dagger for self-defence.

For Life, Liberty, Property, for all just means of happiness we claim the Right of Protection. It is the chief aim of all wise government, nor could we better illustrate the difference between good and bad government than by an appeal to actual experience by contrasting Algiers or Spain, with England or North America. In the latter countries the dagger is unknown, and an assassin would instantly expire on the gibbet or escape from Society like Cain with the indelible stamp of infamy and crime upon his terrified countenance.

We feel confidence in appealing to a body of distinguished citizens who have bled or suffered much for the cause of independence, and whose efforts are now directed to the new Modelling or overthrow of the abominable institutions of Spain. None of these demands such immediate attention as the dictates of Justice. We entreat your Excellencies never to suffer them to become a "den of thieves", or a sanctuary for assassins. — We shall not insult your understanding and liberal intentions, by insisting on the Policy of Protection to all who visit your shores with friendly Purposes. Whether the Merchant or tourist, citizen or Soldier, sojourns or serves in your country, you know he has a right to security — Where this is not to be found we shall find no travellers, no merchants, no literati. All will avoid the savage shores occupied by Cyclops instead of Men. It remains as

insulated among nations as the sandy steppes & desents of Africa are divided from the regions of fer and vegetation.

We deprecate the narrow illiberal distinc of birth-place and despise the prejudices of re gious sects. We severally adopt the doctrine a spanish Author on this subject: "Fuera d jo desprecio dllamarla es las rivalidades de pue de naciones: todo hombre en qualquier pun del globo que haya nacido, es mi hermano; participo su mérito, il honra la especie hum y yo me engrio de pertenecer a ella; asi com me humillo quando le encuentro debil, vicios despreciable, aunque sea en el ultimo rincon del universo."

If Culprits are tender of reputation, let them reform their conduct. It is a duty to deny crimes, not to conceal them. Solon's celebrated which authorised any citizen to prosecute an offender on behalf of another, were extremely sc spulous about reputation, and even prohibited sp ill of the dead.

If Carew, when we analise the testimony a must confess, that he was assaulted and nearly ass nated, and afterwards punished, severely punishe for complaining. The detention, persecution and harassment he was subjected to, Malsted in cons amount to severe punishment. Thus the innoce change place and condition with the guilty. "Le not in Gath, proclaim it not in the streets o Askalon!" How different was the treatment the chief of this republic when an attempt wa

made to assassinate him in the Island of Jamaica!
and when another was stabbed in his stead. He was not
compelled to be at the expense of executing foreign laws.
He was not harassed by further threats from the
assassin or his comrades; but the Public Authorities
went promptly in pursuit of the assassin, secured, tried
and put him to death;— dealing out justice and
example together. It was not there whispered by
Paramount Powers to a Pliant, automaton judge:
"Take care what you do! The accused is a native
of Caracas, he is and the accuser a foreigner". no;
he was screened by the shield of the laws; their
strength and sanctity surrounded him as with
a coat of mail. Your Excellencies will not have
it said, that a Venezuelan citizen finds protection
and hospitality in a British Colony whilst a
British subject encounters daggers and assassins
in Venezuela, and is punished for stating his case
to a Judge; or what is tantamount thereto, the
criminal is allowed to swear himself innocent.

Knowing your liberal character and
sentiments, we refrain from harrowing up your
feelings. We rely with firmness on your adopting
all expedients in your Excellencies' Power to
satisfy Justice in the pending case and prevent
a recurrence of similar ones.

It has appeared to us so outrageous as to
authorise us in using the right of Petition

and Remonstrance; a Right we have exercised with more Readiness as we are many of us exten concerned in commercial transactions, and all warmly attached to the Liberty and Prosperity Venezuela. — —

In B. Irvine's of 29

CORREO DEL O

Nº. 14. ANGOSTURA SABADO 24 DE OCTU

[Publicamos en nuestro penúltimo nùmero la Sesion del Consejo de Estado de 1° del corriente: empezaremos à dar el resultado de la Comision Especial que entonces se nombró para el Proyecto Convocatorio del Congreso de Venezuela; y desde ahora anunciaremos que aprobado en Sesiones de 17 y 19 del mismo, està ya circulandose por el Gefe Supremo de la Repùblica, con una Proclama de S.E. que insertaremos antes del Reglamento.]

SIMON BOLIVAR, *Gefe Supremo de la Repùblica de Venezuela, Capitan-General de sus Exércitos y los de la Nueva Granada, &c. &c. &c.*

A los Pueblos de Venezuela.

PROCLAMA.

Venezolanos!—El Congreso de Venezuela debe fixar la suerte de la Repùblica combatida y errante tantos años. Nuestras heridas van à curarse al abrigo de una representacion legítima.

No es por una vana ostentacion, ni por hacer mi apologia que os hablaré de mí: yo os he servido, y os debo cuenta de mi conducta.

Quando las convulciones de la naturaleza sepultaron al Pueblo de Veuezuela en el mas profundo abatimiento, el General Monteverde hizo entrar en la nada nuestra naciente Repùblica. Yo que mas temia la tiranía que la muerte, abandoné las playas de Venezuela, y fuí à buscar la guerra que se hacia à los tiranos en la Nueva-Granada, como el ùnico alivio à los dolores de mi corazon. El Cielo ovò mis votos y gemidos, y el Gobierno de Cartagena puso à mis órdenes quatrocientos soldados que en pocos dias libertaron el Magdalena y la mayor parte de la Provincia de Santa Marta. En seguida marché à Cùcuta, y allí la victoria se decidió por nuestras armas. Venezuela me vió parecer en su territorio coronado con los favores de la fortuna.

El Congreso de la Nueva-Granada me concedió el permiso de rescatar à mi Patria.—Muy pronto tuve la dicha de restablecer las autoridades constituidas, en la primera época de la Repùblica, en las Provincias de Mérida, Truxillo y Barinas. La capital de Caracas recibió en su seno à los bravos Granadinos; pero Puerto-Cabello cubierto por sus muros, llamó luego mi atencion por su resistencia y apenas me dió tiempo para tomar medidas que salvasen del desórden el dilatado pais que habiamos arrancado à los tiranos de España.

La expedicion de Salomon hizo concebir à los Realistas nuevas esperanzas, y aunque batido en Bàrbula y las Trincheras, infundió tal aliento à nuestros enemigos, que casi simultaneamente se sublevaron los Llanos y el Occidente de Venezuela. Las batallas del Mosquitero y de Araure nos volvieron el Occidente y los Llanos. Entónces volé desde el campo de batalla à la Capital, hice renuncia del poder Supremo, y dí cuenta al Pueblo el 2 de Enero de 1814 de los sucesos de la campaña y de mi administracion militar y civil. El Pueblo en masa solo respondió con una voz unànime de aprobacion, confiriendome nuevamente el poder Dictatorial que yà exeria. Nuevos reveses me llamaron à la campaña; y despues de la lucha mas sangrienta, volví del campo de Carabobo à convocar los Representantes del Pueblo que constituyesen el Gobierno de la República.

El desastre de la Puerta sepultó en nuestra aflixida Patria, y nada pudo parar los rayos que la cólera del Cielo naba contra ella.

Yo marché à la Nueva-Granada: d al Congreso Granadino del exîto de sion: premió mis servicios, aunque i osos, confiandome un nuevo exército nadinos y Venezuelanos. Cartagena sepulcro de este exército que debia da à Venezuela. Yo lo abandoné todo salud de la Patria: voluntariamente un destierro que pudo ser saludable à la Granada, como tambien à Venezu Providencia yà habia decretado la ruina desgraciadas regiones, y les mandó à con un exército exterminador.

Yo busqué asilo en una Isla extrang à Jamayca solo, sin recursos y casi ranzas. Perdida Venezuela y la Nue nada, todavia me atreví à pensar en à sus tiranos. La Isla de Hayti me rec hospitalidad: el magnànimo Presidente me pretó su proteccion; y baxo sus formé una expedicion de trecientos h comparables en valor, patriotismo, y à los compañeros de Leonidas C han muerto ya; pero el exército exter tambien ha muerto. Trecientos Patr nieron à destruir diez mil tiranos E y lo han conseguido.

Al llegar à Margarita una asamblea me nombró Gefe Supremo de la Nac animo fué convocar allí el Congreso meses despues lo convoqué en efe sucesos de la guerra no permitieron, bargo, este anhelado acto de la volu cional.

Libre Guayana, y libre la mayor Venezuela, nada nos impide ahora al Pueblo sus derechos soberanos.

Venezolanos!—Nuestras armas han do los obstàculos que oponia la tiranía tra emancipacion. Y yo, à nombre d cito Libertador, os pongo en posesion de vuestros imprescriptibles derechos. tros Soldados han combatido por sal hermanos, esposas, padres, é hijos; han combatido por sugetarlos. El de Venezuela solo os impone la cond que conserveis intacto el depósito sag la Libertad; yo os impongo otra n justa y necesaria al cumplimiento de ciosa condicion: elegid por Magistrad mas virtuosos de vuestros Conciudada vidad, si podeis, en vuestras elecci los que os han libertado. Por mi par nuncio para siempre la autoridad que n conferido, y no admitiré jamàs ning no sea la simple militar, mientras dur fausta guerra de Venezuela. El prim paz, serà el ùltimo de mi mando.

Venezolanos!—No echeis la vista sucesos pasados sino para horrorizaro escollos que os han destrozado: apart tros ojos de los monumentos dolorosos recuerdan vuestras crueles pérdidas solo en lo que vais à hacer; y penetr

of 29 & 30 Oct. 1818.

ORINOCO.

OCTUBRE DE 1818. 8°. TOM. I.

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de que sois todos Venezolanos, hijos de una misma Patria, miembros de una misma Sociedad, y Ciudadanos de una misma Repùblica. El clamor de Venezuela es Libertad y Paz: nuestras armas conquistaràn la Paz, y vuestra sabiduría nos darà la Libertad.

Quartel-general de Angostura à 22 de Octubre de 1818. 8°.

SIMON BOLIVAR.

REGLAMENTO

Para la segunda Convocacion del Congreso de Venezuela.

INDEPENDENCIA y LIBERTAD son los dos grandes objetos de la lucha que sostenemos contra el poder arbitrario de la España. Ya seriamos independientes en toda la extension de la palabra, si todos los oprimidos combatiesen contra la opresion. Impotentes nuestros opresores para mantener por sí solos las cadenas coloniales, muy pronto hubieran sucumbido, baxo el peso de su temeraria empresa, si entre los mismos hijos de Colombia no hubiesen hallado la fuerza que les faltaba. A estos deben ellos la prolongacion de sus ataques; al sistema de ignorancia y preocupacion sostenido por tres siglos con ideas falsas de religion y politica son igualmente deudores de esta ventaja auxiliar.

Poco à poco sus ciegos partidarios, cediendo al grito de la razon, abandonan el campo infame de la tirania y vuelven al seno de la Patria empeñada en el combate de la Libertad contra el Despotismo. Quando no todos abriesen los ojos à la luz del desengaño, quedariamos sin duda emancipados por la heroyca valentia de los bravos defensores de Colombia. Pero si al benéficio de la emancipacion no añadiesemos el de la Libertad civil bien constituida, poco habriamos adelantado en la carrera de nuestra regeneracion politica.

No someterse à una ley que no sea la obra del consentimiento general del Pueblo, no depender de una autoridad que no sea derivada del mismo origen, es el caracter de la Libertad civil à que aspiramos. Qualquiera que sea la nacion privada de este derecho, no ha menester otra causa para armarse contra quien pretendiere gobernarla con una potestad emanada de otro principio. Si para cegar la única fuente visible del poder nacional, recurrieren al Cielo los usurpadores, serà entonces mas calificado el derecho de resistencia contra la usurpacion, por que al crimen de la tirania, se añade el de la impostura y sacrilegio.

Al romper los Pueblos la ligadura que los forzaba à estar y pasar por una ley que no era el producto de voluntad general, ni de la mayoria de sus miembros, no les es dado exercer desde el momento, todas las funciones de su Soberania. Ni puede ser unanime desde luego la opinion, ni simultaneo el sacudimiento de todas las partes de una sociedad oprimida.— Por una voluntad presumpta y natural habili-

tados estàn para obrar extraordinariamente en su favor los que tubieron la fortuna de ser los primeros invasores de la tirania. Con tal que procedan à nombre de toda la Nacion, con tal que presida en todos sus pasos la rectitud de sus intenciones, el sello de la aprobacion general marcarà sus actos legislativos, ó de qualquiera otra especie, y jamas podràn graduarse de atentados contra la magestad del Pueblo, ni esperar el juicio de residencia. Medidas sin embargo interinas y provisorias que no tiendan inmediatamente à quebrantar las cadenas del despotismo, quedan sugetas à la revista y reforma del Pueblo, ó de sus agentes, quando las circonstancias le permitan convocarse y sufragar.

Serà pues de las primeras miras de sus libertadores abirle el camino para la practica de este sagrado derecho. Tal fué el proceder de la primera junta de Caracas. Apenas habia ella arrojado de su suelo las instrusas y opresivas autoridades Españolas, quando ya estaba trazando el plan con que podian congregarse los Venezolanos expeditos para elegir Diputados que à nombre de la Nacion acordasen lo mas importante à su seguridad y futura prosperidad. Derrocados en 19 de Abril de 1810, los mandatarios de la Junta Central tubieron los primeros Redentores de Venezuela el placer de firmar en 11 de Junio del mismo año las reglas que estimaron convenientes para oir quanto antes el voto general de los redimidos, y de ceder à sus Representantes en 2 de Marzo del siguiente año, las sillas que habian quitado à sus usurpadores.

Mas de quarenta Diputados por las Provincias libres de Venezuela formaban la primera representacion de sus habitantes. Aunque nacidos y educados baxo la maligna influencia del Gobierno Español, aunque habituados en la carrera de la esclavitud colonial, tubieron en su mayoria bastante patriotismo y luces para declarar en 5 de Julio de 1811 la Independencia Venezolana;—para establecer un Gobierno Representativo y Provisorio—para delinear el proyecto de una Constitucion Repùblicana y Federal—para exhibirla solemnemente à sus constituyentes en Diciembre del mismo año—para incitar à cada Provincia de las confederadas à la organizacion de su regimen interior—para hacer de Valencia una Ciudad Federal y trasladarse à ella—y para dictar otras leyes y acuerdos que por grados fuesen preparando la felicidad de la Confederacion.

Ni en los calculos de la politica, ni en la prevision de los primeros libertadores y constituyentes podia entrar el terremoto espantoso de 26 de Marzo de 1812. Privados quedamos entonces por este tremendo fenomeno de la mejor fuerza con que podiamos contener y rechazar las intrigas y ataques del enemigo de nuestra venturosa suerte. Soplada en todas partes la llama del fanatismo y la superticion por ciertos Eclesiasticos ignorantes y serviles, se aumentaba el nùmero de los contrarios con el de los desertores de la Patria. Creian estos hallar en su desercion el mejor medio de aplacar la decantada ira del Cielo, y de expiar el soñado crimen que les habia inspirado el Ministerio de la Tiriana.

Apenas habia llegado à los Gefes enemigos la noticia de nuestros desastres, quando apresurando sus marchas, invadian el territorio de la union. Parecia que un proverbio español, harto vulgarizado, era el Santo y la seña con que ellos nos acometian, al contemplarnos inermes, sin casas, hogares ni provisiones. El salvage se avergüenza de lidiar con el enemigo moribundo y desarmado. Menos inhumano el Otentote se duele del vencido y dà la mano compasivo al desventurado incapaz de ofender y defenderse. Pero en circunstancias iguales el Español que se jacta de civilizado y Católico insulta à nombre de su Rey Fernando la humanidad afligida y desbonra su propia Religion. Margarita y Cumanà socorren con sus viveres à los comprehendidos en las fatales conseqüencias del temblor de tierra. Una fragata Inglesa despachada en deligencia por el Almirante de Barbada llega à la Guayra ofreciendo consuelos à una gente desolada: y el Congreso de los Estados Unidos de la América del Norte gratuitamente nos auxilia con cinquenta mil pesos en harinas y otros efectos de primera necesidad; pero Monteverde al frente de sus tropas realistas avanza para quitarnos el alimento, la Libertad, y los restos de vida que nos quedaban.

No debia permanecer impune la villania de su procedimiento. De las ruinas de Caracas salian defensores que enseñasen à sus desapiadados invasores el respeto debido à la causa de la Libertad y humanidad—"*Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem*"—era la contraseña de los valientes extrahidos de los escombros para el campo de batalla. ¡Ojala hubiera sido esta maxima el constante consejero de quien mandaba las armas por los ùltimos actos del Congreso!

Al receso de esta corporacion siguieron varias acciones ya prosperas ya adversas segun el desaliento del Gefe y la decadencia de la opinion viciada por el organo del Confesonario y de la tribuna de los Templos. Algunos Miembros del Cuerpo Federal tuvieron la desgracia de no conocer sus verdaderos interéses: otros de la Legislatura Provincial de Caracas destinados à rectificar y sostener la decadente opinion de sus respectivos Departamentos, sacaron muy poco fruto, y dos ó tres participaron de la misma desgracia.

Terminada la scena por medio de una capitulacion, todo el pais volvio al yugo ignominioso de la España, y abrio à sus nuevos gobernantes un campo vasto para el exercicio de su mala fé, de su arbitrariedad y perfidia.—No es de este lugar la curiosa historia del Reynado de Monteverde, de su conducta pesima y del tragico fin de sus campañas.—Baste decir que Venezuela por el genio emprendedor y patriotico de dos hijos suyos recobró de nuevo sus derechos casi en todos los puntos donde habia prevalecido la libertad antes del Terremoto. Casi al mismo tiempo en que el General Mariño derrocaba la tirania sobre las costas de Guyria y Maturin, el General Bolivar al frente de una division con que fué auxiliado de Santa Fé, marchaba rapidamente à la salvacion de la Patria, allanaba quantas dificultades le oponian sus enemigos, penetraba por los limites de Nueva Granada y estas Provincias, obtenia nuevas y señaladas victorias sobre los exércitos realistas al mando de Monteverde, y llegaba triunfante à la capital de Caracas.

Si hubiesen sido prolongados los sucesos de las Armas Repùblicanas, tambien se habria restablecido el Congreso Nacional. Pero apenas empezaban los Pueblos à respirar el ayre de la Libertad, quando inficionada la atmosfera con el pestifero aliento de la hidra del Despotismo, demandaba los auxilios del arte y de la heroicidad para recuperar su primitiva pureza. No bastaba haber destruido las tropas de refuerzo que vinieron de la Peninsula, no bastaba haber sido bastido su Gefe en todos sus encuentros y quedado casi muerto en uno de ellos; el germen de la seduccion, é ignorancia se desarrolló con tal actividad por los grandes Llanos de Caracas, que de ellos brotaron las huestes que à la voz de un demonio en carne humana sumergieron otra vez à Venezuela en la sangre, en el luto y la servidumbre.

Mientras el primer Gefe marchaba en busca de nuevos socoros, todavia la turba de opresores en las tristes reliquias del patriotismo encontraba la pena de su brutal furor y ceguedad. Seràn para siempre memorables los Sedeños, los Monagas, los Zarazas, los Paez, y otros Venezolanos que à todo riezgo permanecieron despues de la emigracion general en el interior del pais, conservando la semilla de la Santa Libertad de Venezuela. No los amedrenta la caida de Margarita al impulso irresistible de una expedicion hostil, la mas grande y la mas fuerte de quantas habia excogitado el Gobierno Español para subyugar à Colombia desde su descubrimiento; ellos à despecho de las fuerzas nùmerosas de Morillo sobre los principales puntos de Venezuela, Santa Marta y Cartagena, perseveran firmes en su proposito y no desisten de la empresa.

No tardó mucho en tremolar de nuevo en Margarita el estandarte de la rebelion por la intrepidez y patriotismo del General Arismendi. El General Bolivar vuela à su socorro con la primera expedicion, organizada en la Isla de Santo Domingo. Margarita queda libre de enemigos, y el auxilio expedicionario se extiende hasta las costas de Cumanà y Caracas.

Nuevos reveses obligan à este General y al Comandante de las fuerzas navales à volver en demanda de nuevos auxilios à la Isla de Hayti. Entre tanto abierto el camino de Carupano y Guyria con el socorro de la primera expedicion, entran y se reunen los Generales Mariño y Bermudez, se ponen en contacto con los Generales Sedeño, Zaraza, Monagas y Paez, y manifiestan à nuestros enemigos la vanidad de sus conatos para extinguir en Venezuela el fuego divino de la Libertad. Al mismo tiempo el General Mac Gregor, cortado y aislado en Maracay por la adversidad de un combate, se abrio paso hasta Barcelona al frente de su brava division, bastiendo en todas partes al enemigo, y coronando su jornada con el triunfo del Juncal.

Convocar el Congreso de Venezuela fué una de las principales miras del General en Gefe: su Proclama de Mayo de 1816 en Margarita lo declara expresamente; pero la situacion de las cosas oponia entónces obstàculos insuperables à la convocatoria. Aparece con otra expedicion auxiliatoria este guerrero superior à las adversidades, y las fuerzas maritimas al mando del Almirante Brion, siempre constante y generoso en la empresa, concluyen el sitio y ocupacion de Guayana por los Patriotas, quando ya el impreterrito General Paez batiendo varias veces las tropas que sacó Morillo de Santa Fé contra Venezuela, habia disminuido su arrogancia y su nùmero y les quitaba la facultad de secorrer à los sitiados.

Estariamos en la ciudad de Caracas realisando los deseos del Gefe Supremo con respecto à la convocacion del Cuerpo Representativo de Venezuela, si no lo hubiesen impedido las vicisitudes necesarias de la guerra. Victoriosas nuestras armas en la pasada campaña desde Calabozo y San Fernando hasta los Valles de Aragua, é inmediaciones de la Capital, tubieron que retroceder, conservando empero los mas importantes puntos que anteriormente ocupaba el enemigo, toda la extencion de Guayana y Barinas, las aguas del Orinoco, Apure y Meta con otras posiciones ventajosas en el distrito Provincial de Caracas.

De las Provincias de Cumanà y Barcelona casi no poseen otra cosa los contrarios que sus Capitales: y muy pronto seràn desalojados de ellas y de Caracas. Los felices preliminares de esta campaña son otros tantos fundamentos de nuestra esperanza y un presagio menos equivoco de la futura Congregacion del Congreso Venezolano.

A la perspectiva alagüena exhibida en el Dircurso con que abrió el Gefe Supremo la Sesion del Consejo de Estado de 1° del corriente vienen à servir de base los elementos militares que han mejorado la aptitud del Exército de la Repùblica. Vencerà, por que ahora posee lo que siempre le ha faltado. Su fuerza fisica ha llegado al grado generalmente deseado por jamàs obtenido: su fuerza moral ha recibido el incremento que leémos en la misma introduccion del Gefe. Subiran ambas à un punto mas elevado quando vaya reduciendose à la pràctica la medida convocatoria de los sufragantes que tanto honor hace à quien la promueve.

Seguridad de personas y bienes es lo que por todas partes solicitan los extrangeros liberales que desean establecerse en nuestro pais, traernos la industria y las artes, y ofrecernos auxìlios mas abundantes: Seguridad de personas y bienes garantida por la Ley: seguridad estable y permanente sobre principios eternos de justicia y equidad, y nunca dependiente de las solas qualidades personales de los Funcionarios Pùblicos.—*Principia non homines*, es la regla que fixa los destinos de la Sociedad—*Principia non homines*, es el blanco y termino de los apreciables sentimientos que animan la apertura de la reciente Sesion del Consejo—"*Principia non homines*" serà el norte de la Comision encargada de formar el Proyecto Convocatorio de la Representacion Nacional.

Las espinosas circunstancias que nos rodean estan diciendonos que por esta vez es preciso renunciar el metodo acostumbrado en semejantes elecciones. No existe el censo civil que

se hizo para la nominacion de Electores Parroquiales y Diputados Provinciales en 1810.— Hacer otro en la presente ocasion seria cosa ardua y dilatada. Sin este paso anticipado, no es posible determinar el nùmero de sufragantes secundarios que haya de nombrar cada parroquia.

Si exîstiese el registro de los Electores parraquiales, podriamos deducir de su número el de los habitantes de cada parroquia en aquel tiempo. Pero aùn averiguada la suma que entónces resultó, yà no seria adaptable al estado actual de la poblacion, disminuida con el terremoto y la emigracion y sobre todo con la guerra de exterminio introducida por los católicos de España: ¿que remedio pues en tal conflicto? Simplificar la eleccion, aproxîmandola à su estado primitivo.

Dexó este de exîstir quando se instituyeron apoderados del Pueblo para todo aquello que anteriormente y por si mismas hacian las grandes asambleas populares. Abierta la senda de estos nuevos apoderados fàcil fué adelantar otro paso inventando el nombramiento de otros agentes, cuya comision fuese limitada al nudo hecho de elegir los plenipotenciarios que en otro tiempo eran escogidos por la multitud sin sufragantes intermediarios.

La pràctica original fué constantemente observada por las antiguas Repùblicas: la segunda se introduxo quando la exîgia el nùmeroso concurso de sus miembros: la tercera fué muy posterior, està generalmente recibida entre los Pueblos libres; pero el de la Gran-Bretaña retiene la segunda. Ella es tanto mas recomendable quanto mas se aproxîma al primitivo metodo con que las naciones exercian su magestad y poder: es mas conforme al derecho natural, y mas espresiva del voto general de la comunidad.

Si desde la mas remota jurisprudencia quedaron fuera del alcance de las comisiones y mandatos, algunos actos de suma importancia y personalidad; con mejor razon fueron tambien exceptuados los que hacian delegable la facultad deliberativa de la Nacion, ó el derecho de nombrar sus primeros Magistrados.— Hallose una medida conciliatoria de estos estremos, distinguiendo entre leyes fundamentales del Estado y leyes de mucho menos momento. Sin la ratificacion de los comitentes no podian ser obligatorias las primeras; pero sin la sancion del Pueblo pasaban las demas que no eran constitucionales, quedando siempre à salvo el derecho de exclamar contra ellas por el organo de la Imprenta y de la Peticion, quando aparecian injustas ó no convenientes.

Omitida en nuestro caso la eleccion de sufragantes segundarios, solamente tendra por ahora lugar la de Representantes que han de componer el Congreso de Venezuela. Su nùmero serà el de treinta, cuya votacion se distribuira entre las divisiones militares de cada Provincia y las Paroquias libres; pero de tal manera que ninguno de los que resulten nombrados ha de ceñir sus ideas ni su representacion al distrito de su nombramiento, ni à qualquiera otro en particular, sino generalmente à todas y cada una de las porciones de Venezùela.

Siendo del fuero de guerra casi todos los sufragantes y estando la mayor parte de ellos reunidos en plazas, campos, y otras posiciones militares, seràn estos los parages mas apropósito para la eleccion; pero no por eso dexarà de hacerse en las Parroquias libres afin de que no sean desfraudados de este derecho los Ciudadanos que en ellas residan y sean capaces de elegir.

De los electos en 1810, apenas contamos cinco ó seis en nuestro territorio libre; los demas, ó fueron arrebatados por la muerte, ó permanecen aùn emigrados en paises extrangeros, ó no tuvieron la fortuna de acertar en la eleccion de los medios conducentes à su felicidad. Disuelto el primer Congreso por la capitulacion de 26 de Julio de 1812 y subrogado en su lugar el cetro de hierro de la España, parece que por el mismo hecho caducó tambien la denominacion de aquellos Diputados: sus funciones segun el proyecto de Constitucion, no duraban sino quatro años, y en cada bienio debia renovarse la mitad. He aqui otro motivo de caducidad.

A la unidad é indivisibilidad de la Repùblica importa la unidad de sus Diputados. Conservese para otros fines la Division topografica de parroquias, departamentes capitulares y provinciales; pero desprendanse los Diputados del espiritu de Provincia, y considerense como Representantes de todos, y cada uno de los distritos de Venezuela.

Individuos de una misma familia, Ciudadanos de un mismo pueblo, nos degradamos quando vulneramos esta unidad con la idea de limites divisiorios. Clasificar al hombre por su situacion geografica, caracterizar su espiritu por las lineas que tira la imaginacion ó la mano del Matemàtico: establecer sobre ellas privilegios odiosos à la fraternidad, es una de las extravagancias del entendimiento humano, origen de muchas guerras y desastres, de rivalidades y zelos. Supla pues la razon ó la filosofia el defecto de aquella feliz revolucion en que el angulo del Equador sobre el plano de la ecliptica llegase à desaparecer enteramente.

Animados de sentimientos filantropicos, y de la simpatia que exige la suerte comun de nuestros hermanos y compañeros, nosotros no debemos mirar la causa de Venezuela como la sola de nuestros deberes é interéses; la de Buenos-Ayres, Chile, Nueva-Granada, y México identificada se halla con la de Venezuela. Nosotros no debemos contentarnos con libertar el pais, comprehendido entre las aguas del Orinoco y la Guagira, y entre los limites de las posesiones Portuguesas, Rio-Negro y la Nueva-Esparta; poco habriamos hecho si reconquistada la Independencia Venezolana nos circunscribiesemos à los terminos de estas Provincias, y no aspirasemo à la emancipacion de todo el hemisferio Colombiano. Muy estrecho circulo dariamos à nuestro patriotismo, à nuestras victorias y sacrificios, si estos hubiesen de quedar reducidos à la libertad y felicidad de menos de un millon de almas;—si los demas millones esparcidos y oprimidos por las vastas regiones de nuestro Continente no recibiesen de nosotros sino el exemplo del 24 de Noviembre de 1808, el del 19 de Abril de 1810 el del 5 de Julio de 1811, y el de la constancia y firmeza contra los asaltos de la tirania y contra los reveses de la fortuna; y si en lugar de llevar nuestras armas y nuestros triunfos hasta Lima y Acapulco en auxîlio de nuestros hermanos y compañeros en la dura suerte de la esclavitud, hubiesemos de permanecer tranquilos en nuestros hogares, contemplando el pequeño quadro de nuestras Provincias, y tratandolas como patrimonio hereditario, ó como una adquisicion de conquista.

Nuestros Diputados pues aunque por el momento hayan de contraer sus funciones à los terminos de Venezuela, formaràn la dulce idea de que en el exercicio de ellas van à promover el bien estar de toda la América insurrecta contra el poder arbitrario de la España. Se imaginaran tambien nombrados por las demas Secciones de nuestro hemiferio oprimido, y como tales, reunidos en Congreso, jamàs perderàn de vista el grandioso quadro de todas ellas; el conjunto de todos sus hijos y la gloria de haber cooperado eficazmente à la emancipacion y libertad de todos ellos.

Aunque la comision es limitada à Venezuela le erà licito decir que convendria sobre manera comprehender en la convocatoria à Casanare concediendole el nombramiento de cinco Diputados mas sobre el nùmero de 30 designado à Venezuela. Asi podrà mejor consultar aquel Departamento la emancipacion y libertad de la Nueva-Granada, en que tienen los Venezolanos contrahida una obligacion especial.— Como parte intregante de toda la América encorvada baxo el yugo Español, es del interés de Venezuela su sacudimiento: como vecina y aliada desde los primeros pasos de nuestra revolucion, su suerte està identificada con la nuestra: y como auxîliadora de nuestros libertadores en la segunda época de la Repùblica, nosotros todos debemos corresponderle con otro tanto, por lo menos.

La sangre de los hijos de Santafé se ha derramado por la salud de nuestro pais: nada pues es mas justo que derramar la nuestra por la salud del suyo. Nosotros no podemos dexar de recordar con sentimientos de gratitud y admiracion la memoria de los valientes que corrieron à nuestro auxilio desde el Bogotà.— Seràn para siempre distinguidos entre todos ellos los Urdanetas, los Girardoes, los Ricaùtes, y Deluyar. El nombre de estos guerreros, registrado en la historia, recibirà de la posteridad el tributo mas digno de sus acciones. Dexaron de existir para vivir eternamente Girardó, Ricaute, y Deluyar; pero les ha sobrevivido el primero para vengar su muerte, y coger nuevos laùreles en el campo de Marte.

Nueva-Granada y Venezuela estaban concertando el plan de una incorporacion que formase de los dos Estados uno solo. Interrumpido el proyecto por la rabia y crueldad de nuestros enemigos, podrà continuar desde ahora, y quiza no tardarà mucho en lograr su perfeccion. Por el amor de la union y de la fraternidad renunciaran gustosas ambas partes contratantes qualquiera otro derecho de menos consideracion que pudiera impedir la consumacion del plan. A sus respectivos Congresos toca esta materia importante; nos contentaremos con recordarla, complaciendonos de antemano con la idea del suceso que esperamos.

Serà mas bien fundada nuestra esperanza, si las demas Provincias de Santafé al paso mismo que fueren recobrando sus derechos, imitaren el exemplo de Casanare, nombrando y enviando Diputados à la Congregacion de Venezuela.

Truxillo y Merida nombraran los suyos, quando se hallen en aptitud de hacerlo, y entónces enviarà cada una cinco Diputados al Congreso. La Comision pues que desea como el que mas, el dichoso dia de esta reunion nacional, presenta al Consejo las siguientes Reglas, y las somete à su censura y correccion:—

1. *En cada Division del Exército Repùblicano serà el Gefe de ella el Comisionado para la convocacion de sufragantes, y demas que se expresarà.*

2. *Todo hombre libre tendrà derecho de sufragio, si ademas de esta calidad fuere Ciudadano de Venezuela, mayor de 21 años, siendo soltero, ó menor, siendo casado; y si qualquiera que sea su estado, tuviere una propiedad de qualquiera clase de bienes raices, ó profesare alguna ciencia, ó arte liberal, ó mecanica.*

3. *Aunque carezca de bienes raices, ó de la profesion mencionada, serà idoneo para elegir, si fuere arrendador de tierras de agricultura, ó de crias de ganado, ó traficante con un fondo de 300 pesos, lo menos.*

4. *No perderan el concepto de propietàrios, y poseedores, para sufragar, las personas, cuyas propiedades estuvieren en poder del enemigo.*

5. *Estan excluidos de voz activa y pasiva los dementes, los sordomudos, los fallidos, los deudores à caudales pùblicos con plazo cumplido, los extrangeros sin carta de naturaleza; à menos que esten alistados en las banderas de la República, ó hayan merecido de ella otro empleo, ó encargo pùblico: los vagos habidos y reputados notoriamente por tales, los tachados con la nota de desercion, los infamados con infamia no purgada por la Ley, los procesados con causa criminal abierta y degravedad, los que solicitaren votos para sí, ó para otros, y los casados que en razon legal vivan separados de sus mugeres.*

6. *Todo empleo civil, ó militar de la Repùblica, dotado, por lo menos, con 300 pesos anuales,*

aunque no sean efectivos, entrarà en la clase de propiedad para el derecho de sufragio.

7. Comprehendidos estan en la 2a. Regla los Venezolanos dedicados al servicio de las Armas Repùblicanas; pero por abreviar el acto de la eleccion sin atraso del servicio, no sufragarà toda la tropa, sino aquellos individuos de ella que sean padres de familias, propietarios de bienes raices, ó arrendadores detierra para el sembrado, ó crias de ganado, ó traficante con el capital declarado en la Regla 3a. y habilitados por los demas capitulos expresados.

8. Todos los Oficiales, Sargentos y Cabos, aunque carezcan de los fondos raices, ó equivalentes, designados en esta instruccion, gozaran del derecho de sufragio.

9. Seràn tambien sufragantes todos los invalidos que hayan contrahido esta inhabilidad combatiendo en favor de la Repùblica, siempre que no adolezcan de los vicios, y nulidades personales que privan de este honor.

10. Los Gefes de cada Division por sus propios conocimientos, y por el informe que adquiera de personas idoneas, se certificaran de las que existan al alcance de su mando con derecho de elegir; y de todas ellas formaran listas por el òrden alfabetico, con expresion de su naturaleza, y vecindario, estado, y edad.

11. No pudiendo practicar por sí mismos esta averiguacion, el llamamiento de los sufragantes, la presidencia del concurso de ellos, y la recoleccion de sus votos, substituiran estas funciones en en los Oficiales mas aptos.

12. El que presidiere à estos actos, instruirà previamente à los concurrentes en sus deberes respectivos à la eleccion, preparandolos al mejor acierto de ella.

13. Si por las circunstancias en que à la sazon se hallare el Gefe, ó su Division, creyere incompatible con ellas el llamamiento y concurrencia simultanea de todos los Electores, los irà llamando ò haciendo comparecer ante sus comisionados por el turnò y òrden que le parezca mas conveniente, à fin de que cada uno vote lo mas pronto posible, y sin mengua del servicio.

14. Cada sufragante ha de estar bien advertido de que viene à elegir por sí mismo, y no por medio de otros Electores, el Diputado ó Diputados que tocaren à su Division.

15. Serà tambien advertido de que del acierto, ò desacierto en la eleccion depende la dicha, ó desdicha del pais, y de que la Diputacion, qualquiera que sea el lugar y cuerpo de donde ella resulte, no es para ninguno en particular, sino para toda la extension de Venezuela.

16. Para ser Diputado en las prarimas votaciones, se requiere la edad mayor de 25 años, un patriotismo à toda prueba, no adolecer de ninguna de las tachas expresas en el n.° 5°. ser ciudadano de Venezuela, por lo menos, 5 años antes de la eleccion, gozar de una propiedad de qualquiera clase en estas Provincias, y residir actualmente en ellas; sino es que su ausencia proceda de servicio especial al Estado, ó de permiso del Gobierno en asuntos propios, con tal que se espere muy de prozimo su venida.

17. Los Extrangeros que al tiempo de la eleccion aùn no tuvieren carta de naturaleza, podran ser elegidos, siempre que hayan seguido constantemente la causa de la Repùblica en qualquiera servicio activo, y continuado desde el principio de qualquiera de las épocas de su gloriosa insurreccion.

18. Por el òrden alfabetico se escribiran los votos con la expresion que yà queda prevenida.

19. Las dudas ó dificultades que se susciten sobre qualidades ó formas se decidiran por el Presidente de la Congregacion de Electores, ó encargado del llamamiento y recoleccion de votos y sus asociados.

20. Estos asociados seràn quatro de los mismos sufragantes mas recomendables é imparciales. Su decision serà executiva, aunque de ella se interponga recurso al Superior; y por ningun motivo se suspenderà el acto electoral; pero à su tiempo se le darà cuenta de lo ocurrido.

21. En cada Parroquia se practicarà lo acordado en sus respectivos numeros por la autoridad civil y eclesiastica, à cuyo cargo se hallare el regimen de sus parroquianos.

22. Si estuviere situada la Parroquia en Villa ó Ciudad capitular, tocarà el cumplimiento de la eleccion à su Municipalidad con asistencia del Parroco ó otro Sacerdote comisionado suyo.

23. Pero si el nùmero de Municipales presentes fuere menos de tres, se suplirà con otros sufragantes, vecinos honrados, y padres de familas de notorio arraygo.

24. En las Parroquias vacantes suplirà el Eclesiastico que las administre, ó qualquiera otro substituto suyo, ó del respectivo superior, con arreglo à la mayor ó menor distancia de cada uno.

25. Si por grave distancia ó penuria de Sacerdotes no fuere fàcil y pronto el suplemento, procederà por sí sola la autoridad civil, acompañada de quatro vecinos honrados, padres de familias y propietarios, que en todo evento han de ser sus asociados.

26. Quando faltare en la Parroquia Comandante militar ó polìtico, suplirà el mas inmediato, ò menos distante; pero si el mas praximo, ó menos remoto fuere Ayuntamiento, ó Municipalidad, serà de su resorte el suplemento, enviando uno de sus miembros, ò proveyendo otro Comisionado sin dilacion.

27. Sobre feligreses presentes en cada Parroquia recaerà su calificacion para el sufragio: los sufragantes seràn citados y emplazados por carteles, papeletas, y emisarios, para votar en la forma prevenida: los encargados de la execucion de estos actos decidiràn las dudas y dificultades de que habla el número 19 y observaràn lo demas acordado en el 20.

28. En Margarita y Guayana se haràn las elecciones por Paroquias, nombrandose cinco Diputados en cada una de estas Provincias.

29. Los veinte restantes se distribuiràn entre las Divisiones Militares de las demas Provincias; y en cada una de sus Parroquias libres votaràn los sufragantes que residieren en ellas por el mismo numero de Diputados que tocare à cada una de sus respectivas Divisiones Militares.—(Se continuarà)

ANGOSTURA OCTUBRE 24 DE 1818.

En nuestra penùltimo n°. se ha cometido un herror involuntario habiendose seguido una copia inexàcta de las instrucciones dadas por Morillo al comandante del batallon de Clarines Felizmente ha llegado à nuestras manos el original firmado por Morillo. El artículo 9°. de dichas instrucciones dice de este modo:

"*Todos los Esclavos que encuentre en las haciendas que sean útiles para las armas los agregarà à ellas, respecto à que los enemigos les dan la libertad y los emplean contra nosotros.*"

Nuestro n.° 12 finalisa este artículo con la siguiente clausula: "*con la vana esperanza de libertad.*"

Como nos hemos propuesto no engañar jamàs al pùblico aunque autorizados por el exemplo de nuestros enemigos, nos hemos creido obligados à corregir esta pequeña alteracion.

Si el Redactor de la gazeta de Caracas tuviese el mas leve razgo de pudor deberia sepultarse vivo, al comparar nuestra fidelidad con sus imposturas. Nunca este Redactor ha dado un documento importante íntegro. Yà suprime quanto hace honor à nuestra causa, yà aumenta à su antojo quanto la puede hacer odiosa ó perjudicar à los Gefes que la sirven. Asi es que toda la correspondencia que ùltimamente ha publicado en Caracas es un texido de falsificaciones, una mezcla de errores y verdades, que con mucha dificultad se acertarà à discernir lo real de lo supuesto, y el estilo franco é ingenuo del estilo servil y chismoso del *caballero Diaz*. Sin embargo, qualquiera que sepa leer y que conozca las plumas de los autores puede distinguir el tono rastrero del esclavo, y el noble que caracteriza à los hombres que escriben baxo la autoridad de un Gobierno libre.

Pero volviendo à nuestro artículo de Morillo, empezaremos por la observacion general; y es que, constantemente nuestros enemigos nos atribuyen lo que ellos nos hacen. — La guerra à muerte la empezaron los Españoles con la mas atroz barbarie; y quando nosotros autorizados por el Derecho de Gentes y aùn por el Divino, adoptamos, aunque muy tarde, la represalia, entònces gritaron con escàndalo que los Repùblicanos eran los autores de la guerra à muerte.

En Pasto, desde los primeros dias de la revolucion, los Españoles dieron la libertad à los Esclavos para que nos degollasen y formaron cuerpos de libertos realistas con el objeto de que continuasen la guerra civil con todo el encono que hasta aqui.

En Venezuela los Españoles Boves, Yañez, Rosete, Morales, y otros muchos, proclamaron la libertad de los Esclavos: con este atractivo aumentaron sus bandas de asesinos en tanto grado que sus cuerpos se hicieron nùmerosísimos y por consiguiente devastaron quanto se les aponia. Ahora Morillo manda que los Esclavos *se agregen à las armas*, por que nosotros les damos la libertad y los empleamos contra ellos. Que! ¿nos dexaremos degollar pacientemente por las mismas victimas que debemos libertar de sus tiranos? ¿No es una obligacion sagrada defenderse contra sus enemigos, emplear sus mismos medios, y libertarse de sus tiranos? ¿No es una obligacion sagrada defender à nuestros propios hermanos? Nosotros lo hemos hecho y hemos debido hacerlo; y el mundo y las futuras generaciones aplaudiràn la justicia de esta medida benéfica y politica. El bien ó el mal que de ella resultare serà ùnicamente debido à quienes nos han forzado à tomarla. Pero sea qual fuere el exìto de un acto tan legìtimo, la humanidad se ha satisfecho y el septimiento interior de nuestra conciencia consolarà siempre nuestros corazones. Si la suerte nos concede la victoria la paz y la harmonia reynaràn en Venezuela ninguna diferencia, ninguna zelo, ninguna injusticia turbarà el reposo de unos hermanos que recìprocamente se han roto sus prisiones y las han convertido en armas protectoras de la filantropia.

—o—

† *Por dar lugar à los artículos oficiales no se ha concluido el de la* MEDIACION, *ni se ha corregido algunas* Erratas *de los dos números anteriores.*

AVISO AL PUBLICO.

De abordo de la goleta Inglesa Jackman *capitan* MERCHANT, *se han huido cinco Negros de la propiedad de dicho Capitan, robandose el Bote y una gran quantidad de provisiones, alguna ropa, y* 18 *portuguesa se supone que se han dirigido acia abaxo. El Bote es pequeño, pintado de colorado: los Negros se llaman* Tomas, Congo, Sam, King y Jorge. —Tomas *tiene unas marcas de pais en la frente y cogote*—Congo *està tambien marcado en la cara, y le falta un dien* —Sam *es un negro de Africa recien llegado muy jóven, y de cara muy chata.*—King *criollo de Barbada y tiene su pie de barba*— Jorge *es un negro alto y paton, criollo San Martin, y habla un poco de frances. Qualquiera Comandante que los aprehenda ó algun particular que informe al Subscrip sobre su paradero serà satisfecho de todo gas y una regalia liberal se promete al que contribuya al descubrimiento de estos Ladrones para cuya aprehension ha dado el Gobierno mismo las mas estrechas òrdenes.*

RAFAEL MEXI

Angostura 24 de Octubre de 1818.

Impreso por Andrés Roderick, Impresor del Supremo Gobierno, calle de la Muralla n.° 83.

Angostura, November 2d 1818.

Sir,

The unexpected delay of the Nymph till this time, when the new to have sailed 2 or 3 weeks ago, affords a convenience for a reply of Dr Forsyth's answer to part of my letter, which I forward for your perusal. The fictions and impostures of the Dictator are now unravelled, and the world will become better acquainted with him.

The prospects of the campaign are less flattering as we bring objects closer to the eye. The enemy has the advantage of concentrated force, and he may sever the patriot line of operations, or rather, prevent from forming a junction and cooperating. Some think that if Marino cannot take Cumana, he will not be able to march his army out of that province.

If Dr Rosier (and his fellow-laborers who are very few) can organize and administer a govt among wretches more depraved than Algerines (such is the community in Angostura) they must perform little less than a miracle. A combination among these Jnogas, governors and lawyers, as they are called, excludes all foreigners, though resident, from possibility of redress for any wrong in person or property. All is insecure, "all is vendible, and no man safe". I hope this is not general. But the alarming state of things has compelled the aggrieved to present a petition to the Council, with some additions relative to the despotical and cancellist of a captain General by the Governor of old Guayana. — The reign of the Dictator has caused disorders that will require a long course of years and immense exertions to repair. — He can boast of having ruined the credit and reputation of his country, and of making it enemies in-

Head of friends. He can boast of destroying or never developing her resources, and of converting plantations into wilderness, rapidly in the Missions; and he can truly vaunt of the pestiferous examples he has set in many species of immorality. His speeches and proclamations are either directly untrue, or so worded as to convey many untruths and deceptions. For example, he says in his late proclamation of rescuing his country with 300 Gaytans, comparable to the companions of Leonidas &c. It was some months after this shameful flight from Cumana that this band full of Spartans were dispersed and annihilated, together with 5 or 600 Margaritanians in his first overture, being completely routed at Clarines, a small post not far from Barcelona. He then felt himself in such alarm, and not without cause, that he wrote the most urgent orders to General Marino to come instantly to his relief from Cumana, and not to let Jesus Christ or any other power prevent him from joining him. To Brion he sent similar orders, but the Spanish squadron prevented him from entering the harbor. We have seen that Marino saved the Dictator from immediate destruction; but where were his Spartans then? In truth, the most of them were in the world of spirits, with the genuine Leonidas, not less with the counterfeit one. However, I have written to one or two private friends, a circumstantial sketch of the Dictator's military career. — Hostile as one must be to this two faced state, we are not less friendly to its country.

Doctor Cadiz recently informed a friend of mine that the Council contemplated renewing the correspondence, or making satisfaction to the United States as soon as they possibly can

merely state it as I heard it. Destitute of resources at present, the government can say nothing to whatever it can promise. I should not wonder if New Grenada should yet liberate Venezuela.

You are aware, sir, that the mock blockade was proclaimed or planned at Barcelona. A melancholy catastrophe of which it was the scene, affords another proof of the Dictator's "modesty" and feeling. After Gen. Marino had saved him, he was obliged to return to Cumana, in consequence with his promise to his troops, beside that Barcelona is not a military position of strength or importance. This resolution was disagreeable to Gen. B. (whose over-forgiving character & Pity for declaring that he had forfeited by his gross misconduct the rank and rights of supreme Chief) and caused him to hasten his departure for safety towards Guayana. Knowing the enemy's near proximity, he left col. Chamberlain, an English officer, in command of Barcelona with a few miserable invalids to maintain the peace! Before Chamberlain read this extraordinary order, B. was already on his journey. A courier was dispatched with a remonstrance representing the impossibility of garrisoning the town with a wretched set of cripples, but, said C., I shall obey peremptory orders, and you will hear of my blowing up the fort in the last extremity. — The Dictator returned for answer, that he hoped Chamberlain knew the duty of a soldier and would obey his orders. — Soon informed of the weakness of the place, the Spanish Guadrow and army made a simultaneous attack upon it. Chamberlain resisted to the last, and attempted to set fire to the magazine, — but failing in this, he shot himself with a pistol as the enemy entered the fort. This nar-

ration ought to be accompanied by stating the total number of the inhabitants by the barbarous Spaniards.

Gen. B. was warned of this inevitable tragedy, and must have foreseen it. Why did he not prevent it by ordering the inhabitants to evacuate the town? Or can we imagine, that he wished particularly to destroy the gallant Chamberlain, who had witnessed his infamous embarkation at Ocumare, and treated him with silent and studied contempt for a former insult?

Such was the fate of a city from which the Dictator had decreed whole counties in a state of blockade. — But a few weeks after, his own (or Brion's) vessels could not enter it. I remain, sir,

Most respectfully, your obed. servt.

The Hon. John Quincy Adams, Secy. of State. } P. Irvine. —

November 3.

Intelligence varies from day to day, and hopes and calculations change accordingly. — Intercepted letters written by royalists transmitted from Margarita disclose great embarrassment on the part of Morillo, who had convoked a meeting of merchants and proprietors at Caracas, but failed in obtaining a loan of $1,500,000 and a levy of 5000 men, without which he had declared he could not defend the country. — This has raised expectation very high among the patriots. The arrival of Arury, July &c. is also very important at this crisis, when Brion's force was almost dissipated by his incapacity. They harrass the enemy very severely, and have sent 6 or 8 prizes into Margarita. — The main hopes rest on the armies of Paez and Marino. These officers infuse confidence into their troops, and are best qualified to be the saviours of their country. — The patriot army is less numerous this campaign than the last, but better armed. Freh on Spanish weakness to kick the beam in favour of independence.

The following is an extract of a letter received by an English merchant here from a correspondent in San Fernando, on the Apure, dated the 16th ult.o (translation.)

"From Ataure (and Guanare) two commandants of guerrillas have arrived, who had voluntarily risen in favor of the independents. They came to give an account of their army, and to open a communication with us. One hundred men and said to have joined the cause, whose are in activity on the other (S.) side of Apure and at San Carlos. General Paez is preparing to send a squadron of cavalry to act with the new patriots. I am therefore in hopes we shall soon have the whole province of Barinas perfectly free."

"Accounts from the interior represent the counter revolution to be in progress at Santa Fe, whose governor had emigrated. I know not what credit is due to the news. A few Santa-Feans are here, anxious to make their escape, (as they consider it) from among those barbarians to their milder, honester (and more civilized countrymen. They lift up their hands in wonder at the contrast between the two races.

"I include in this packet, as I said, and with much satisfaction, the answer of Dr Forsyth. Had I been fully impressed, like him, with correct notions of a certain character, my correspondence with him had been very concise and direct.

"Another document I enclose will afford another example of the outrageous treatment which those Venezuelian Algerines bestow on their friends. Similar things occur and recur from day to day. Violence, fraud, perjury, robbery,

are common events, and assassinations not even frequent. — When can men thus enslaved by their vices and depravities become really free? Regeneration will require many revolutions. Despotism finds its strongest security in the demoralization of the people.

What effect these addresses will have on the Councils of Govt. to whom they have been presented, I cannot tell. Two of them are well inclined; but, can hardly hazard the rash innovation of discountenancing the giving and taking of bribes, hiring assassins, and robbing openly and secretly. These are droits of office, to which the vicious crowd the rabble are accustomed; and all seem to think they possess a right to persecute any one of different country and creed. It is a common perquisite, — or is so viewed, — to fleece foreigners; nor can it be readily given up. I assure you, I am not writing jest or satire.

Dr Roscio thinks of reforming the people and improving the country, by a liberal encouragement of foreigners; and his policy is prudent. The prejudices and iniquity of the rabble (for there is hardly an intelligent, virtuous body deserving the appellation of people) may oppose insurmountable obstacles to his patriotic projects.

— Although I have finished my correspondence with "Bolivar" and never wish to have any intercourse with him, — personally I certainly dislike him now, — and although your instructions would seem to require my return; yet, as an interesting season is approaching, whether we regard military or political

events, I presume that I will last promote certain objects of my journey by remaining until January at least, or the beginning of February. Should it therefore be your pleasure to give any further directions, a letter under cover to the late consul at St. Thomas, or any other American merchant there would reach me here, — if there be no direct conveyance to Angostura. — Any information which I can procure in the interim shall be duly noted down. I am sorry however that opportunities of writing are so rare.

= I cannot indeed say, that private conveyances are always safe this way. Two days ago arrived a schooner from St. Thomas, which had had several packages of letters and papers for myself, Mr. Forsyth and many others here. — Capt. Clarke being invited in a calm to come to an anchor in the roadstead of La-Guayra, or near it, threw all his letters &c. overboard to conceal his destination. Thus I lost communications I know not what. — A moment after a breeze springing up, Clarke stood to windward. —

2. 3. 4W

Irvine, Baptis – Angostura. Nov. 2 & 3. 1818.

Rec^d
Ack^d 21 Dec.

Angostura Octr. 26th. 1818

B. Levine Esqr.

Dear Sir

Your esteemed favor of the 6th. Inst. was duly handed to me on the morning of the 7th. — Nothing but indisposition and a pressure of engagements that I could not dispense with, has delayed an answer to this late period —

I have read with much attention the first part of your letter relative to the Blockade of the Orinoco & other ports on the coast of Venezuela, and shall as briefly as possible state the causes that led to the declaration, the Naval force then on the coast, and the manner in which they were disposed of from that time up to Admiral Brion's entering the Orinoco in the month of June, or beginning of July. — In the repeated private & friendly conversations which I have had with you, relative to the formation of the first expedition from Aux Cayes under Genl. Bolivar & Admr. Brion in the month of March 1816, I have explained to you the manner in which it terminated: to Wit the evacuation of Venezuela by Genl. Bolivar, the dispersion of the fleet under Admr. Brion, & finally the loss of the flag Ship on the Isle of Pines on the 22nd. Augt following. — General Bolivar emigrated to the Island of Santo Domingo (Port au Prince) and after the loss of Brion's Vessel on the Isle of Pines, he himself united with Bolivar in St. Domingo — During the interval from the time that Genl. Bolivar left Caymans to the date, Generals Marino, Piar, Arismendi, & Mr. Gregor [illegible] commanded parties in different parts of Venezuela & kept up the spirit of Revolution in this quarter, but without any form of Government, Union, or Co-operation, & might strictly be called parties of Guerillas. — In the month of December, Brion again united in the Port of Aux Cayes several private Vessels with the view of setting on foot a second expedition to Margarita, & himself in the national Schooner Diana having

General Bolivar & suite on board, in the latter part of December touched at Margarita but finding Genl. Arismendi who had formerly acted as Captain General on that Island, had gone down to Barcelona, with five hundred of the choice Troops of that Country, Genl. Bolivar after republishing several proclamations, still in the style of Supreme Chief convoked a Congress of Venezuela — as you have seen this proclamation it is unnecessary for me to make any Comment. — Genl. Bolivar arrived at Barcelona on the 1st or 2nd of January, and was there received by Arismendi then Comandant of the place with all possible honors, as first director of Venezuela. — On the same day or that following a meeting of the Chiefs present took place in Barcelona, and Genl. Bolivar was then acknowledged as Commander in Chief, and invested with all powers which he held previous to his emigration from Ocumare. — Many proclamations were then issued by Genl. Bolivar, addressed principally to the Officers commanding divisions in different parts of Venezuela, and among others one laying a Blockade on all the Ports in possession of the Spaniards, from the mouth of the Orinoco inclusive to Maracaybo. — The reasons assigned at that time for this singular Blockade, when you will recollect there was only one Vessel, (to wit) the Diana, alias Genl. Marino on the whole Coast of Venezuela, was that Genl. Morillo had declared all Ports then in possession of the Patriots in a strict state of blockade further declaring that any Vessel found proceeding to such Ports should not only be seized and condemned but that the Officers and Crew belonging to such Vessel should be considered as Enemies to the King, & executed as such, (in an instance of a Vessel from Saint Bartholomews, taken and carried into Carupana at which place the threat of Morillo was carried into execution by putting to death both Captain and Supercargo. — Both Genl. Bolivar and Admi. Brion thought that by laying the Spanish Ports under Blockade and declaring to the public, that there was a sufficient Naval force to carry it into effect that it would not only intimidate the Enemy, & prevent their Merchantmen from going out of Port, but would revive that confidence on

the part of the Merchants of the neighbouring Islands which would again induce them to send their Vessels to Margarita, & which in consequence of the absence of Admi. Brions Squadron from the Coast had been entirely destroyed. — On the 9th January Admi. Brion in the Diana, returned to the Island of Margarita, there to fix his Head quarters & establish for the first time in Venezuela a Court of Admiralty. — After his arrival at Margarita the Sch. Diana with the Intendant General of the army of Venezuela, and Mr. John R. Hudson then acting as Commissary General of the naval department, were dispatched off St. Thomas with instructions and letters of Credit from Admi. Brion to obtain if possible a small supply of arms and ammunition of which the Army under the command of Gral. B —— was then entirely destitute.

While Genl. Hudson were ashore in St. Thomas, Captain Felipe Fortevez commanding the Diana fell in with, & captured the Guineaman Schooner Gran Pelican belonging to Havana, having 97 Slaves on board; an attempt was made to dispose of them in St. Thomas, but was found impracticable, yet this capture had the effect of inducing Messrs. Lamiditte & other merchants of St. Thomas to extend to Genl. Bolivar & Hudson credit for 1000 muskets which previous to this had been refused them: with those 1000 Muskets, the Diana followed her prize to Margarita, & arrived there in the latter part of February; during the whole of the time from the sailing of the Diana from Margarita to her return, not a single Vessel had appeared off the Coast of Venezuela under the Patriot flag with a view of enforcing the Blockade alluded to. —— It is true that about this time several Vessels had arrived from Aux Cayes, which Admi. Brion had left there in December, particularly the Indio Libre, a National Schr. but without armament. — The Intrepide Schooner Commodore Decatur, & several smaller Vessels, that had been hired to come on that Expedition, on their passage from Aux Cayes to Margarita had been so long that they arrived with very weak Crews and entirely out of Provisions, consequently could not be sent on a Cruize. — About this time Genl. Bolivar who had been

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ronted at the small Town of Clarinas, was in Barcelona with a very weak force. — Generals Morales and Real learning that Genl. B — was very weak had marched against him with the whole of the force under their respective command, sending at the same time the whole of the Spanish Fleet of Barcelona, calculating to a certainty on the reduction of that place & destruction of Genl. Bolivar. — The day before the Spanish Squadron arrived Captains Bellgarde, Bernard, and Augustine, Owners of Private Vessels had run down from Margarita to Barcelona with the view of aiding Genl. Bolivar, but the moment the Spanish Squadron appeared (seventeen sail in number) those three Vessels with a small merchantman belonging to Saint Bartholomew attempted to run through the blockading Squadron under the cover of night. — Bernard's Vessel the Gran Conejo was struck by a treacherous four pound shot passing through between wind & water when passing with his crew on board of Bellgarde they succeeded in making their escape. — Bellgarde returned to Margarita, Augustine returned to Santo Domingo, and the merchant Vessel not having been heard of, is supposed to have been taken. — A Courier from Genl. Bolivar had arrived at the Head Quarters of Genl. Marino then before Cumana, informing Marino of his critical situation in Barcelona soliciting an auxiliary force to enable him to defend the place against Morales & Real then advancing. — Marino then as he ever has been disposed to obey orders put himself at the head of 1200 of his chosen troops and marched immediately to the relief of Genl. Bolivar, and arrived just in time to turn the fate of the day in favor of the arms of the Republic. — General Bolivar has spoken of that action as one gained over the combined forces of the Enemy by himself, at the head of a handful of men, but if any credit is due to the arms of the Republic, it is due to Marino & those who fought under his orders: at the same time that Genl. Bolivar dispatched this courier to Marino, he dispatched one to Admiral Brion at Margarita requesting him to send without delay all the arms and ammunition that

night be on the Island, and ignorant at the time he wrote this letter to Brion of the movements of the Enemy's Squadron, had directed that all the Vessels both large & small then in the Port of Margarita should also be sent to Barcelona. — Admt Brion apprehensive that it was the intention of Bolivar to emigrate a second time from Venezuela, disobeyed the order, and only the Diana with 400 Musquets of the 1000 that had arrived from St Thomas, with some few Recruits. — Off the Port of Barcelona the Diana saw the whole of the Spanish Squadron lying to Leward, and finding it impossible to enter the Port hauled her wind & stood again for the Island of Margarita. — About sun rise the Diana fell in with a large Schooner, called the Ferdinand the Seventh, standing down towards the rest of the Squadron, she immediately hoisted Spanish Colours & stood for her; the Ferdinand the Seventh supposing the Diana to be a friendly Vessel, sent to relieve her, as she had been a Vessel of observation for the night, continued her course without making any preparations for action. — When the two Vessels came within Pistol shot of each other, Captain De Bruy fired a broadside into the Spanish Vessel hoisted Patriot Colours. — In consequence of the Captain of the Spanish Vessel not being prepared for action he struck his colours, & surrendered his Vessel a prize, demanding at the same time if they intended to give him Quarter. — A brisk fire still continuing from the Diana the Spanish Captain supposing no quarter would be shewn, put fire to the Magazine & blew her up. — The Diana suffered much in spars, but lost no men & returned to Margarita in a crippled state. — Admiral Brion had drawn up a new ordinance of marque in which he had expressly prohibited all Vessels belonging to individuals from holding a commission under the flag of Venezuela in consequence of which the Private Vessels then at Margarita, with the exception of the Commodore Decatur took up their anchors, & returned to their native Homes.

This ordinance will appear the more singular when you are informed that all Vessels under the flag were private property. those that did not belong to individuals were the private property of Admt Brion, it would appear that his sole object was to monopolize over the Cruizers under the flag.

The Decatur was a private Vessel belonging to a Mr. John Pennell of Port au Prince. — Adml. Brion had entered into a Charter Party in the name of the Government of Venezuela for the use of his Vessel from Santo Domingo to Margarita as a Transport, & had given him the flag of Venezuela with a Commission to arm in his own defence, as well as to Capture Spanish Vessels. — On her way from Aux Cayes to Margarita she seperated from the rest of the Vessels under the command of A. Villeretta, & on her off the Grenadines to Windward of Margarita, he fell in with a small English Sloop having on board an European Spaniard passenger, & between 2 & 3000 dollars belonging to him. — Pennell was a very ignorant man, & having heard much of the doctrine of neutral bottoms making neutral property, chose to adopt a contrary one, & not only took out the money, but took out the Owner. — This was reported to Admiral Brion via Grenada, who declared publicly that if ever Pennell came into Port he would be hung. — About this time Pennell arrived and as there were not wanting Persons to carry him this news, he was soon in possession of every thing that had been said relative to the detention of the Spaniard &c. — Partial to his Vessel as she was a very fine one, & well acquainted with the disposition of this Government to appropriate to their use all property which they have the slightest pretence to seize, he became alarmed, hoisted the Haytian colours, sending at the same time his second Officer ashore with the Venezuelian Commission, his log & all memorandums relative to the Voyage from Aux Cayes to Margarita stating that as the conditions of the Charter party were then complied with on his part, he preferred that his Vessel should come to an Entry under the Haytian flag. — This was construed by Adml. Brion as a contempt to the Venezuelian flag, a Guard was immediately sent on board, Captain Pennell sent to the fort a prisoner, the Spaniard taken out committed to confinement, his money passed to the Admirals Chest, as a droit of Admiralty — the Haytian flag hauled down, the Venezuelian hoisted in its place, & without any further trial in the Court of Admiralty except a mock one, where no witnesses were called, this investigation took place, she was declared to be a good prize, & an officer & crew put on board of her. — b

b I mention the foregoing case, as it is the first that stands on record of the wise decisions of your illustrious Court of Admiralty. —

We are now up to the 10th March & still not a single Vessel of any class has appeared to enforce the Blockade: about this time Genl. Piar having returned to Cumana from Barcelona, & Genl. Bolivar having determined to follow Genl. Piar into the Plains of Guayana, directed Admiral Brion to put the small Squadron under his command in a state of readiness to cooperate with him by Water in the reduction of that Capital. — The situation of Admiral Brion at this time was extremely Critical, he was at Pampatar on the North side of Margarita, where there was not one single article of provisions to be had except Fish. — The Crews on board of the Vessels were very weak, much had been promised them but little had been performed. — It had also been promised to the Captains that as soon as their Vessels were fit for Sea, they should be upon a Cruize, but want of provisions, money, & Credit had up to this time kept the whole of the Vessels in Port. — Early in August notwithstanding these difficulties, two Vessels were sent out, to Wit, the India Libre, and Diana, to cruize in front of la Guayra as far to the Westward as Puerto Cabello, these Vessels made three Prizes, one under the Spanish colours, one under the Danish flag, & the other a small Schooner that had been the property of Genl. Brion, which had been sometime before carried in to St. Thomas by one of the Danish Cruizers, there Condemned, because she bore a Flag & Commission which the Danish Government did not ask nowledge. — The Danish Vessel was captured by a Brig of Curacoa, sent expressly for that purpose. — The Spanish Vessel with the small Danish Schooner were sent into Margarita & there Condemned. — It is impossible for me to say, whether the small danish Schooner was condemned for a breach of the Blockade, or on the ground of her having been illegally detained & condemned by the Government of St. Thomas. — I am inclined however to think that her Condemnation took place on the latter principle, for if a breach of Blockade was at all made use of, it was because the Court was determined to condemn her, for if one principle did not hold good to have recourse to the other. — She had a valuable Cargo on board, which of itself taking into view the many wants of Government at the time was with them a sufficient reason for her condemnation.

The negroes taken in the Gran Pelican were sold to a Frenchman in Trinidad, who up to this day has not paid them, consequently the proceeds were not appropriated to the payment of the debts contracted in St. Thomas, hence the loss of that with the Merchants of that place. —

nation. — She belonged to Messrs. Driver & Co. of Norfolk and Messrs. Smith & Buchanan of Baltimore; nothing of Consequence has ever been recovered to these Gentlemen or Messrs. Driver after having paid a visit to Margarita was soon convinced that all hopes of restitution were vain. — About this time the Canon of Chili Cortes de Madriaga arrives at Pamphatar in an English Brig in company with the Brazen sent to demand the Spaniard detained by Powell, as also all property belonging to him which had been taken out of the Sloop, &c. — The Junta formed by Cortes de Madriaga, Brion, Rea, & Mariy had for its object the establishment of some form of Government which was at that time so much wanted, but how far they succeeded it is not for me to say, you are sufficiently acquainted with the acts of that Junta the manner in which it was dissolved. — The small Schooner Gran Pelican now the Condor was dispatched by Admiral Brion to carry the Canon of Chili with the proceedings of the Junta aforementioned to Jamaica. — This Vessel did not return to Venezuela until after the Capture of this place last Year. — I do not recollect what publicity was given to the Declaration of Blockade, but I believe the first account forwarded to Jamaica was with Cortes de Madriaga in the month of May. — From this time up to the sailing of Admiral Brion from Margarita for the mouth of the Orinoco, not a single Vessel left Margarita to enforce the Blockade. — Admiral Brion left Margarita the latter part of May or beginning of June and appeared off the mouth of the Orinoco sometime in July. — He had

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d This Spaniard was given up to Capt. Sterling of the Sloop of war Brazen at the demand was originally made by Capt. Wadthrop of the Brig of war Childers. — The money however was not paid at that time. — The Childers since the Capture of this place in the month of November or December last, came off the mouth of the Orinoco, & demanded payment which Genl. Brion forwarded to Margarita. A further proof of the English mode of seeking redress. — In dispatching an armed Vessel to demand redress, instead of entering into the laborious process of peaceful Commerce, which never can have any good effect with a people so corrupted as the present inhabitants of Venezuela — for it alone can bring these people to a proper sense of Justice & Honesty. —

The Lady previous however to his entering the River dispatched the Flower as by the Gulph of Paria to enter by the River Macareo, one of the mouths of the Orinoco, & unite with him at the junction of these Rivers. — Never there was a Blockade of the Orinoco in my opinion at commences at this time. The Flower was under the command of Commandant Diaz fell in with the American Schooner Liberty at the junction of the Macareo with the grand River. It appears to me that Commandant Diaz himself was conscious that the most he could do, was to notify the Blockade over the Liberty out of the River — these orders were given to the Captain of the Liberty after having taken out of him such articles (as provisions) which he at that time was destitute of. — Diaz then proceeded down the River and ordered the Liberty to follow him, whether she obeyed, or disobeyed these orders is a thing of no consequence she was a neutral Vessel engaged in fair Trade, the most that Admiral Brion himself could have done was to have notified them that a Blockading Squadron was in the River, that a Blockade existed, and to have ordered her off the coast, but the state in which Admiral Brions Squadron was at that time rendered such a measure impracticable. — The Liberty was loaded with provisions, and Admiral Brion had none, nor had he the means of procuring any. — It has appeared to me at all times that when Admiral Brion took possession of the Liberty it was his intention to have paid for her cargo, but the very circumstance of his officers on having placed at his disposition all prizes with their cargoes, was the strongest inducement that could possibly exist for him to appropriate that Vessel & cargo to his use without rendering any account what. ever to the Owners, having a Court of Admiralty composed of persons dependant, entirely subservient to his Will, there was no difficulty in procuring a condemnation. — Had the Vessel been under the English flag I think I can with confidence assert that neither Vessel or cargo would have been molested. — Admiral Brion's wants might have induced him for a moment to appropriate a part of the cargo to his use, but he would have paid without hesitation the customary prices in this Country. — Whether it proceeded from a difference of policy, or from

the circumstance of Great Britain's having at all times paid more attention to the interests of her merchants, or whether it be that Great Britain sends a ship of war to demand redress, instead of mildly remonstrating as the United States does, it is not for me to say, but I am inclined to think that both the Government of this Country, & Adml. Brion individually have taken advantage of the pacific disposition of the United States, who in every instance of this kind have preferred fair discussion rather than a direct demand &c — After so much has been said on the subject of Blockade it appears to me useless to offer you any other proofs of its non-existence — after the foregoing statements it is clear; it does not admit of a doubt that if to establish a legal Blockade a competant force must be placed before the ports declared in a state of Blockade, no Blockade could have existed on the Coast of Venezuela, but particularly in the Orinoco, until the entrance of Adml. Brion with his Squadron. —

With respect to the Tiger nothing can be said — She was a neutral Vessel, engaged in a fair legal Commerce. — Her Owners had had a House long established at this place. — Finding the Commercial prospects of the Country diminish, Mr. Lamson their agent in this Town, had wound up his business, closed his Accounts generally, had shipped the proceeds in the Tiger, was returning to the United States in compliance with his instructions. — This is an evidence that Adml. Brion never thought of appropriating this Vessel and Cargo to his use, from the very circumstance of this having assured Mr. Lamson that the Government of Venezuela would indemnify him for Vessel and Cargo in case of her being lost at sea, or Captured by the Enemy. — His necessities alone obliged him to use this Vessel in annoying the Enemy, on his descent down the River, but the Captain put in charge of her, not having complied with his instructions, having proceeded to the Gulph of Paria, instead of returning to Angostura, her seizure in Trinidad by the Brazen Sloop of War, not-

withstanding I am strengthened in the foregoing opinions by a conversation with an English Gentleman, who for a long time resided in the House of Adml. Brion at this place, that he had repeatedly heard him (Adml. Brion) say that there was a wide difference between detaining Vessels of Great Britain, those of the United States that one day, and demanding immediate reparation the other remonstrates only — Hence the difference

standing she was afterwards given up, induced a belief on the part of Admiral Brion that it would be much easier to obtain for her a condemnation than to raise the means of paying her Ransom. — Thus private property which was intended to have been paid for in the first instance, was condemned to public purposes, for want of means to comply with the original intentions. —

It will be perhaps, a difficult thing to make you understand the change that has taken place in the public sentiment in this country within the last three years, nay within the last six months. — While Bonaparte was in power on the continent the emigration to this country was principally to consist — French goods, French manners, Habits, & politics were all the go. — After peace in Europe, the attention of every one was directed to the United States American Constitution, laws, and politics then became the rage, & for a while nothing was heard in this Country, but eulogiums on the Government & people of North America. — They were spoken of as Brothers, members of the same family, the people who enjoyed alone, a free government, & as the only nation worthy of being imitated. — They even went further; they thought they saw a just similitude between the Character of Bolivar and the illustrious Washington, hence he was sung in songs

"America's favorite son
"Venezuela's Washington"

The oppression of the ministry of Great Britain was so extensively felt by the lower class of the people that within the last year it created a spirit of discontent, and a desire to emigrate from Great Britain, that had not existed in that nation for many years before. — Many emigrated in the first instance to North America particularly to the British possessions in Canada, but their sufferings in that country were so great that they wished to direct their views to some other. — The agents of the Venezuelian Government, residing in London saw the state of things, & judiciously took advantage of the state of the public mind. — Artifull agents were employed to turn the attention of enterprizing young men, to this section of South America. — Merchants

were also offered contracts, so advantageous to them, if these Contracts had ever been complied with, that the agent did not find it difficult to fin men of Capital who advanced Arms, ammunition, & all the other munitions of War, as also Vessels to bring them to this Country: as far as my recollection ser at the moment, more than fifteen Vessels have left England in the last twelve months for this Country, all bringing Cargoes on account of this Governme true, but few of these Vessels have arrived, some have been lost at Sea, some ha gone to Buenos Ayres and Chili, others have returned to England but there a at this day, under Arms, either as Officers, or privates, between one & two hundr English men. The Vessels under the command of Admr. Brion are also offi cered & manned by British subjects, nearly the whole of the merchants establishe in this place are English, the property shipped from England on account of this Government now in their possession amounts to more than $300,000. These changes have produced a change in this Country, & the people are now as much in favor of English customs, English manners &c. as they were before of French and American. &c.

Were I disposed to give you further instances of the illega proceedings of the Court of Admiralty in this Country, I could quote many, but when I say you, that these Cargoes are appropriated to Public uses, the Vessels taken possession of, and Adverteized for Sale before any process whatever was had in the Court of Admiralty, I flatter myself that you will not expect me to give further instances of the corruption & illegal proceedings of the Court of Admiralty of this place. —

I cannot pass over the following anecdote which I think goes a great length in ex plaining the causes I have given above. — On the 19th April a day held sacred this Country not as the Anniversary of its dependance, but because on that day the Council of Venezuela was held, in which they determined to throw off their allegiance the mother Country, if certain grievances were not redressed, the inhabitants of this place were called on to contribute to give a public dinner on this day. — The dinner was given, but what was my surprize when I saw a deviation from what had uniformly been the custom in this Country, two flag staffs instead of three were hoisted, the flags displayed were those of Venezuela and Great Britain; as an American I could not let this pass without noticing it, & so much were my feelings hurt, that I did not partake of the feast

Nothing can be more foreign to my wish than to see for a mo-
ment a difference between this Government now in its struggle for liberty & the
United States, yet I am confident that Genl Bolivar at no one period of your
correspondence with him, ever thought for an instant of making the least
restitution to the owners for the Vessels in question. — Perhaps if this Government
was more independant in the possession of the means of defraying expences, & pay-
ing their debts a very different policy might be pursued on their part, but in
the state in which they are placed, owing large sums of money, they never will
think for a moment of paying any demands brought against them, while they
have the least pretext to withhold what is strictly just to the claimants. — This
I am confident you have seen clearly illustrated in the conduct of the Govern-
ment to Alexander Smith and James Winton late owners of the English Brigantine
Venturates. — — — The Revolution has existed too long in this Country, for us
to look at this late period for men of sound policy and just principles. —
Venezuela formerly boasted of many such characters; but the War of extermi-
nation has been carried on with so much rigour throughout every part of
America, particularly Venezuela, that few men of Education, talents, &
character now remain in the Country — those who have not fallen by the
knife, have emigrated from the Country, & under the present state of things discover
no disposition to return. — It is true some few Creoles of talent have returned to
their Country, Who are making great exertions to establish something like an
uniform federal Government, in Venezuela, (perhaps I ought not to say federal)
but whether their efforts will be
crowned with success or not, time must demonstrate. — Venezuela in my opin-
ion can never be free by halves. — She must either be entirely so, and under the
exercise of a free Government, or She must fall into Anarquy and Confusion,
& should She succeed in throwing off her allegiance to the mother Country. —
The Military & Government of Genl B — has on former occasions given
offence to the people of Venezuela as far back as 1814 & actually led to the
revolt of Venezuela at that period. — But his partiality for power may be com-
pared to the propensity of a desperate Gambler who notwithstanding re-

greated losses, still wishes to hold the stakes in his own hands, and repeated losses with him only serve to give birth to new views of Ambition. — This state of things cannot always last, Order must be restored, some form of Government must be established. — Men of honor, Education, & principle must be placed at the head of affairs, else Venezuela never can be free. — She may throw off her allegiance to Spain, but she never can take her station as a free and independant state among other nations. —

The peculiar situation in which I feel myself placed, together with all foreigners established in this County, prevents me from going into a detail of the variety of frauds practised by this Government on foreigners generally. Your residence in this place must have brought you acquainted with some of the facts to which I allude, to wit. the case of Winton, Smith, & those who contributed to the first & second Expedition from Santo Domingo. — Every one who advanced money to carry into effect both the first and second Expedition, have in all their demands been treated with the utmost Contempt, & in no instance has one shilling been returned to those generous lenders, notwithstanding many of them have been entirely ruined by their generosity, & liberality towards this Government. A people so disposed to take advantage of liberal creditors can scarcely be supposed to act with justice in a single instance, where the Parties present themselves to claim redress for what their Government call legal Captures. — Their poverty — their wants — the heavy demands that exist against them for contracts entered into by their Agents both in England and America, all serve as so many barriers to shut out any just reclamation that may be made for illegal Captures, and Condemnations of neutral property. —

I might say more on the position General B —— has taken of a land Blockade of Angostura and its dependancies, but when you recollect that no other troops were brought to operate against this place, except the Llanero Cavalry — that the whole of the River both up and down was in possession of the Spaniards — the communication between this and Trinidad was regular and frequent, I cannot conceive for an instant how Genl. Bolivar or any other person can speak of actual investure of this place, so as to annoy

any thing like a Blockade of the River: the fact is there was no
blockade & the weak arguments brought forward to establish its existence
of themselves the strongest proofs to me that none ever existed. —

I shall here draw your attention for a moment to
some singular feats of the Cavalry above and below this place. — During the
ge of May and June last Year. — At that season of the Year the Orinoco
generally very high, the currents remarkably strong & generally calm,
any very strong eddies on each side of the River. — A small distance
low this at a point called Samana one of those eddies extend nearly half
ay across the River and Vessels carried into it are generally drifted
ar the shore. — On this point Col L Martin who then directed the
erations against this Capital had placed a party of Cavalry as a point
observation. — A Spanish Brig Schooner coming up the River were
rried into this eddy during a calm. — The Schooner with the aid of her
eps passed up, but the Brig being heavier was drifted near into the land,
en the Cavalry discovered she was an unarmed Merchant Vessel, took advan-
ge of her situation, some going off in a small Indian Canoe, others swim-
ing alongside took possession of her. — Hence the Anecdote which you have
peatedly heard in the County of Martin's diving Llaneros. — I know
t it has been said by Genl Bolivar that this Brig was taken possession of by
party of Gun Boats, but I can assure you that I have had it related by two
Colonels of Cavalry, who then commanded on this station. — At another
lace some distance up the River at a point called La Boca del Infierno
nother party of Cavalry were stationed as a point of observation & to cut
f the communication between this place & the Upper Country. — At this
lace the Cavalry with a few Indian Canoes also captured several
oats coming from San Fernando to this place, but neither at the
point or the other had we ever Above a dozen of Gun Boats. — The
mmunication between this & other points on the River both above and
low them in possession of the Enemy were free & uninterrupted. — No
Blockade of the River — no Capture of Enemies property in the River

except in the instances alluded to, and for which much Credit is due to the Llanero Cavalry

I shall for the present close this Letter, when time, and better health permit, I shall give you a more detailed account of the operations of the Armies generally in Venezuela and New Grenada together with such remarks as I have been able to make on the natural productions of this Country — By the local and general Commercial prospects of Venezuela to make this Country of extensive Commercial advantages we must look forward for other times, with other Men, & other measures to bring about that Revolution so much desired. — In this hurried Communication if I have omitted any important fact relative to the Capture and detention of the Liberty and Tiger I shall be extremely happy at any time to make any further Communications on this subject that may have been omitted. — With the most sincere wish on my part of continuing the correspondence, & being useful to you in any way

I remain Dear Sir

Your Most Obt Hble Servt

(Signed) J. D. Forsyth

The above is a true Copy of the Original.

Wm Mackenzie

Jn. B. Bunce & Mss. 2/3/1818

J. D. Forsyth & Mss. 26 Oct. 1818

Sir, Angostura, November 9, 1818.

The Nymph being still in port, from the difficulty of procuring a crew to navigate her to Philadelphia, I forward a perfect copy of the memorial in Carew's case, as signed and presented. One is indignant at hearing such outcasts as those complained of styling themselves patriots, and like their blustering leader heaping off their imprecations on redoubtable men who confound vile agents with a good cause.

We have no great news, no important doings, but many flattering accounts of the enemy's straitened, exhausted condition. A col. Hurtado, arrived last night at the opposite village, sent by general Monagas to collect mules for transporting baggage and hauling artillery. He states that a party of 40 men had just deserted to Monagas from the enemy's cavalry. The guerrilla parties in Barcelona have been fortunate in some late incursions on the royalists.

It is believed that Guiana is unsatisfied with provisions: two rebels destined to it have been captured, and the intercepted letters declare that it cannot stand a siege. A brig from Coruna for La Guayra has been captured likewise.

Commodore Aury, according to accounts received here has occupied and fortified the island of St. Andero off Cartagena, - intending probably to act in favor of New Grenada when occasion offers. Bolivar having been treated rather scurvily by this govt. he has a particular interest there. D. Pedro is still with him.

The only disaster yet reported, is that of a repulse experienced by Gen. Bermudez at the river Caribe, as he was marching with a detachment from Guiria to join General

Marino by that route. He lost 25 or 30 men, and was obliged to retreat.

The sketch herewith enclosed relating to Piar's criminality and trial, I please [illegible] to represent to the best of my [illegible] in which he believes, although that memorandum was furnished by a man whom I deem independent. Further and full enquiry of and repeated conversations with persons who knew Piar intimately and served with him, render it almost certain, that he was punished for inveighing against all dictatorships, and saying that Venezuela could never prosper without a government "Napoleon" said he in his rough language, "is gone to Hell, and has dragged France along with him, because he must be emperor absolute". Besides it was never understood, that any thing more was meant at the time of the meeting in Margarita, or Barcelona, than fixing and acknowledging military rank. B—r was named first chief Mariño, second, and so forth. And the intelligent few since complained that this regulation of rank was converted into a dictatorship. All the witnesses against Piar, added col. ——, were suborned for the purpose in various ways; and the accused had no fair trial. He lay in his house a prisoner all the time.

Dr E—— confirms this representation; observing that to the last moment the infatuated man never believed the accusation was serious. Galindo also betrayed him,* by admitting the charges. "B——" said, ——(seeing and wondering or inventing alone) "is easily elevated, and as easily depressed. When I told him a fearful story, he himself pale and agonized in the face, a man of some talent, education and reading, no understanding.

* This base wretch was killed at the surprise of B—r at Cumanacoa los Toros. He was considered a great coward.

his rage from Maracay B. was overcome with bad news, and disgracefully fled for thrith from terrors which his imagination had exaggerated to the bulk of mountains. So, when Bermudez and col. Martin &c. had reduced Guiana, the Dictator was indescribably elated; Golconda Dorados danced before his dazzled vision, and he fancied the world at his feet. Then he determined to humble his enemies. - Mariño was ordered to lead 9 navires, and Bermudez appointed captain-general of Cumana to supersede him. Had he caught the veritable Cabanas of Chile, his age would not have screened him from instant death, but Mariño he had resolved to put to death.

In giving these different accounts, I wish to be viewed as a person examining witnesses. I give you the testimony, to compare it part with part, take the mean sense of it, or adopt the most probable.

Let me add, that judges have expert tribes, and woe be to him who neglects that offering to the Furies! his cause is desperate.* Admiral B. made his own peace for insults and offences, by pledging himself before hand, that Piar should be shot if brought to trial. This is notorious. He imprudently dined at his own table, and kept his promise.

Now, perhaps, when "Bolivar" talks of "moral force," as he does in one of his dictatorial letters to me, you can infer that he uses language devoid of meaning here, - intended to deceive foreign readers, who annex to words the ideas they ordinarily convey. - He avidissime caught at the Dictator and Genl. Soublette have frequently hinted and said, that Paez should be put to death, + - If you recollect, Mariño did not obey the order, but retired to Margarita. His officers visited him after B. at Angostura. But the good man refused to be the promoter of civil war.

* I can prove, that Richards invited a merchant here to bribe

wherever circumstances allow. — No letter nor tract can be perused by men under the influence of moral considerations you can judge. — If by moral force be meant prejudice, fanaticism or hatred, I agree with him as to the power of such feelings. — Such beings like these, he can only or means of future good, must happen by some providential decree, if such there be, which obliges shortsighted and perverse instruments to effect purposes directly contrary to their intent.

The firmest accord among the few men of talents in the country was requisite from the beginning to give an honest direction and an honorable character to the revolution. These few were quickly divided, and most of them quitted benighted or perished in it, the modest leaving the stage to the bold and unprincipled. From that moment to this a hardened has played the chief part. Being placed at the head of the army he placed himself at the head of the nation. — He now aspires it is said, to increase his power by a congress of ignoramuses; and certain it is, he is planning every thing for them in advance. Secretary Pinkney is nominated as secretary to the congress, but he declines it, declaring that he does not expect above three men of abilities or independence in the whole body. — It was an anticipation of this state of things, that induced me to advise a person, who privately asked my opinion, to endeavor to postpone important measures until the public mind were tranquilized, and even for him to have a formation of power, return from abroad; for precipitation in matters of vital moment would either augur folly or sinister designs. — However, it is their concern; let them dispose of it as they will. The acknowledgment of a great principle is likely to be the greatest advantage of a meeting of representatives at the moment. — These views of things, joined with them a knowledge of leading characters, and their motives of action and that is the only remark one has for reading a double letter on such subject.

— Since, he (B.) suggesting by the broadest hints that, for $200 a certain sch might be libelled and he would condemn her. The man read over but three times repeated, and then sternly said: "I have never bribed a to be a rascal, and never will."

By the next conveyance, I shall forward the residue of B's original letter to me. If they be of any moment, perhaps it is prudent not to send all at once.

I am most respectfully,

Your obed. Servt

B. Irvine

Hon. John Q. Adams,
Sec'y. of State.

November 10.

A letter from Saraza's head-quarters in Barcelona, written by a lieutenant and received here yesterday, represents the commencement of the campaign as very auspicious, and prospects extremely encouraging. — They had reduced two villages, and were joined by 300 Indians from a single mission. Saraza's and Monagas's troops are destined to cooperate against Cumana, which they expect to reduced. — During these operations, general Paez is to employ the enemy from the side of Barinas. — The Spaniards appear exhausted, and common prudence alone is wanting to insure their expulsion before the next rainy season.

Irvine, Baptis – Angostura, Nov. 9. & 10, 1818.

Rec?
Ack? 21 Dec.

Hon. John Quincy Adams,
Secy. of State
Washington City.

To their Excellencies

the Council of Government of the

Republic of Venezuela

Gentlemen,

It is with profound regret that your Memorialists (undersigned) find themselves compelled to address you on the subject of grievances, at a moment when your consultations are required for and devoted to the great objects of independence. — But the magnitude of the cause which provokes this memorial will excuse its presentation, and confirm the necessity of immediate Reformation. So far as it has this tendency, we shall be found co-operating with your laudable labors. But this is casual. All the signers not being citizens disclaim all right of meddling in your affairs. Security of life, liberty and property is all we crave. Many and various losses of property we have endured and would still endure. — indeed as the laws generally afford no redress, we must bear with such abuses; but when the assassin's dagger is suborned with triumphant impunity, it is time to speak out. Silence would be unpardonable.

The anomalous and extraordinary proceedu
in a recent case and the unprecedented result, th
excited strong sensations in every breast. But for
as are our feelings we shall endeavour to smother
indignation and submit a brief statement of facts
remarks to your Excellencies. as we shall perfor
this in the most respectful manner possible, we le
a patient hearing.—

It is the boast and glory of the people amo
whom most of us have been born and educated, that eve
citizen or subject injured in his person, property or
character, can procure redress from the laws; tha
he can obtain justice without sale, denial or de
is not obliged to purchase it,—wait for it till patie
is exhausted,—nor bear a refusal in the end. The i
dividual there is never obliged to bear the expen
of prosecution. The law supposes, how that a le
less injury is enough and provides means of puni
the offender, at the public expense. The attorney ge
of the State pursues the delinquent to every quarte
all the ministers of Justice assist him, until th
the culprit is dragged to the tribunal to atone
his crime. Every man is protected by the shield o
the law. — How different is the process and resu
in the case of Henry Johnson Esqr! By this de
no man's life is secure for an instant against a
villain rich enough to bribe an assassin.

And this in a country contending against Spain and her despotical iniquities.

A reference to the minutes exhibits these facts: On the 7th inst. Carew, (who had come hither from Martinique for Mercantile purposes,) appeared before the Political Governor, ad interim, C. Don Thomas Machado, Judge de Primera instancia. In legal form he made his declaration or complaint against certain Mulatto and Negro, who had attempted to assassinate him the preceding evening in the street of the Muralla near the Prison. He was knocked down with a bludgeon and received several blows; when the negro took him by the legs and was dragging him among the Weeds, the Mulatto at this crisis drawing his Knife to dispatch him. Noise and lights at hand rescued Carew from impending death. Juan

Three days before this attack one Juan Garcia who had some previous altercations with Carew, in the House of Madame Harriette ——, was observed privately pointing out by signs the person of Carew to the Mulatto (who subsequently attacked him) while passing in the street. — It is also in proof, that Garcia complaining of and taunting Carew's alledged intimacy with the Francesa, M. C. assured him of his mistake, and offered him any honorable satisfaction; which Garcia declined, with a dark menace of his intention to rely on the Knife. Before this date, Garcia had applied to a Gentleman here to borrow for him a

pairs of Pistols, and ~~wished~~ hired to be his second in
affair of honor with Carew. — The Pistols were finally
obtained; but the Person requested, had not consented
to espouse the quarrel of either; and, from that, or some
other cause, the meditated duel ended in Vapor.
It was after this abortive that Garcia showed Cid. J
to the assassins.

It is also in evidence, that Garcia threatened
Carew with having cause to remember him before
he left the country, and that he should bear his mar

The Superintendant of Mules for Capt. Ca
testifies, that Garcia offered him 25 $ and finally
50, to induce him to kill all the Mules and Ani
that might be embarked in Carew's brigantin

On the examinations of the Accused, whet
the Mulatto and Negro who attempted to assassina
Carew, or the Persons, who according to circumstan
evidence must have employed them, we abstain
from Remark. no testimony is of any moment c
from an impeached source, except Voluntary co
= fessions of guilt in open court. Men who are
capable of committing the highest crimes will no
hesitate to perpetrate lesser ones. + There is a
palpable contradiction between such laws and the
natural sentiments of Mankind in the case
oaths which are administered to a criminal to
him speak the truth, when the contrary is ha

e greatest interest; as if a man could think himself obliged
to contribute to his own destruction. By this unnatural prac-
tice, conscience becomes callous, oaths a mere form, and
religious an empty formality. "Experience" says the same
illustrious author, "proves their inutility; for all laws are
useless, and in consequence destructive, which contradict the
natural feelings of Mankind". — Whatever might have been
extracted from the criminals by examining them apart, was
frustrated by the scene which the supposed instigator is
said to have had with them in Prison, where there was an
opportunity to dictate artful lessons and injunctions to them,
and suborn them again.

We sincerely wish we could pass over the sequel, and for
the honor of Venezuela or the actual government, bury it in
oblivion. — But we should be disloyal traitors to truth, Justice,
liberty and humanity, if we could connive at it. — To suppress
it is impossible. It stands recorded in the Press. —

Mr Lamer having suffered such cruel treatment,
appealed to the laws for redress, notwithstanding so many pro-
vocations to wreak instant Vengeance on the assassins and
subornor. He gave in his testimony, and others also made
depositions. He had discharged his duty, and the conservation
of the laws and the enforcement of Justice now fairly devolved
on the ~~functionaries~~ Penitentiaries of this government. But no effort is made
to bring the villains to condigne punishment; no endeavour
is made to repair the wrongs suffered by Lamer. On the
contrary, he is required to make explications to the Tenant

of the accused; as if accused men would condemn themselv

Yet his testimony stands uncontradicted by any dis
terested witness. By what mysterious motives then has
come to pass, that the culprits are dismissed without tri
and the injured compelled to pay costs. He is detai
to answer the impeachments of men already accused of
atrocious crimes! We cannot comprehend how a man
who only states facts, and facts never contradicted by an
reputable impartial witness can be arraigned as a de
derer of the fair fame of the Mulatto who actualy kn
him down, beat him nearly to death and drew his k
to complete the assassination.

We cannot conceive by what legerdemain, th
probable instigator not only receives dispensation, ab
lution and impunity, but is converted into a plaint
mourning over his wounded reputation — whilst no impar
witness whatever pretends to gainsay or controvert the
concurrent proofs of so many persons.

It is in evidence, that Garcia had thought of
Carew in an honorable manner; but from want of courage
some cause unknown declined it after a person had a
borrowed a pair Pistols for him.

It is in evidence, that the assassin waited on
next morning early after this attempt.

It is unintended The very assassin identified by
is also permitted to complain of a slanderous accusation
Carew received no redress whatever, but was detained at the

risk of losing his Vessel and Cargo, and of being again assailed with a Stiletto dagger or a sure blow.

It is pretended, that he did not prosecute, or plead. It was only his duty to state truth when summoned to declare it — Was he so cited or summoned? Did any thing appear before him but an accumulation of cost and trouble? and was there any particular inducement for him to exert more industry than he did, When he learned that the tempter, the principal Culprit (if circumstances constitute evidence of guilt) was still at liberty to suborn new assassins? Nay, we are sorry to be obliged to assert, that Rumour represented it as a Party-question between foreigners and Natives; and that Garcia should not be punished because he was a native of Caracas!

Such Reasons appear ridiculous and Monstrous, and would to God that we could style them chimerical! But every effect has its proper cause. The governor Political & Militia who is Judge of the court of the Primera Instancia acknowledges that he was not permitted to exercise an unbiassed Judgement in the case, a Gentleman high in office, who ought to set an example more worthy of the Professions of honor and liberty and the Rights of Man, interfered with him, and controuled or overawed him. Such is his own Voluntary confession!

This interference is truly alarming. It proclaims that Law is at an end; and, the Consequence is, that every Man must recur to the Rights of Nature and be the Avenger of his own wrongs. We tremble at the catastrophes of which

this denial of Justice is productive; — and we entreat
Excellencies to take this memorial into solemn consider

The curb of law, Your Excellencies perceive, is the
necessary where moral restraint is relaxed (in many cases destr
by the deteriorating policy of Spain and the hapless circum
the Revolution. Many of these were unavoidable but, it is
to set bounds to Anarchy, and bridle licentiousness. Impun
of one crime is a reward and incentive for committing more

We forbear to animadvert on the depredations to wh
cattle and mules are subject and the impossibility we often fin
of procuring any satisfaction against a leagued banditti. N
when the dagger is brandished without scruple we must reason
remonstrance, or the dagger for self-defence.

For life, liberty, property, for all just means of
happiness we claim the right of protection. It is the ch
aim of all wise Governments. Nor could we better illustrate
difference between good and bad Governments, than by an a
to actual observance; by contrasting Algiers or Spain, w
England or North America. In the latter countries the dagg
unknown, and an assassin would instantly expire on a gibbet.
escape from society like Cain with the indelible stamp o
infamy and crime upon his terrific countenance.

We feel confidence in appealing to a body of distingu
citizens who have bled or suffered much for the cause o
independence, and whose efforts are now directed to
new modelling or overthrow of the abominable institutions
Spain. None of these demand such immediate attenti

as the temples of Justice. We entreat your Excellencies never to suffer them to become a "den of thieves" nor ~~Sanctuaries~~ for Assassins.

We shall not insult your understanding and liberal intentions by insisting on the Policy of protecting all who visit your shores with friendly purposes. Whether the Merchant, or tourist, citizen or soldier sojourns in your country, you know he has a right to security. Where this is not to be found we shall find no travellers, no Merchants, no literati. All will avoid the shore, occupied by Cyclops instead of men. It remains as insulated among Nations as the sandy steppes or deserts of Africa are divided from Regions of health, civilization, and fertility.

We deprecate the narrow, illiberal distinctions of birth, place, and despise the Prejudices of Religious sects. We respect men and their rights. We severally adopt the doctrine and sentiments of a Spanish Author on this subject: - "Fuera de que yo desprecio altamente estas rivalidades pueriles de naciones: todo hombre en qualquier punto del globo que haya nacido como mis hermanos; yo participo de su mérito, de honra las prendas humanas, y me angrio de pertenecer á ellas, asi como me humillo quando le encuentro débil, vitioso, despreciable, aunque sea en el ultimo rincon del Universo".

If culprits are tender of Reputation, let them reform their conduct. It is a duty to denounce crimes, not to conceal them. Solon's celebrated laws, which authorise any citizen to prosecute an offender on behalf of ~~and~~ citizens were extremely scrupulous about Reputation, and even

prohibited speaking ill of the dead.

Of Carew, when we analyse the testimony, we must confess, that he was assaulted and nearly assassinated and afterwards punished, severely punished for complaining. The detention, persecution and embarassment he was subjected to, mulcted in costs, &c. &c. amount to severe punishment.

Thus the innocent changes place and condition with the guilty! "Tell it not in Gath! Proclaim it not in the Streets of Askalon." How different was the treatment of the chief of this Republic when an attempt was made to assassinate him in the Island of Jamaica and when another was stabbed in his stead! He was not compelled to be at the expence of executing foreign law. He was not harassed by farther threats from the assassin or his comrades, but the Public authorities went promptly on the scent of the assassin, secured, tried and put him to death — dealing out Justice and execution together.

It was not then whispered by Paramount Power to a pliant automaton judge: "Take care what you do. The accused is a native of Caracas &c. &c. and the accuser a foreigner." no. He was protected by the shield of the State, strength and sanctity surrounded him as with a coat of mail. Your Excellencies will not have it said, that a Venezuelan citizen finds protection and hospitality in a British Colony; whilst a British subject encounters daggers and assassins in Venezuela and is punished for stating his case to a judge; or what is

tantamount thereto, the criminal is allowed to swear himself innocent.

Knowing Your liberal character and sentiments, we refrain from harrowing up Your feelings. We confidently rely with firmness on Your adopting all expedient, in Your Excellencies' Power, to satisfy Justice in the Broadbag case and prevent a Recurrence of similar ones.

It has appeared to us so outrageous as to authorise us in using the right of petition and Remonstrance, a right we have exercised with more Readiness, as we are many of us extensively concerned in commercial transactions and all warmly attached to the Liberty and Prosperity of Venezuela.

We have commented on the case of Carew from its being Recent and notorious; but should Your Excellencies wish to have further proof of strangers having been frequently treated with indignity and injustice without their being able to procure Redress, we bind ourselves to produce several flagrant instances, one of which is that of Capt. Williams late of the Brigantine Lady Leith, who without any trial, or as far as we can understand without any Regular accusation, was imprisoned by Govt. Serane at Old Guyana and for several days confined in Irons like a convicted felon and then released without trial. It may be proper to add, that Capt. Carr came here in charge of a considerable cargo, for nearly $40000 of which the Govt. is this moment indebted to him.

(Signed by) John Alderson,

In B. Irvine's of Nov. 9 & 10/1818.

Remonstrance of A. Smith & Co.

William Anderson,
Antonio Monsanto
Alex. Smith —
A. J. Forsyth
Leonardi Laurencia
James Smith
— Case
Mathias Steele
John Clarke

Augustura, October 30, 1818.

This remonstrance was presented to general Arda-
nete president of the Consejo de Gobierno, (Dr Rosei
and Mr Peraltes are the other two) but the Council
were of opinion they had no power to interfere.

After particular, private solicitations from Dr F. the
Pte gov. sent a passport to Mr Carew this morning
graciously allowing him to depart, which he would do
without delay, were he not confined to bed by a severe
attack of fever.

Hence any one can conclude, how dangerous it
is to complain against rogues or assassins in Augos-
tura, where a bribe or a dagger decides all causes and
terminates all quarrels.

November 9.

(Copy.) To his Excellency, the President of the Council of Government.

Excellent sir. — We respectfully beg leave to submit to the consideration of your excellency translations of the papers relative to the case of capt. Wm. Carr, of the brigantine Lady Keith, which were exhibited to his excellency the Supreme Chief, who was pleased to direct General Valdez to take cognizance of it, to whom we this day presented the documents we now enclose. — He informs us, that the only remedy is to enter a criminal suit against Gov. Shore, employ a lawyer, and call our witnesses.

We really have not time to occupy ourselves in instituting a tedious lawsuit; if we had, from what we know of the mode of administering justice, according to the usages of the Spanish law, would we have any hope of procuring redress. — But, as agents of Capt. Carr, we offer to prove two facts:

1st. That Gov. Shore seized a boat with her British colors flying, in which two officers came from Demerary to join the cause of Venezuela, and that she is to this moment detained by his order, contrary to what the Supreme Chief assured us were his positive orders, viz. not to molest or obstruct any boat or vessel under a foreign flag.

2d. That a British subject was forcibly taken from his vessel and confined, with both legs in irons for several days, & the officers sold their boat to Capt. Carr, to enable them to pursue their journey further. Gov. Shore thought to extort a large sum from the Commander, as appears by the enclosed letter, before he would liberate the unfortunate man. Capt. Carr, for insisting on the right of keeping his property, was dragged from his vessel and put in irons.

days, without any sort of trial, or even without being heard in his defence.

And we appeal to you as the highest authority in the country in some way to direct proper enquiries to be made, and to have justice duly and promptly administered. We are with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed. servts.

A. Smith & Co.

Angostura, 3d November 1818.

Govt. were at the same time indebted $4000 or and are wants to capt. C. as agent or supercargo, for supplies furnished. However, master Snore saw a couple of ready officers, unprotected, and was resolved to take the boat on any pretence.

A sword was lately stolen from a capt. Smith, which he afterwards detects in the hands of a native, when he applies to a magistrate or commandante and made oath that it was his. The other having asserted that he bought the sword from somebody, the decision was against capt. Smith.

A French lad, (with Forsyth & Smith,) had been imprisoned several months as a witness; and when the defendant was found incapable of paying the costs, the witness was compelled to pay them! A. Smith related circumstances, and shewed me the shameful way in which these are a few specimens of the villainy in vogue in the Dictatorship.

Panther's decisions of Judicial Rectitude and Wisdom in Angostura.

4th Novr 1818.— This morning, Dr Forsyth observed a fowling-piece that had been missing from his store, in the hands of a fellow in the street. He instantly claimed his property, and called the man before the governor (Valdez) the fellow said he found the gun in the water while bathing. Forsyth proved it to be his. The Governor decided, that the fellow should restore the gun, and that Forsyth should pay the thief two dollars; which was done.— So that, at all events, a thief, or receiver of stolen goods must be rewarded for his labors.

Mr Monsanto, a merchant from Curaçoa, (and lately from St. Thomas, had a book account against one Garcia, the same who informed the assassins to kill Lavery) for the balance on goods sold (and delivered

Garcia did not deny this part of the transaction but affirmed that he must have paid the money. He had kept no books, and had no receipts. Them Jews on the contrary, kept regular books. Notwithstanding the positive proof on one side and denial on the other, Dr Parsons † decided flatly against the claimants demands. — In any other country this would be deemed extraordinary.

= Can an individual or two cleanse such a place as this? — Can Humboldt's picture of these people have been true — and have they changed character since his time? — I may be permitted to doubt it. — Their vindictive and hideous passions may have slumbered during the U.S. tenure, which is since awakened to such portentous activity.

† Every one is titled Doctor, who has received a course of collegiate education and read a smattering of the civil law.

Angostura, December 11th 1818.

Sir,

The Declaration which accompanies this note, as you will perceive by that of general Bolivar, sanctions & must hinder that. It is probable that the Cabinet of Madrid intended their propositions as bribes to the people of South-America, whom they calculated to appease by offers and promises of liberality; and to counteract this tendency, principally, was the Declaration of this Government promulgated.

The force of arms must soon decide the question. Some affairs have not eventuated fortunately for the independents, but the most lively hopes are entertained of Paez, and his army which is represented to be near 4000 strong, and wonderfully improved since last year. That general has adopted the use of tents, a better system of discipline, and a drill-school, unknown in other sections of the army, not practised heretofore except by some Greek and some few foreign officers who had served in well-regulated armies. Trifling as these simple improvements appear, such elementary knowledge is important here. United to the courage of the chief and the ardour of the men, these rudiments may insure the first victory, and the first battle perhaps may determine the fate of the campaign. The Spaniards have 2 or 300 men under Calzada at San Carlos; their main body is posted at Calabozo. Paez only awaits the arrival of the Supreme Chief and some divisions to march against the enemy. The patriots hope, will triumph now; for, I assure you, they cannot afford to lose a general action. Their resources are nearly exhausted; and there is not a population from which another army could be formed or recruited. —— Owing solely to the mismanagement of the S. G. the cattle and horses in Barcelona, Cumana and Guayana are nearly destroyed, though nothing is so easy as to preserve and

even increase them. Nearly 15,000 horses have been lost some how or other in this province since the capture of Angostura. It was only necessary to have continued the same regulations as the Padres, Poitevins & Yeguarias which were already established, to have maintained an inexhaustible supply — and a supply is indispensible. How a man can pretend to a talent for the first talent, for governing a nation, who cannot take care of a herd of cattle, so necessary to the subsistence of an army, I cannot divine. [Of those cattle that were in the mission, not 1000 remain — the remote parts in the next province you enter as cavalry has been diminished for want of horses.]

During a little tour of three weeks among the Missions beyond the river Caroni, I had various opportunities of observing the actual condition of this part of Guiana. I keep petty memorandums too trivial to trouble you with, else I would send you a copy. The people of the country appear of a good honest disposition, and tractable to the sharpness of the stinging gastures they are brave and hospitable, they are brave, seem very docile, and by convenience would become good soldiers under good officers. Though they are lazy, they can endure much privation and fatigue when engaged in an expedition, and that without murmuring for they are not of a gloomy cast. Judging from what I have seen, I am of opinion that no country contained better materials for an army than this. What pity that such numbers have been sacrificed by ignorance, ambition, folly and crime!

Guiana, fertile as are some parts of it, has probably been overrated. The exclusive secret policy of the Spaniards excited curiosity and made men imagine extraordinary things. What are the natural* riches of the tracts I saw, not above one-sixth part are arable, though much of the rest is adapted for pasture. While in all its extent, Guayana has room for a large body of emigrants, who in the interior might live comfortably with little labor. The heights and some valleys covered with

* Even the demi savage Indian could be trained to civilization and subordination.

heavy growth of forest trees are uncommonly fertile, the
plains destitute of trees and thickets are sterile; and between these
extremes the whole surface of Guiana may be fairly divided.
Formerly, the 32 missions had, as you already know, about 22,000
Indians: at present, by dispersion, death and military requisition
only they are reduced to one fourth (or less) of that number.

The Capuchin friars would deserve some credit for their
assertions and economical skill, in collecting the Indians into
neat little villages, erecting good edifices for worship, enclosing
and cultivating gardens and small fields for the community,
if they had not checked the progress of civilization by superstitious
rites, terrors and practices, and impeded the advance of
the arts in their very infancy, leaving them at last in the
rudest state imaginable.

A church comparatively superb, with its range of convents, casas reales, stores, &c. forms the first line from East
to West, parallel to which, after an ample space for a
public square of 200 extend 7, 8, 9 or 10 streets, more or
less, each house constructed of the same size and in the same
style. This is the uniform scheme of every missionary village.
Behind the church, usually are gardens and stores; and the
commons of each family, or the cultivated grounds of the community, are at a suitable distance in the vicinity. In twelve
missions I could not perceive more tillage than is commonly found on two good farms in our country. Yet cassada
animal food or wild fruits must always have formed the
principal food of the inhabitants. The raising of cattle &
horses, mules and hogs will be, the easiest and most profitable resource of the settlers; as the province affords great facilities for multiplying them. But every fruit proper to the
tropics flourishes here in the utmost perfection, wherever

planted. It is a pity that such a country should be still a desert.

Several of the villages, chiefly on the Caroni have been ravaged and ruined for the present, by a fever believed to have spread among them from San Miguel, a mission on the Orinoco. It has proved equally fatal with the yellow fever, and the Indians it the same disease. Want of medicine, food and attendance in many instances, aggravated the calamity most lamentably. Several were carried to their homes and there abandoned. Many of the men, in terror, escaped to the mountains, — as has been generally done in 20 or more places near the frontiers. Thus Guiana is left weak and vulnerable.

For myself, I encountered nothing but kindness and hospitality, especially among the more intelligent, who were gratified to see any one among them from North America, to which they look for example and counsel, if not for assistance.

Of the hopes of forming a government, or of political prospects, I will not hazard conjectures, as we are on the eve of events. I shall probably remain till the congress assemble, and perhaps take two short jaunts in the country; then return. The state of things is unfavorable to travelling and enquiry. All books and records are concealed or lost hereabouts, and bad fevers infest other quarters.

In writing the note yesterday to gen. D. my object, as you will perceive, to take the occasion of laying before him some leading principles of liberty and policy, forgot to say in North-America, but this regarded too palpably in a foreign nature. As I have already remarked, I regard my letters as private and of no importance, so that they run little risk of publication. Therefore I have attempted to do good where an opportunity was presented, without pretending to advise or chide, but apparently to re-echo the sentiments of a correspondent.

"Men must be taught, as if you taught them not."

I flatter myself that you have received by this and the
letters forwarded by the Nymph, Capt. Steel. We are all
curious and impatient to receive the President's Message,
but there are few direct conveyances to and from the U.
States, and little reliance can be placed in the circuitous
ones by the West-Indies. I remain, sir,

Most respectfully your obed. servt

The Hon. John Quincy Adams
Secretary of State.

B. Irvine

December 12

The patron of a boat arrived last night from San
Fernando, has reported that a small advanced guard of
Paez army had been lately cutoff by the enemy, having
been led into an ambuscade. Letters from Paez himself of the
28th ult. which I saw, are silent on the subject. This news
may possibly be later. — Col. Rio-bueno also, who crossed over
from this side to the left bank of the Orinoco near Cabruta,
has been driven back with the loss of a parcel of horses. Gen.
Cedeño, who had deposed the Spanish royalist Col. Morales at Ortiz
Guarenas, and occupied that village, has since been ordered
to evacuate it and join Paez with a few squadrons. Bo-
valier therefore has re-occupied the place. — Bolet's disaffec-
tion occasioned in Marino's division by a disorderly drunken
corps, and their flight from Cariaco* you have probably heard.
This division is since reorganized, and acting with General
Monagas's cavalry. — Marino was ordered hither, but has
not arrived, and will not — whether the order be revoked or
no, I cannot certainly tell. I guess not. Bermudez was to have com-
manded the whole in his stead. — Gen. Arismendi and
the Margaritanians are unwilling to forsake the island

* To command the army, as 2d, under Bolivar

and actn the contrary, alleging their former merits
and reminding the folks of Terra firma, that when they had
been abandoned & menaced with extirpation, they defended
themselves, and repulsed a superior army. — In consequence of
this resolve, gen. P. Montilla has been dispatched to Ter
firma & gen. M. to alter his purpose. — It is necessary to
know the attention of the enemy and divert a part of
his force towards the coast, by menacing or making
a descent on some point, otherwise, the royalists can
concentrate all their effectives against Paez. — Gen. B.
will set out from Cumana in a few days to join
Paez, who cannot contend any better without him.
— (This sketch is probably not worth sending.)

Admiral Brion has lost his popularity here, even with
General B. — He cannot keep a squadron together nor arm
any Spanish commerce, and is a burden not a benefit
to the government. He knows not how to arrive, and will
not permit others to quit his sight. Hence officers and men
become malcontents, and run away with vessels from time
to time.

December 14.

The vessel by which I expect to send this, via Martinique, is
about to sail, I may as well conclude it with a slight notice of a subject
somewhat interesting.

The cel Wilson, who lately quitted this country after
many months imprisonment in the fortress of Guayana, is
protegé of earl Spencer. His imprisonment was ascribed to
intrigue he was supposed to have commenced with Paez's wife
&c., and perhaps it was the real cause. I say perhaps,
because such opposite explanations are given of that and other
occurrences as often leave the observer in absolute doubt. —
Like the Peruvian Indians who beheld with equal wonder
the negro whose features washings could not whiten, and the
white man, seen then too for the first time, among Pizarro's

[illegible] an inquirer into causes here frequently meets with evidence in behalf of the black as of the white in military or political events.— Col. Wilson has come to Angostura by permission of gen Paez, but without furlough or passport from the Supreme Chief— his purpose was to procure such passport here & to England and raise 4 or 5 000 men for the service of Venezuela. It is said that Paez was to have promoted him to the rank of brigadier, and this will mine conduct being contrary to strict right and subordination, inasmuch as the L. C. was no countryman, as I repeat, the avowed cause of his arrest. I [illegible] over this point and his application to me &. to make mention of a curious fact. Col. Wilson, who is unquestionably a man of talent, confessed to an intimate friend, whom he probably mistook for an Englishman, that he had proposed to Paez to raise 5 000 troops in England and return with them by a given time,— provided that he and his officers should have the exclusive command of them, and that Great Britain should enjoy the exclusive privilege of the navigation and trade of the Orinoco as far as the Meta and the country on either side &. for 20 or 30 years as at present. Whether Paez affected to give in to this wonderful scheme in order to obtain foreign auxiliaries by any means, or whether he privately informed Bolivar of it, I am not certain. I only look at the print of the clever fact of a foreign cabinet in the proposal,— believing that Wilson spoke the feelings of Lord Spencer &c.

This and other circumstances induce me to believe that England had or has designs of territorial aggrandizement here. She possesses very flourishing colonies on the Essequibo & Demerara, Macaroni, Cayenne &.— The Dutch

* the other against causing an intrigue to [illegible] Paez to a higher or the highest mark, you know already.—

had transgressed the original limits between Demerari and Spanish Guayana (as Depons &c. mention) and encroached on the coast to Cape Nassau but still further towards the interior the Cuyuni & its tributary waters, the Caricharpo, Yurgnari (and an infinity of others) run from the heart of Guayana opening communication with the Essequibo, into which there is a passage inland by water in the rainy season from near Imataca to the Demerari. The success of agricultural experiments made in Demerari and Berbice have perhaps whetted English avidity and ambition for further territorial acquisitions from Guayana.* This no time, in my mind, as much as for continental league in Europe, accounts for the apparent unconcern with which England regards the struggle. Should Spain and Venezuela be mutually reduced to utmost debility she can more readily effect her object. By taking advantage of the necessities of either, she may gain

* Two English Gentlemen formerly of Demerari, are now making an exact & complete tour of the Missions — nothing of circumstance of any importance. Being creditors of this govt they are furnished with every facility for the purpose.

the unfortunate Pair; more provident and capable in matters of economy and practical politics than all the Venezuelans had employed a gentleman for six months in running and opening a road from the Missions to Demerari. This in time seems to favor commerce by that medium of conveyance but particularly, to secure the means of military supplies of all kinds, independent of the Orinoco or transport by sea liable to be interrupted by the enemy. — Other men of inferior minds, relinquished the design, and the feasibility of which were gratified that the road was at peace by which they had with ease formed a plan to extract and send away the riches of the country! Such are the limited and barbarous notions entertained by many Spanish descendants of exportation and of intercourse with foreigners generally. They have yet to learn that the exports which enrich a nation are their principle they ought to close all their bays and shut the Ocean

ends. Spain may cede Guiana to holly or partially, to anyone the effective alliance of England, or the patriots, if more closely pressed, may offer similar inducements and advantages. However it is but justice to general Bolivar to state that he has always set his face against monopolies. Convinced that I have here related with other facts, for can best judge whether it deserves any notice. The determination of Britain to have a principal share of the commerce of South America, which will consume so much of her manufactures will no doubt bring all her influence against the interference of any European Congress in the present struggle between Spain and S. America. God wills this flow perhaps from evil designs. if the patriots can defeat their enemy or maintain themselves until some foreign auxiliaries may come to their relief.

The republication of Bryan Edwards account of the British Settlement on the Mosquito Shore &c. &c. in the London Colonial Journal, with so many jealous, malevolent remarks about North America, might persuade me to believe, that British encroachments towards territory here and to Panama &c. is only moderated by her certainty of a gainful market on this continent, and by the present relations with European powers.

I had occasion to wait on general Bolivar this morning, relative to a private affair, (the daring attempt of a villain yesterday to assassinate Dr F——, which I was fortunate enough to prevent) when he received me with the greatest cordiality, and gave orders to prosecute the fellow vigorously. Arana's case being cited as an outrageous denial of justice, general B. attributed it all to the incurable habits of practice under the Spanish laws, which in present circumstances it is impossible to change. He enjoyed the

moment to capitale on the vast difficulties he had in dispensing
justice - and well he might. Such was the vagueness of
the law, and its innumerable provisions and contradictions that
any advocate would with equal ease give an opinion in favor of
the claim of plaintiff or defendant, &c. &c. and he might
have added, that a bribe turns the doubtful scale. Thus
as he does not find it expedient to dismiss the judges of the
Alta Corte, he seems anxious to plead their cause by a few
apology* Venguela certainly wants have a code of laws
(he said) of venguelian character - but for an. hundred years
he feared, continent have such constitution laws or liberty
as we had - addressing himself to Dr Forsyth and myself
- talking of my short journey in the prisons, also which
part I wished next to visit, he politely offered me a
passage up the river to San Fernando, for which I
expressed my heartfelt thanks - but observed, that in such
a voyage, (with a military escort) I should have no opportunity of seeing any
thing except the river; whereas I wished to see the
banks of the Cauca, the country behind Caycara &c.
on my way.

I begin to be a matter of doubt with some worthy persons here, whether a congress will really meet for a constitution be formed under all impediments - want of civilization, want of talent and other defects; but I will hold my own opinion of my own. - One thing is certain, and I am sorry for it, - that the most capable citizens have not most sway in this quarter. - With sincere respects to you, I remain

Your very obedt servt.

* The attempt to assassinate (Green and that in this instance) were almost the only occurrences of the kind he could recollect, and remarked on the rareness of such crimes in Venguela. Dr Forsyth agreed with him that private assassinations were rare.

Chesebrough from Curaçoa arrived this morning brings me a letter from Mr Lobb, principal owner of the Liberty's cargo, in answer to one of mine relative to the lameness of want of information in Hill's & Skelton's statement of the capture. It is probably my duty to extract the part referred to, in order to make a summary duly sworn. The letter is dated St Pierre, 25th Nov. 1815.

"The false depositions of Diaz & Chas not even a shadow of ground to rest on — the cargo of the Liberty was exclusively the property of L & L; nor was there any thing else on board except the adventures of Mr Skelton, the supercargo, and Capt. Hill, both Americans, with two or three small packages of provisions which a young man three days named Grillet requested to have put on board for his father at Guiana, and which he desired might be landed at the mouth of the river in case the vessel did not proceed up to Guayana. ——— I shall forward a copy of your letter to Mr Leamy in order to obtain from Capt Hill & Mr Skelton a more detailed narrative of the piracy committed on the property in their charge. They wanted energy in the unfortunate situation in which they were placed: and the former was alarmed by threats of being shot as a Spaniard, as Admiral Brion said he spoke the language too well for a foreigner. ——— Capt. Hill & Mr Skelton obtained restitution of their adventures, — my property alone was sacrificed."

All this corroborates the facts heretofore urged, and the flagrant illegality of the capture.

By letters received here to-day it appears that commodore Aury has captured a whole fleet of Spanish merchantmen off Puerto Cabello in retaliation for the gallant and candid manner the captain of the Dutch frigate whether he meant to interfere. The latter answered that he had no instructions to make himself a party in the war. Aury then captured the whole convoy. This + of this depredation was shown privately (and to the effect but Brion was too prudent to produce or quote it as the word. — P. S. he should stamp with the lead of a pistol under command assigned him he would sink him if he could.

decision will tend to supersede Brion by eclipsing him. Unless he perform something clever he will be driven from the stage where he acts his part so poorly.

The intelligence of Morgan's success is unluckily counterbalanced by tidings of the recent arrival of Count Abisbal from Spain at La Guayra or Porto Cabello with a reinforcement of 10 thousand men. With this reinforcement he considerable can prosecute the war with address & vigor. I have named apprehension for the issue, indeed are the resources of the patriots, and their spirits worn down with incessant errors, defeats and losses - afflicted by the evils of arbitrary power without its energy. Such power indeed being without system, inevitably becomes anarchy in fact.

From a file of London papers received also this morning from Martinique, it seems that the European Congress or Cabinet have declined their interference in the quarrel between Spain and her South-American children. This result was always ~~palpable~~ evident. It is a confession that the European sovereigns have business enough at home, - or it admits the principle that "independent colonies" are more profitable to the trading nations of Europe, particularly the manufacturing ones, than dependent colonies confined to a traffic with their mother countries and suffering the necessary disabilities. Be this motive what it may, I am glad of the event. The Abbé Pradt is disappointed in his recommendations, and the devout monarch of Spain will in the end (perhaps) be disappointed in his wishes.

Boats, provision and stores are now collecting for the expedition, which Genl. B. will proceed for San Fernando by the end of the present week

Angostura 9 de Diciembre de 1818. 8°

Señor Agente.

Tengo el honor de incluir á V.S. dos exemplares de la Declaracion que el Congreso y Pueblo de Venezuela han hecho al mundo de sus sentimientos y resolucion con respecto á la Mediacion propuesta por la Gran Bretaña á las altas Potencias aliadas. Sin embargo de que la nacion, á que tiene V.S. la gloria de pertenecer y representar, no será comprehendida en aquella alianza, sería de desear que semejante materia tuviese voto y decision. Suplico á V.S. que transmita á su Gobierno alguno de estos exemplares en testimonio del respeto y consideracion que merece al Pueblo libre de Venezuela.

Reitero á V.S. los homenages del destinguido aprecio, estimacion y respeto con que soy

De V.S.

el mas atento Obsequioso servidor.

Al Señor D. Jerome
Agente de los Estados Unidos
de la America del Norte
cerca de Venezuela.

Jn B. Irvine's of 11 Dec. 1818
Gen. Bolivar to B. Irvine 9 Dec. 1818 enclosing Declaration

(Translation)

Angostura 9th of Dec. 1818 (8th year
Independence)

Sir — I have the honor to enclose you six copies of the Declaration which the government and people of Venezuela have made to the world of their sentiments (and determination respecting the Mediation proposed by Spain to the high allied powers. Notwithstanding that the nation to which you have the glory to belong and to be President, is not comprehended in that alliance, it would be desirable that she ~~should~~ understand our opinions and ~~pass~~ Resolution. I request you to transmit to your government some of these copies in testimony of the respect and consideration which it merits from the free people of Venezuela.

— I repeat the homages of regard, esteem & respect with which I am Your ~~most~~ devoted obedient Servt.

Bolivar.

To Mr Irvine Agent of
the U. States of N. America &c.

Angostura December 21, 1818.

Sir

A schooner arrived here from St Thomas on the 19th, bringing the important intelligence of Lord Cochrane having anchored with 5 vessels of war at the Testigos inlet near Margarita. He has opened a correspondence with Brion, whose letter from Mullowny the agent at St Thomas, quoted in other letters from thence, announce for the first time, such things ought to have been communicated, five or six weeks ago, directly from Margarita to this government. — Two schrs. came in last night, one from Trinidad, the other from St. Vincent, letters by which declare the news of Cochranes arrival to be authentic. Regarding it as such, I must view Lord Cochrane as the Saviour of the patriots cause in Venezuela, which was at a low ebb indeed. Guayana would have fallen if any invading force had appeared, and the whole country in possession of the Independents would have been nigh overrun. These were my anticipations. The fact now well known, of the impossibility of receiving any reinforcements from Caracas, a miserable, sterile province, with a most scanty population, strengthened my opinion. There existed other grounds for conclusions still more ominous. (1) But Cochranes presence even on the coast dissipates such expectations. If he has the naval force which Report gives him, he will effect important diversions in favor

(1) Of 1400 men composing Morillo's division, so lately dispersed at Caracas by 200 royalists, and pursued for 20 miles, not a bone 250 and collected at Maturin. This is fact, — but very different from the rumor. They had generally thrown away their arms and accoutrements. A small corps of cavalry would have annihilated them, but the enemy had none in this quarter

of the army.- He will have the chief or actual command; (2) and I hope, prove very instrumental in establishing the independence of Venezuela. His talents and enterprize promise much. The joy here and the illuminations at Margarita proclaim the event as a new epoch.

A most intelligent observer lately from Caracas, where he has remained and travelled for nine or ten months, assures us that however favorably inclined the people of New Grenada may be to throw off the yoke, they are a sort of quietists who will not budge without a foreign impulse. He knows that country more thoroughly than any man here, and this he knows all previous or pre-vailing ~~reports~~ of insurrections in the interior.

General Bolivar embarked in a flecha this morning, and sailed for San Fernando with a squadron of boats, which got under weigh yesterday afternoon, but came to in sight of the place. Before setting out, he politely sent me a couple of passports or circular letters, couched in strong terms of respect and recommendation, should I have occasion to use them in a journey to Barinas, or elsewhere. This was a favour I did not expect, having only asked for the ordinary passport.

Fitz Roy writes in several letters, that Commodore Bowry has been killed in boarding the Spanish frigate (2) Cochrane insisted on this in his correspondence with Mendez in London; and it is resolved here, that if Morillo raise any obstacles or start objections, he will be removed, or compelled to cede his pretensions.

La Ninfa (the Nymph,) formerly the ship General Scott, of New-York, which was captured notwithstanding - but the loss is greater than the gain. Comparing Aury latterly with other characters, I had formed a favorable opinion of him.

I have just been extracts in the London papers from the National Intelligencer, explaining the grounds on which Florida was occupied and will be restored. I am glad to see the Whig print defend the moderation of our govt. in that business, and contrasting it with the violence of royal cabinets. But if we have gained credit by that measure, we have lost more perhaps, by accounts of the Slave-trade carried on so boldly at New Orleans, in defiance of all laws human and divine. This is justly considered abroad, as an indelible stigma upon our character, - and I trust that those paragraphs (cited in the London papers) will turn out to be slanderous or exaggerated, - or that the Government will adopt efficacious means to enforce the laws. - For the honor of the United States, I do hope, that our fellow-citizens will disdain to pursue a traffic which even Ferdinand Lavaban doned, and which Spaniards were always too proud to carry on themselves, - content to be served by foreign contractors and man-stealers, English, French, American &c. &c. - Trusting that you will excuse the warmth of this digression from the motive that dictated it, I remain most respectfully yours &c

John Quincy Adams, Sec. of State. &c. D. Irvine

A letter received by an English merchant here from the Port-of-Spain, in Trinidad, asserts that a regiment coming out from England, under command of a colonel Grimsby, to suit the Venezuelans, was raised by the Duke of S—— [Sussex, probably.] Two others are expected, one to be commanded by col. English, who returned from Augustine at the end of last campaign.

Taking these assertions for facts, proclamations in England notwithstanding, they indicate that the English cabinet will be less scrupulous about expeditions fitted out in their ports than they have been; in other words, they will act an opener part in consequence of the non-intervention adopted by the Congress of Westphalia. — However, this conjecture goes for nothing since I cannot at present vouch for the facts. Every mercantile or political letter is not gospel.

(Copy)

Angostura, December 10th 1818.

Sir, — I acknowledge with pleasure the receipt of half a dozen copies of the Declaration issued by the Venezuelian Republic, which your excellency did me the honor of forwarding with your note of yesterday. I shall lose no time in transmitting both to the Federal Government of North America, which like the people it represents, can never view with indifference the honest efforts of an oppressed people to shake off the despotic yoke. It is some cause of regret that a temporary absence in the country debarred me from seeing the Declaration sooner.

It is true, as it is fortunate, that the Republic of North America is not included in the alliance of certain great Powers, whose interposition is sought by your enemy. Governments founded in right possess no sympathies, no common interests, no cause of coalition, — have no law of affinity with those established by force, or derived from a military and feudal source. In the one, the people are sovereign — their will dictates the law. In the other, they are enslaved in the name of divine right. In the former, the magistrate is accountable to the people for the exercise or abuse of the power entrusted to him, and the accountability to the people is annexed to the highest office. Rulers being answerable only to God, as they and their ministers presently postpone till their entry into another world all judgment of all account originating in this. Another maker succeeds to the prerogatives of the deceased, by hereditary right (by always the same doctrine on the same principle. Such is the legitimacy, whose conservation is the object of so much bloodshed, of so many combinations, military, political and religious — and for which the dazzling and hackneyed theme of the "balance of power" is forgotten for the moment.

"Europe" said Washington, "has a set of primary interests, which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns."

"Our detached (and distant) situation invites and enables us to
"pursue a different course" ——— "Why forego the ad
"vantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own t
"stand upon foreign ground? Why by intervewing our de
"tiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peac
"and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalsh
"interest, humour or caprice? ——— It is our true policy to
"steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of th
"foreign world"

Mr Jefferson in his inaugural address, when elected pr
sident, utters similar doctrine with general Washington
valedictory one. Giving a compendious sketch of the principles o
good government, and of ours especially, he does not forget that
North America is "kindly separated by nature and a wid
"ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of th
"globe" and too high-minded to endure the degradat
"of the others" &c. Hence our precepts of ~~government~~ legislation & administration
and regimen: "equal and exact justice to all men of wha
"ever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, comm
"and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alli
"with none" &c. ——— a jealous care of the right o
"election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of
"abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where
"peaceable remedies are unprovided — absolute acquiescence
"in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of repu
"from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital
"principle and immediate parent of despotism — a well
"disciplined militia our best reliance in peace and for the
"first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them —
"supremacy of the civil over the military authority — econom
"in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burthened
"honest payment of our debts, and sacred preservation of pu
"faith — encouragement of agriculture and of commerce as
"handmaid — the diffusion of information, and arraignm
"of all abuses at the bar of public reason — freedom of re

"freedom of the press for freedom of person under the protection
"of the habeas corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected.
"These principles form the bright constellation which has
"gone before us and guided our steps through an age
"of revolution and reformation."

These faithful citizens and profound statesmen, whose virtues have carried a flame so bright, exalted and imperishable, that kings must envy it, are now at the head of American policy whether N. or S. of the Isthmus. Unless foreign European mediation, their principles coincide exactly with the spirited Declaration of Venezuela, and fully explain why we are not among the "high contracting parties" to the Holy League, or any other tantamount conspiracy against the rights of man.

This government and people not having solicited but protested against all interference in the present quarrel, it is to be hoped will soon remove by decisive acts at home all pretences for arbitration from abroad. Then they may directly conclude a peace with the solicitor, a peace devoutly to be wished on principles of humanity, independence and freedom. Trusting that Time and Fortune may speedily exhibit so desirable and occasion, I remain, sir, very respectfully,

His Excellency Genl. Bolivar, &c. &c. &c.

Your obedient servant,

D. Irvine.

Irvine B. Angostura, Dec 21. 1818

Recd March 1819.

Affairs of Venezuela de la Sea

recd april 22.

Angostura January 15, 1819.

Sir,

As the critical state of affairs which lately existed, deterred a merchant here from embarking for the neighborhood of the Apure, I, who had engaged a passage in his boat, was deprived of the opportunity of gratifying my curiosity. Now, thank Fortune, two or three expeditions of British troops are arrived, or at land, and the independence of Venezuela may be considered as declared, without much if any more bloodshed.

On the 10th arrived here the Transport ship Persevarance with 150 men and compliment of officers from London, in the remarkable passage of 25 days to Crab Island (Cangrejos) at the mouth of the Orinoco. These troops are part of an expedition prepared by capt. Elson who returned hence last summer. It will amount to 1500 or 2000 men perhaps more, to be commanded by a col. Munro. They are raised under a contract with this govt. by which 300 dolls. are to be granted to the contractor for every soldier disembarked in Venezuela to serve in the patriot army, not exceeding five years. Other conditions not worth relating are annexed.

Col. English is daily expected with 1500 men under a similar contract. the troops in all cases to be clothed, armed and equipped in the British manner, ready for action on landing here. No difficulty was found in England in carrying this agreement into effect, the merchants entering eagerly into the scheme, and the disbandment of the British contingent of the Army of Occupation furnishing the most favorable opportunity for procuring excellent soldiers.

Major Eckles, dispatched by col. English to obtain general Bs instructions as to the point at which his corps should debark, is now at Old Guayana on his route here.

The Tartar with a privateer 200, has arrived at Old Guayana.

General Mac Gregor in whose way some strong impediment were thrown by Mendez & Walton, the agents of Bolivar, has finally sailed (as you know by this date) in an elegant sloop of war of 24 guns, with a picked crew. His officers are on board & and some 100 to volunteers were to accompany or follow him. His destination is thought to be New-Grenada, from which B. sought to debar him, unless he (M.) should consent to act in conformity to the dictator's views. — On the publication of the agent, several merchants withdrew their funds from the proscribed chief Gregor, and his project was partially defeated.* It is a fact that, a year ago, Bolivar refused permission to some merchants to send arms and ammunition to Caracas for the use to supply the patriots, under contracts. He also caused a portion of articles given here to padre Mariño, on behalf of the New Grenadians, to be secretly taken from him at San Fernando. So determined is he that none shall march into the field of his ambition, if he can prevent it. His thirst of power is unquenchable, it operates like a disease!

Under the tender of a large tract of land &c. to choose Devereux, he is to introduce a considerable number of colonists from Ireland, who are to act as volonteers, if necessary.

The public manner in which these expeditions are fitted out, sufficiently develope the policy of England, whose influence for a time will be paramount with some leading characters here, leaders, who contend for themselves (and not for liberty, will rather direct attention to monarchical than to republican governments. Hence, I suppose, the marked

* During his residence in London, Mc G. was frequently and familiarly in intercourse with the Duke of York, Duke of Sussex, Lord Sidmouth, and with some distinguished members of the opposition — a circumstance which has some influence on the market concerning the affairs of all parties in S. A. independence. —

affinities displayed at Buenos-Ayres and elsewhere for oligarchy and usurpation, and military regime.

Some imagine that Lord Cochrane is destined to co-operate with Mac Gregor. Whether the object be to attack Panama and gain possession of the isthmus, as a key to New-Spain or to New-Grenada, — whether they seek to usurp New-Caledonia, or to aim at grander enterprizes, — I confess I should like to see Mexico owe her independence to the United States. — The duplicity of British policy I detest; but her skill, constancy and energy are not contemptible. The European potentates having resolved on neutrality, the cabinet of John Bull appears less circumspect than before. — Discontented soldiers are better out of the kingdom than in it. They are serving the commercial and political designs of their government as well here as in France.

Only 3 provinces have hitherto returned deputies to the Congress. Nothing is done in Barcinas, Cumana or Margarita, to promote the organization of a representative body; and none are not without suspicion that the purest hand of military chiefs (i. e. men who have the titles and emoluments of high rank, if they know nothing of their profession) has thwarted the wishes of honest patriots on the occasion. From Margarita no tidings have been received since the 10th of October! It is rumored that disputes and intrigues between Brion, Bermudez and Arismendi have kept the islanders in a ferment. Rumours, however, are so often just in circulation here about and in the islands, that one can believe none of them without confirmation. In Margarita the influence of Gen'l Arismendi is too deeply rooted to be overturned. —

A long and circumstantial dispatch from Walton, in London, to this govt is intended to unfold minutely the treachery of Col. Wilson, in being suborned by the Spanish Embassador to create divisions among the patriot officers. - On the other hand, a letter from Mr Smith, one of the most respectable gentlemen in London to his son at Trinidad, exonerates Wilson from all censure, and affirms that the accusation has been completely refuted. However, these trifles are hardly worth mentioning. Walton is said to be a venal man, who sets no value on truth. Wilson may be an intrigant: but the ostensible cause of his arrest here originated with Paez. He perhaps, with a body of English troops under W. might have deposed P. and become "supreme" in his turn. Paez never answered any questions, nor even acknowledged the letters written him while Wilson was arraigned, and he (P.) was required to furnish testimony to support the charges against him. Vengeance was vowed for such contumacy.

What sort of govt will now be formed to supersede the present anarchy, I do not attempt to guess at. A strenuous effort will be made to establish a free one.

We have no account of any operations at home, since Paez burned the village of San Fernando in order to concentrate all his forces below it. - Guiria was evacuated - and to Fleche[illegible] was captured by the Spaniards near Point Araya. A fortnight ago all was despondency - all is hope or certainty - A loan of 300,000£ is said to have been effected in London.

Having no [illegible] object to promote here, I would have returned ere this, were not decisive events expected in a short time. I remain, sir, most respectfully yours,

Hon. John L. Adams
Sec. of State.

+ Bermudez escaped back to Margarita with only 3 officers. He there embarked with 200 men in a brig to re occupy Guiria, and has recently sent to Grenada in distress - the vessel being rendered almost a wreck by the very stormy weather that has prevailed off the coast and at the islands for 2 months past. Just at this moment tidings arrived that B. was [illegible]

rec'd ap: 3.

Angostura, February 16, 1819.

Sir,

The posture of military affairs above, and of political matters here, prevented me from seeing you previous to your departure for Barinas in order to gratify a liberal curiosity, and in fact there was hardly an opportunity of gaining thither of late. Not wishing therefore to take a voyage of 2 or 3 days only to see the banks of the Orinoco for 5 or 600 miles, - for there was no possibility of going into the interior in that quarter, I remained here until I could find a convenient passage to the United States.

Whilst military events are in doubt, but about which we have much anxiety, the political ones are interesting. - The deputies from Margarita and from the other 5 provinces or fragments of provinces having arrived about a week ago, General Bolivar, who has returned from the army in hopes of receiving 2 or 3 English troops, only 500 of which have yet arrived, convened the Congress on Monday (yesterday) the 15th inst. - Having received a particular invitation, I attended the ceremony of their installation, the day being celebrated by a jubilee.

The members were convened at the palace of the government, (at 11 o'clock A. M.) whither General Bolivar, with his suite and principal officers of the army, repaired about the same time. - As soon as the deputies were seated and the assembly composed, general Bolivar arose and from the chair in a set discourse of great length. - He appeared to have studied with no little pains. - It is an essay on government, the scope of which is to prove, that, while it is extremely desirable to establish the freest possible, as every free one is impracticable in Venezuela, whose circumstances he painted in colors by no means flattering and took the liberty, whilst pronouncing this part of the discourse, to submit his project of a constitution, laying it on the table before the President's chair. + The federal constitution he decided as utterly unsuitable, being too complicated.

He ran over the history of the public ancient and modern to cite instances, as appeared to him, of the perishable nature of free governments by stating several facts, (extrinsic) as others have stated them — The people of the United States, cradled in liberty, and enjoying peculiar advantages, he referred to the ship — but took care to treat of them and their institutions as unmixed, (or exceptions) in short from the general character of man, and ordinary government — He spoke of long candles consisting nearly of De Soline about, representing the as offering three finished models of monarchy (or an accentine,) of aristocracy and democracy! — I suspect he is not aware, that the latter is far from being "finished in its kind," that the people really elect only 171 out of 656 members of the house of commons. However, I refrain from criticising the Discourse at this time. — He represented the wisdom and justice of rewarding public benefactors by public honour and trust; and hinted that the generality of foreigners had well-founded claims to consideration the major part of the permanent, hereditary senate he proposed.

When he concluded his speech, which he pronounced with great animation, & clear enunciation, the administered the oath of office to the members, and resigned the chair to Mr Lee, the president of congress. The latter made a very sensible, extemporaneous speech on the occasion saying many complimentary, — pronouncing indeed an eulogium on general Bolivar, more especially on his recent conduct — This drew from that gentleman a declaration which excited no little wonder — Having risen, as Dr Lee made a motion to return thanks in the name of the army for services, he distinctly and unequivocally proclaimed his determination to retire into private life the moment the war should be terminated. He would not even accept any civil office — The rights and title of citizen from fellow-citizens were all he aspired to. — When he retired, Bolivar & general Du Courtet responded

through the house; and his concluding declaration was the common talk.

Congress remained together some time after, and confirmed the military appointments of the late supreme chief. A motion was made to confirm all anterior acts in a body, which a person present told me drew from Dr Rosier, a warm & independent speaker, a shorting that body against acting precipitately in any case, and cautioning them not even to lapse over light a stain lightly; for, however they might think of it themselves, their names and their conduct would form part of the history of Venezuela, and be handed down to posterity.

To-day, the Congress appointed general Bolivar, president of state, and general in chief of the army, with discretionary authority in the latter quality. The former office is to continue until a constitution and laws have been formed, and a new government be ready to go into operation — though it is not to be expressed. — Dr Zea will act as vice-president, (or president of the congress) and in the absence of Bolivar, discharge the duties of president of state.

I received so much gratification from the events of yesterday, that, for me, I have let our imagination fill the streets of Pegasus — or rather pigeons, and griffins, &c. conveying dispatches through the air. I was left on the occasion to have command over something like a fleet, which would by volitation, convey the news to Washington by next morning. I cannot do it with a hundredth part of the celerity I wish. This Congress, I think, will do all that circumstances permit to promote the cause of liberty; but they have a thousand obstacles before them. In their hallowed legitimate exertions, they deserve the support of free governments, as far as it can be rendered. — There is some dearth of talent among them, but there are 5 or 6 of the 30 — (only 27 present) who possess splendid abilities.

The late act of renunciation on the part of Bolivar, serves to veil the vices and errors of his previous career. His failings and virtues, variously represented now, must be left to the historians of this revolution to decide. There are many persons here who do not hesitate to assign as the necessity arising from incapacity and disappointment, as the sole cause of his resignation. To adopt this explication of motives were to divest his present conduct of all title to respect or admiration. It is more liberal, just and charitable to attribute good not to good motives. It is the practice of the world. "For experience hath long since taught mankind to consider as a great merit in their chiefs the evil they abstain from doing, and to accuse them if they have not absolute reason to hate them." The account of services and abuses he must settle with his fellow-citizens. Columbus's ambition has been decried. There cannot be a more remarkable instance than his reservation of the liberation of a few Grenadas to himself, as we have seen, entirely his prevention and exploding others. He resolved that the fame of the achievement should be his own. Soon has often been noticed the famous Vasco Nunez de Balboa, in his expedition to discover the pacific Ocean, at Darien, made his little army halt at the foot of the great mountain, from whose top his guide assured him he should descry the new ocean, and resolved to climb the sierra alone, "para no partir con otros el honor de tan importante descubrimiento" that none might share with him the honour of so important a discovery. Such is the vanity, or love of distinction, that reveals man himself, though ambition is said to be the disease of noble minds.

When Charles V. retired to the monastery of St. Justus, disgusted with a world which he could not govern at will, it is probable among other motives, that his humanity, as he became a man, was indicative of his ambition as Diogenes' rags were of his pride, and accordingly the dissembling Charles has not received much applause, except amongst Spaniards, for his mechanical amusements, his devotion and penance. The hermit was viewed as a mortified emperor. I am not inclined in the same way, to pre-

to derogate from the merits of general Bolivar, on this occasion. We must be disinterested, grand hoe, since he avows his determination to accept no official honors or public spoils. And, admitting that he thought the measure necessary to save the country, and increase confidence at home and abroad, he would still deserve applause for adopting it. His political project, that of a perpetual senate particularly, is weak and unbearable. an aristocracy of that kind being the worst of all administrations, incurable because unalterable. He recommended freedom of the press and religion, and also practicable encouragement to education. These being the best means of forming capable citizens, unite the approbation of all thinking men.

Whilst the congress are deliberating, and everyone speculating in opinions here in a stagnant time, we cannot shake off apprehension and anxiety about Paez army, though it is described to be greatly improved. The enemy, knowing that this was the moment to attack him, before he could be reinforced, crossed the Apure and advanced. Paez had sent his infantry and some pieces of light artillery to the island opposite to Urbana, while he with his cavalry annoyed or harrassed the enemy in the open country driving off all the cattle before him, and burning the grass behind him. At the passage of the Arauca the Spaniards are said to have lost 500 men. We have not received later accounts of operations. I cannot but think that a hazardous crisis exists in regard to military operations for the moment. Flores, English &c. are expected every day. and, in expectation of their approach, a defensive policy was pursued on the part of Paez &c. by order of general Bolivar. although the latter had proposed to cross the Apure the very day he received news by express from this place of the auxiliaries coming from England. that day, or since appears, Morales &c. crossed the same river + a decisive movement that must involve the ruin of one army

+ or other.

in quest of him. It is the enemy's wisest policy; but if Bolivar could on the instant dispatch a body of cavalry toward the province of Caracas, to threaten his rear and cut off his supply of cattle, Morillo might find himself in the most formidable difficulties. But to me these particulars are conjectures on your part. Even to write them explains them to you.

This congress is regarded as a convention, I believe, though the public may compel to mix their functions and the Executive with other objects. Therefore I have deemed it useless to renew the claims; considering the facts as proved in their favor, and the acknowledgment and restitution will probably be made hereafter. Now nothing but a recognition of them could be had — and it is better to postpone it until the new government goes into operation. — With the first schooner that sails for the islands, I shall embark for the U. States, taking or transmitting any document this gov't may chuse to send or any thing of public interest that I can procure.

I am, sir, with sincere respect

Your very obed't. servt

W. Irving.

Hon. John Q. Adams,
Secy. of State.

February 19—

We have intelligence from the army to the 7th inst. On that day General Paez had surprised 600 of the enemy's cavalry as they were collecting cattle, and cut 400 of them to pieces, the remainder dispersing in all directions. Some of the prisoners state that Morillo had retired across the Apure, and that the enemy was pinched for want of supplies. He must quickly advance or retreat, as he cannot maintain himself in his present critical position.

This morning Dr Cooper, a member of Congress, paid us

an unceremonious visit, and, after conversing on literary and the different subjects, brought the United States and Venezuela directly on the tapis; observing that some individuals were impressed with a belief that the U. S. govt did not wish the establishment of independence in Venezuela from motives of jealousy, but he was not among the number, & to the remarks we had mutually indulged, I answered, that the surmise he mentioned was too ridiculous to need confutation. A perusal of the U. S. newspapers alone, would convince him of the lively interest we felt in the independence and freedom of all Spanish America. The occurrences of Monday, I said, will give universal satisfaction in North America, because the government and people will now perceive that you are in earnest. — But, how could the U. States decide while there appeared two governments here? — At the same time, I do not pretend to know precisely what the government is doing at the moment, but you may rest assured that they will not convert particular grievances or spoliations into general accusations, nor regard as permanent what is only moral. They know your circumstances; that you are laboring to found a government; and, though I believe the claims are perfectly just, because the admiral and consul acted illegally, yet it is likely that our government will make all possible allowance for circumstances, and wait a reasonable time. — He then assured me, that it was the intention of congress to revise the affair of the claims, and that they would as soon as possible review that and other correspondence. At this I expressed my satisfaction.

I was frank with him, because I thought it right and prudent in itself, and because he is a decided friend and admirer of the U. States and our institutions. He knew very well however, that speaking as an individual, my remarks & assertions could not commit my government. — There being remain-

the congress, I hope, will merit the approbation of their own country and the friendship of all liberal men and governments abroad.

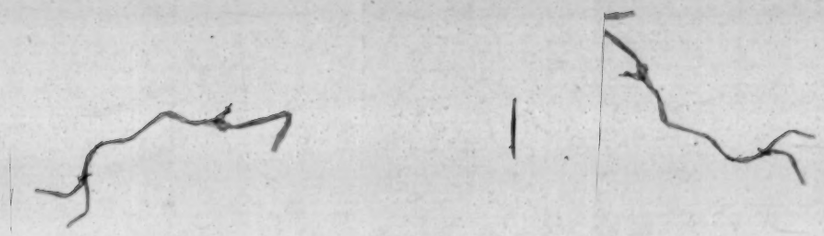
February 21.

London papers received yesterday till the 28th of December contain part of a report on the affairs of Buenos Ayres by Lt. Gen. Graham one of the commissioners. In the same gazette was a letter intimating that two of the commissioners were adverse to a recognition of the independence of Buenos Ayres. General Bolivar expressed an impatient dislike of this recommendation; saying that this was the moment when the South Americans needed protection and aid, and to withhold them on the pretext of parties, would only increase parties and intrigues. And what country is free from both? He thought such conduct not be humane, wise, or friendly. I answered, that congress would decide from a full, not a partial view, and give no more importance to a commissioner's opinion than it deserved. There could be no doubt of the friendship of North America to the independance and liberty of the South - although the variety of independent governments at the moment might embarrass our congress with respect to special acknowledgments. - As to parties we claimed no right to interfere with them or any other in internal concerns of a foreign state - nor had we, I added, a better right to turn censors over any foreign nation than it had to play the censor over us. ——— He appeared very uneasy and dissatisfied notwithstanding my reply.

Four ships belonging to col. English's expedition have lately sailed from Trinidad and Lucia for Margarita with 7 or 800 troops on board.

Jan. 13 1819 - August 26 Ad. 1819

Speech of General Bolivar
at the Installation
of the
Congress of Venezuela



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SPEECH

OF HIS EXCELLENCY

GENERAL BOLIVAR,

AT THE

INSTALLATION

OF THE

CONGRESS OF VENEZUELA,

In Angostura, on the 15th day of February, 1819.

Translated by JAMES HAMILTON, Esq.

Angostura:

Printed by ANDREW RODERICK, Government Printer.

PREFACE OF THE TRANSLATOR.

In the following translation of the Speech delivered by His Excellency the President of the Republic of Venezuela, at the Installation of the National Congress, the Translator has endeavoured to keep as closely as possible to the original, and flatters himself that the sense will, in no one instance, be found deviated from, although some passages are not precisely literal.

A mere narrative of events, may be turned almost verbatim from one language into another, but the reverse is the case with productions of Elocution and Rhetoric, for in them the imagination takes a wider range, and modes of expression are used, which render some degree of licence absolutely necessary.

The Translator is sensible, that the fire and energy of the original have suffered in his attempt, and most certainly he would never have dared the undertaking, had not His Excellency been pleased to signify his commands to that effect.

SPEECH

OF

GENERAL BOLIVAR

TO THE

CONGRESS OF VENEZUELA.

GENTLEMEN,

I account myself one of the Beings most favoured by Divine Providence, in having the honour of re-uniting the Representatives of Venezuela in this August Congress; the only source of legitimate Authority, the deposit of the Sovereign will, and the arbiter of the Nation's fate.

In delivering back to the Representatives of the People the Supreme Power entrusted to me, I satisfy the desires of my own heart, and calm the wishes of my Fellow-Citizens and of future generations, who hope every thing from your wisdom, rectitude, and prudence. In fulfilling this delightful duty, I free myself from the boundless Authority which oppresses me, and also from the unlimited responsibility which weighs on my feeble hands.

An imperative necessity, united to a strongly expressed desire on the part of the People, could have alone induced me to assume the dreadful and dangerous charge of *Dictator*, *Supreme Chief of the Republic*. Now, however, I respire in returning the Authority, which, with so great risk, difficulty and toil, I have maintained amidst as horrible calamities as ever afflicted a social body.

In the epoch during which I presided over the Republic, it was not merely a political storm that raged, in a sanguinary war, in a time of popular anarchy, but the tempest of the desert, a whirlwind of every disorganised element, the bursting of an infernal torrent that overwhelmed the land of Venezuela. A man! and such a man as I am! what bounds, what resistance, could he oppose to such furious devastation? Amidst that sea of woes and afflictions, I was nothing more

more than the miserable sport of the revolutionary hurricane, driven to and fro like the wild bird of the Ocean. I could do neither good nor evil; an irrisistible power above all human controul, directed the march of our fortunes, and for me to pretend to have been the prime mover of the events which have taken place, would be unjust, and would be attaching to myself an importance I do not merit. Do you desire to know the sources from which those occurrences took their rise, and the origin of our present situation? Consult the annals of Spain, of America, and of Venezuela; examine the laws of the Indies, the conduct of your ancient Governors, the influence of Religion, and of foreign Dominion; observe the first Acts of the Republican Government, the ferocity of our enemies, and the National character. I again repeat, that I cannot consider myself more than the mere instrument of the great causes which have acted on our Country. My life, my conduct, and all my actions, public and private, are however before the People—and Representatives it is your duty to judge them. I submit to your impartial decision, the manner in which I have executed my command, and nothing will I add to excuse—I have already said enough as an apology. Should I merit your approbation, I shall have acquired the sublime title of a *good Citizen*, prefered by me to that of *Liberator*, bestowed on me by Venezuela, to that of *Pacificator*, given by Cundinamarca, and to all others the universe could confer.

Legislators!—I deposit in your hands the Supreme command of Venezuela, and it is now your high duty to consecrate yourselves to the felicity of the Republic, in your hands rest the balance of our destiny, and the means of our glory.—You will confirm the Decrees which establish our Liberty.

The Supreme Chief of the Republic is, at this moment, nothing more than a simple Citizen,—and such, he wishes to remain until his latest hour. He will, however, serve with the Armies of Venezuela, as long as an enemy treads her soil.

Our Country contains within her bosom many deserving Sons capable of directing her. Talents, virtue, experience, and whatever is requisite for the good government of free men, are the patrimony, both of many who represent the People in this August Assembly, and of others without its walls. Citizens are to be found, who, at all times, have given proofs of their valour in encountering dangers, of their prudence in eschewing them, and in short of the art of governing themselves, and governing others. These illustrious personages do undoubtedly merit the suffrages of the Congress, and to receive in

charge

charge that Government, which I, with so much cordiality and sincerity, have just renounced for ever.

The continuation of Authority in the same individual, has frequently proved the termination of democratical Governments. Repeated elections are essential in popular systems, for nothing is so dangerous as to suffer power to remain a long time vested in one Citizen; the People accustomed to obey, and he to command, give rise to usurpation and tyranny. A strict jealousy is the guarantee of Republican Liberty, and the Citizens of Venezuela ought to fear with the greatest justice, that the same Magistrate, who has governed them for a length of time, may do so for ever.

I trust, that from this my act of adherence to the Liberty of my Country, I may aspire to the glory of being reckoned one of her most faithful lovers.

Permit me, Sirs, with the frankness of a true Republican, to lay before you a respectful outline of the Project of a Constitution, which I take the liberty of offering, in testimony of the sincerity and candour of my sentiments. As the safety of all is concerned, I venture to believe, that I possess a right of being heard by the Representatives of the People. I am well aware, that your wisdom has no need of Councillors, and I am moreover aware, that my Project may appear erroneous and impracticable; but, Sirs, accept with kindness this work, which is, I do assure you, rather a tribute of my sincere submission to the Congress, than the production of presumptuous levity. Your Installation moreover constituting the creation of a political body, and as may be said even the creation of a whole Community, surrounded by all the inconveniences which the most singular and difficult situation can present, the cry of one Citizen may, perhaps, point out the presence of hidden danger.

Casting a glance on the past, we shall see what is the basis of the Republic of Venezuela.

The separation of America from the Spanish Monarchy, resembles the state of the Roman Empire, when that enormous mass fell to pieces in the midst of the ancient world. Every dismemberment then formed an independent Nation, conformable to its situation and interests; but with the difference, that those associations returned to their original principles. We do not retain vestiges of what we were in other times; we are not Europeans, we are not Indians, but a middle race betwixt the Aborigines and the Spaniards. Americans by birth, and Europeans in rights, we are placed in the extraordinary predicament

predicament of disputing with the natives our privilege of possession, and of maintaining ourselves in the Country which gave us birth, against the efforts of the original Invaders—and thus, our situation is the more extraordinary and complicated.

Our lot, moreover, has ever been purely passsive, our political existence has ever been nugatory; and we, therefore, encounter greater difficulties in establishing our Liberties, having hitherto been in a lower degree of degradation than even servitude, and being not only robbed of our freedom, but not suffering an active and domineering tyranny, which would have excited feelings of indignation.

Permit me to explain this paradox: In the exercise of authorised absolute power, there are no limits, the will of the Despot is the Supreme Law, arbitrarily executed by inferiors who participate in the organized oppression, in proportion to the Authority they hold, being entrusted with all functions, civil, political, military, and religious. America received all from Spain, was without the practice and exercise of an active tyranny, and was not permitted to share in the Administration of her domestic concerns and interior arrangements.

This abject state of depression rendered it impossible for us to be acquainted with the course of public affairs, and as little did we enjoy the personal consequence and respect, which the shew of Authority commands in the eyes of the People, and which is of such importance in great revolutions. I say again, that we were abstracted and absent from the world in every thing having a reference to the science of Government. The People of America, bound with the triple yoke of ignorance, tyranny, and vice, could not acquire either knowledge, power, or virtue.

Pupils of such pernicious Masters—the lessons we received, and the examples we followed—were the most destructive. We were governed more by deceit and treachery than by force, and were degraded more by vice than by superstition. Slavery is the daughter of darkness, and an ignorant person is generally the blind instrument of his own ruin; ambition and intrigue take advantage of the credulity and inexperience of men totally unacquainted with every principle of political and civil economy; the uninformed adopt as realities what are mere illusions, they mistake licentiousness for Liberty, treachery for Patriotism, and revenge for Justice.

A corrupt People, should it gain its liberty, soon loses it again, for in vain are the lights of experience exercised in shewing that happiness consists in the practice of virtue, and that the Government

of

of Laws is more powerful than that of tyrants, because they are more inflexible, and all ought to submit to their wholesome severity, that good morals and not force constitute the pillars of the Law, and that the exercise of Justice is the exercise of Liberty.

Thus, Legislators, your undertaking is so much the more laborious, as you have to do with men corrupted by the illusions of error, and by noxious incitements. Liberty, says Rousseau, is a succulent food, but difficult of digestion. Our weak and feeble Fellow-Citizens will have to increase in strength of mind in a very great degree, before they get the length of being able to digest the wholesome aliment of freedom. With Members benumbed by fetters, and eye-sight weakened by the darkness of dungeons, are they capable of marching with firm steps towards the august Temple of Liberty? Are they capable of supporting its splendid rays? or breathing freely the pure ether that reigns there?

Legislators!—Consider well the object of your election; bear ever in mind that you are about to form fundamental regulations for an incipient People; which, if you proportionate the basis of the structure to what may be expected, may rise to that pitch of elevation pointed out by nature. If the tutelary genius of Venezuela does not direct your choice, and inspire you with the prudence and expertness necessary for selecting the nature and form of Government you are about to adopt for the happiness of the People, if you do not fix aright, depend on it, slavery will be the result.

The records of other days present us with an immense variety of Governments; bring to your recollection the Nations which have figured most conspicuously in the history of the world, and with affliction will you remark, that almost the whole earth has been, and is, the victim of its Governments. You will find many systems for governing men, but most for oppressing them, and had not the custom of seeing the human race led by the Pastors of the People, diminished the horror of so revolting a spectacle, we would be shocked in observing our docile species feeding on the surface of the globe, like the cattle of the field, destined for the use of their cruel masters. Nature certainly endows us at our birth with an inclination to Liberty, but whether arising from sloth, or some other source, it is a positive fact, that she remains still and quiet under the trammels which may be imposed on her. In contemplating her in this state of prostitution, it would appear that we have reason to be persuaded, that the majority

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of mankind consider as true, that humiliating maxim, that it is more difficult to maintain the equilibrium of Liberty, than to sustain the weight of tyranny. Would to God that this maxim so contrary to nature were false! Would to God that this maxim had not been sanctioned by the indolence of mankind with respect to their most sacred rights.

Many ancient and modern Nations have shaken off oppression, but few of them have known how to enjoy a few precious moments of freedom, very soon have they returned to their former political vices, for the People more frequently than the Government bring on tyranny. The habit of submission renders them insensible to the charms of honour and National prosperity, and leads them to regard with insensibility the glory of being free under the protection of Laws dictated by their own will. The history of the world proclaims this dreadful truth.

Democracy, in my opinion, is alone susceptible of complete Liberty; but, what Democratical Government ever united at the same time, power, prosperity, and permanency; and, on the contrary, have we not seen Aristocracy and Monarchy establish great and powerful Empires for ages and ages? What Government is more ancient than that of China? What Republic has exceeded in duration those of Sparta and Venice? Did not the Roman Empire conquer the world? Did not Monarchy exist in France for fourteen centuries? What state is more powerful than Great-Britain? The Governments, however of those Nations, were either Aristocratical or Monarchical.

Notwithstanding such painful reflections, my mind is filled with joy at the great progress made by our Republic in its glorious career—loving what is useful, animated by what is just, and aspiring to what is perfect; Venezuela, on separating from Spain, recovered her Independence and Liberty, her Equality and her National Sovereignty, constituting herself into a Democratical Republic, she proscribed Monarchy, distinctions, nobility, charters, and privileges: she declared the Rights of Man, the Liberty of acting, thinking, speaking, and writing. Those facts, so eminently liberal, cannot be sufficiently admired for the purity which gave them birth. The first Congress of Venezuela fixed in indelible characters in the annals of our Legislation, the majesty of the People as properly expressed in the social Act as the fittest to form the happiness of the Nation. Every feeling of my mind is required to appreciate duly the supereminent good contained

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in that immortal Code of our Rights and Laws. But at the same time how shall I express myself? Shall I dare to profane with my censure the sacred tables of our Laws? There are sentiments which cannot remain quiet in the breast of the man that loves his Country, and which however attempted to be concealed, agitate by their violence, and which an imperious force obliges him to disclose. It grieves me to think, that the Government of Venezuela requires reform; and, although many illustrious Citizens think as I do, all do not possess sufficient boldness to state publicly their opinion in favour of the adoption of new principles, and this consideration has led me to be the first in introducing a subject of the greatest importance—although, in doing so, there is an excessive audacity, in pretending to give advice to the Counsellors of the Nation.

The more I admire the excellency of the Federal Constitution of Venezuela, the more am I convinced of the impossibility of applying it to our situation, and according to my way of thinking, it is a miracle that its model in North-America has existed with so much prosperity, and not been thrown into confusion on the first appearance of danger or embarassment. Notwithstanding which, that People is a singular example of political virtue, and moral rectitude; Liberty has been its cradle, it has grown up in Liberty, and is maintained by pure Liberty. I will add, that that People is unique in the history of the human race, and repeat that it is a prodigy, that a system so weak and complicated as the Federal, should have existed under so difficult and delicate circumstances as those which have occurred. However, whatever the case may be as to the Government, I must say of the American People, that the idea never entered my mind of assimilating the situation and nature of two Nations so distinct as the Anglo and Spanish American. Would it not be extremely difficult to apply to Spain the political, civil, and religious Code of Great-Britain? It would be even more difficult to adopt in Venezuela the Laws of North-America. Does not the *Spirit of Laws* say, that Laws ought to be suited to the People making them, and that it is a very great chance, that those of one Nation will suit another? That the Laws ought to bear relation to the physical state of the Country, to its climate, to the quality of its soil, to its situation, to its extent, and to the manner of life of its inhabitants; having reference to the degree of Liberty, the Constitution can support, to the religion of the People, to their inclinations, riches, number, commerce, customs, and morals.

I now present the Code, which, according to my way of thinking, we ought to adopt.

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The Constitution of Venezuela, although founded on the most perfect principles, differed widely from that of America in an essential point, and without doubt the most important. The Congress of Venezuela like that of America, participates in some of the attributes of the Executive Power. But we go further, and subdivide it by committing it to a collective body, and are consequently subject to the inconvenience of making the existence of the Government periodical, of suspending and of dissolving it whenever the Members separate. Our triumvirate is void, as one may say, of unity, duration, and personal responsibility; it is at times destitute of action, it is without perpetual life, real uniformity, and immediate responsibility; and a Government, which does not possess continuance, may be denominated a nullity. Although the powers of the President of the United-States are limited by excessive restrictions, he exercises by himself alone all the functions of Authority granted him by the Constitution, and there can be no doubt that his Administration must be more uniform, constant, and truly proper, than that of a power divided amongst various individuals, the composition of which cannot but be monstrous.

The Judicial Power in Venezuela is similar to that in America, indefinite in duration, temporary and not perpetual, and it enjoys all the independence necessary.

The first Congress, in its Federal Constitution, consulted rather the spirits of the different provinces, than the solid idea of establishing an indivisible and concentrated Republic. There sat our Legislators under the influence of Provincials, carried away with the dazzling appearance of the happiness of North-America, thinking that the blessings she enjoyed were owing exclusively to the form of Government, and not to the character of the People. And in fact, the example of the United-States, with its progressive prosperity, was too flattering not to have been followed. Who could resist the glorious attraction of the full and absolute enjoyment of Sovereignty, Independence, and Liberty? Who could resist the admiration and esteem inspired by an intelligent Government, which unites at the same moment public and private Rights, which forms by general consent the Supreme Law of individuals? Who can resist the dominion of a beneficent Government, which, with an able, active, and powerful hand, directs at all times and in all cases, all its efforts towards that social perfection which ought to be the end of all human Institutions? However beautiful this magnificent Federative System might appear, and in fact be,

Venezuela could not enjoy it immediately on shaking off her chains; we were not prepared for so great a good; good as well as evil, causes death when sudden and excessive; our moral Constitution did not yet possess the benefits of a Government completely Representative, and which is so sublime when it can be adopted by a Republic of Saints.

Representatives of the People!—You are convened to confirm or repeal, whatever may appear to you proper to be preserved, reformed, or expunged in our social compact. It is your duty to correct the work of our first Legislators, and I would say, that to you it belongs to cover a portion of the beauties contained in our political Code, for all hearts are not formed for admiring every beauty, nor all eyes capable of supporting the celestial blaze of perfection. The Book of the Apostles, the Doctrine of Jesus, the Divine writings, sent by a gracious Providence to better mankind, so sublime and so holy, would kindle an ocean of flame at Constantinople, and the whole of Asia would fiercely burn, were the Book of Peace to be imposed at once as the Code of Religion, Laws, and Customs.

Permit me to call the attention of the Congress to a matter which may be of vital importance:—Bear in mind that our population is neither European nor [redacted]-American, but is rather a compound of African and American, than of European origin, because even Spain herself is not strictly European, from her African blood, institutions, and character. It is impossible to point out with propriety to what human family we belong—the greater part of the Aborigines have been annihilated, the European has mixed with the American and with the African, and the latter has mixed also with the Indian and the European. All children of the same mother, our fathers various in origin and in blood, are strangers, and differ all in figure and form from each other.

All the Citizens of Venezuela enjoy by the Constitution a political equality; and if that equality had not been a dogma in Athens, in France, and in America, we ought to confirm the principle, in order to correct the difference which may apparently exist. *Legislators!* my opinion is, that the fundamental principle of our system, depends immediately and solely on equality being established and practised in Venezuela. That men are all born with equal rights to the benefits of society, has been sanctioned by almost all the sages of every age; as has also, that all men are not born with equal capacities for the attainment of every rank, as all ought to practice virtue, and all do not so; all

ought

ought to be brave, and all are not so; all ought to possess talents, and all do not. From this arises the real distinction observed amongst individuals of the most liberally established society.

If the principle of political equality be generally acknowledged, not less so is that of physical and moral inequality. It would be an illusion, an absurdity to suppose the contrary. Nature makes men unequal in genius, temperament, strength, and character. Laws correct that difference by placing the individual in society, where education, industry, arts, sciences, and virtues, give a fictitious equality properly called political and social. The union of all classes in one state is eminently beneficial, and in which diversity is multiplied in proportion to the propagation of the species. By it alone has discord been torn up by the roots, and many jealousies, follies, and prejudices avoided!

Our diversity of origin requires a most powerful pulse, and a delicate manner for managing so heteregenous a body, as its complicated composition may be dislocated, divided, and dissolved by the slightest change.

The most perfect System of Government is that which produces the greatest degree of happiness, of social security, and political stability.

By the Laws dictated by the first Congress, we have reason to hope, that felicity will be the portion of Venezuela; and, from you we may flatter ourselves, that security and stability will render that felicity perpetual.

To you it belongs to resolve the problem, in what manner after having broken the fetters of our former oppressors, we may accomplish the wonderful feat of preventing the remains of our grievous chains being turned into the arms of licentiousness. The relicts of Spanish Dominion will continue a long time before we can completely destroy them; our atmosphere is impregnated with the contagion of despotism, and neither the flame of war, nor the specific of our salutary Laws, have purified the air we breathe. Our hands are indeed free, but our hearts are still suffering from the effects of servitude. Man, in losing his Liberty, says Homer, loses half his spirit.

A Republican Government has been, is, and ought to be that of Venezuela; its basis ought to be the Sovereignty of the People, the

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division of Power, civil Liberty, the prohibition of Slavery, and the abolition of Monarchy and Privileges. We want equality for recasting, as one may say, men, political opinions, and public customs. Throwing our sight over the vast field we have to examine, let us fix our attention on the dangers we ought to avoid, and let history guide us in our career.

Athens presents us with the most brilliant example of an absolute Democracy, and at the same time is a melancholy proof of the extreme weakness of that kind of Government. The wisest Legislator of Greece did not see his Republic last ten years, and underwent the humiliation of acknowledging the insufficiency of an absolute Democracy for governing any kind of society, not even the most cultivated, moral, and limited, becauses it shines only with flashes of Liberty. Let us acknowledge then that Solon has undeceived the world, and shewn how difficult it is to govern men by simple Laws.

The Republic of Sparta, which appeared a chimerical invention, produced more real effects than the ingenious work of Solon; glory, virtue, morality, and consequently National happiness, were the result of the Legislature of Lycurgus. Although two Kings in one State were like two monsters to devour it—Sparta suffered but little from that double Royalty, and Athens enjoyed the most splendid lot under an absolute Sovereignty, free elections of Magistrates frequently renewed, mild, wise, and politic Laws. Pisistratus, an usurper and a despot, did more good to Athens than her Laws; and Pericles, although an usurper likewise, was the most useful Citizen.

The Republic of Thebes existed only during the lives of Pelopidas and Epaminondas, for it is men, and not principles, that form Governments. However wise Codes, Systems, and Statutes may be, they have but little influence on society; it is virtuous, patriotic, and enlightened men that constitute Republics.

The Roman Constitution was that which produced the greatest power and fortune to any People on earth; in it there was no exact distribution of Power. The Consuls, the Senate, and the People, were Legislators, Magistrates, and Judges, they all participated in all those offices. The Executive consisting of two Consuls had the same inconvenience as that of Sparta, and yet notwithstanding its deformity, the Republic did not suffer that mischievous discordance, which might be supposed inseparable from a Magistracy, consisting of two

individuals

individuals, endowed equally with the powers of a Monarch. A Government whose sole inclination was war and conquest, did not appear likely to establish the happiness of the People. A Government monstrous in itself, and purely warlike raised Rome to the highest pitch of virtue and glory, and formed of the world a Roman Empire, proving to mankind the force of political virtues, and the trivial influence of institutions.

Passing from ancient to modern times, we find England and France deserving general attention, and giving impressive lessons in every species of Government. The revolutions in those two great States, like brilliant Meteors, have filled the world with so great a profusion of political light, that every thinking Being has learned what are the rights and duties of man; in what the excellency of Governments consists, and in what their vices; all know how to appreciate the intrinsic value of the theoretical speculations of modern Philosophers and Legislators. In short, this star in its brilliant course inflamed even the apathetic Spaniards, who also entering the political whirlwind gave ephemiral proofs of Liberty, and have shewn their incapacity of living under the mild dominion of the Law, by returning after a short blaze to their original bondage.

Legislators!—This is the proper time for repeating what the eloquent Volney says in his dedication to the ruins of Palmyra.—"To the growing People of the Spanish Indies—to the generous Chiefs "who conduct them to Liberty—may the errors and misfortunes of "the old world, teach wisdom and happiness to the new."—May they never lose themselves, but profit by the lessons of experience given in the schools of Greece, of Rome, of France, of England, and of America, and be instructed by them in the difficult science of establishing and preserving Nations with proper, just, legitimate, and above all useful Laws; never forgetting that the excellency of a Government does not consist in its theory, form, or mechanism, but in being fitted to the nature and character of the People for which it was instituted.

Rome and Great-Britain are the Nations which have most excelled amongst the ancients and moderns. Both were born to command and be free, and yet neither had Constitutions modeled in Liberty's most brilliant form, but solid establishments; and on that account therefore I recommend to you, Representatives, the study of the British Constitution, which appears to be the one destined to

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produce the greatest possible effect on the People adopting it; but perfect as it may be, I am very far, at same time, from proposing a servile imitation of it. When I speak of the British Constitution, I refer solely to the democratical part of it, and in truth it may be denominated, a Monarchy in system, in which is acknowledged the Sovereignty of the People, the division and equilibrium of Power, civil freedom, liberty of conscience, and of the Press, and every thing that is sublime in politics. A greater degree of Liberty cannot be enjoyed in any kind of Republic, and it may indeed claim a higher rank in social order. I recommend that Constitution as the best model to those who aspire to the enjoyments of the Rights of Man, and of all that political felicity compatible with our frail natures.

In nothing whatever would we change our fundamental Laws, were we to adopt a Legislative Power similar to that of the British Parliament. We have divided, as the Americans have done, the National Representation into two Houses, that of the Representatives and the Senate. The first is wisely composed, it enjoys all the privileges fitted for it, and is not susceptible of essential change, as the Constitution has endowed it with the origin, form, and powers, required by the will of the People for being lawfully and competently represented.

If the Senate in place of being elective were hereditary, it would in my conception be the basis, the bond, and the soul of the Republic, and in political storms it would possess the functions of Government, and would resist popular commotions. Attached to the Government by the powerful excitement of its own preservation, it would ever oppose the attempts the People might make against the jurisdiction and authority of their Magistrates. It must be confessed, that most men are ignorant of their true interests, and are continually attacking them in the hands of those to whom they are committed—the individual contends against the general mass, and the general mass against Authority, and it is therefore necessary that a neutral body should exist in all Governments to protect the injured, and disarm the offender. This neutral body, in order that it may be such, ought neither to derive its origin from the choice of the Government, nor from that of the People, but in such wise that it may enjoy complete independence, neither fearing nor hoping any thing from either of those sources of Authority. An hereditary Senate as a part of the People would participate in its interests, in its opinions, and in its spirit, and for that reason it is not to be presumed, that an hereditary

Senate

Senate will separate from the interests of the People, and forget its Legislative duties. The Senators in Rome, and the Peers in Britain, have proved themselves the firmest pillars in the glorious structure of civil and political Liberty.

These Senators will, for the first time, be elected by the Congress, and their successors in the Senate will occupy the principal attention of the Government, which will cause them to be educated in a College especially set apart for the instruction of those future Guardians and Legislators of the Country. They will be taught the arts, the sciences, and every thing that can adorn the mind of a public man; from their earliest infancy they will be acquainted with the career destined them by Providence, and from their most tender years their souls will be elevated to the dignity awaiting them.

In no manner whatever would the creation of an hereditary Senate be a violation of political equality; it is not a nobility I wish to establish, because that, as has been said by a celebrated Republican, would be to destroy at once Equality and Liberty. It is an office for which Candidates ought to be prepared, and is also an office requiring extensive knowledge, and proportionate means for attaining it.

In elections every thing ought not to be left to chance and hazard, for the public is easier deceived than nature perfected by art, and although it be a fact, that these Senators will not proceed from the womb of virtue, it is equally true, that they will come forth endowed with a most finished education The Liberators of Venezuela are moreover entitled to hold forever a high rank in the Republic, which is indebted to them for existence, and I do believe that posterity would observe with regret the extinction of the illustrious names of its first benefactors I will say further, that it is for the public interest, that it is for the National honour, and that it is due from the gratitude of Venezuela, to preserve in honour to the latest posterity, a race of virtuous, prudent, and valiant men, who overcoming every obstacle have established the Republic at the expence of the most heroic sacrifices; and, if the People of Venezuela do not applaud and rejoice at the elevation of its benefactors, they are unworthy to be free, and never will be so.

An hereditary Senate, I say again, will be the fundamental basis of the Legislative Power, and consequently the basis of the whole Government. It will act equally as a counterpoise to the Government

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and the People, and will be an intermediate Authority to deaden the arrows which those perpetual rivals are constantly shooting at each other.

In all contests the interposition of a third person becomes the means of reconciliation, and thus will the Senate of Venezuela be the cement of the delicate edifice so liable to violent concussions. It will be the means of calming the fury and maintaining the harmony betwixt the Members and the Head of this political body. Nothing can corrupt a Legislative Body invested with the highest honours; dependent on itself alone, without fearing any thing from the People, or expecting any thing from the Government, whose only object is to repress every tendency to evil, and encourage every attempt at good, and which is deeply interested in the existence of a society with which it shares adversity and prosperity.

It has been most justly remarked, that the British House of Peers is invaluable to the Nation, as forming a bulwark to the Liberties of the People; and I dare add, that the Senate of Venezuela will not only be a bulwark to Liberty, but a help to render the Republic perpetual.

The Executive Power in Great-Britain is invested with all the Sovereign Authority fitted to it, but it is also circumscribed by a triple-line of ditches, barriers, and palisades. The Sovereign is indeed the head of the Government, but his Ministers and Officers depend more on the Laws than on his Authority, because they are personally responsible, and from that responsibility not even Royal Authority can exempt them. He is Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, he makes Peace and declares War, but it is the Parliament alone which votes annually the supplies. For neutralising his Power, the person of the King is inviolable and sacred; whilst his head is left free, his hands are bound. The Sovereign of Britain has three formidable rivals, the Cabinet, which is responsible to the People and to Parliament; the House of Peers, which protects the interests of the People, as representing the Nobility of which it is composed; and the House of Commons, the organ of the British Public; as the Judges are moreover responsible for the due fulfilment of the Laws, they adhere strictly to them, and the Administrators of the public money being accountable not only for their own violation of duty, but even for what the Government may do, guard against misapplication.

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The more the nature of the Executive Power in Britain is examined, the more will you be inclined to think it the most perfect model for either a Monarchy, an Aristocracy, or a Democracy. In Venezuela let the Executive Power be exercised by a President, appointed by the People or their Representatives, and we shall then have taken a long stride towards National felicity.

Whoever the Citizen may be that may fill that situation, he will be supported by the Constitution; authorised to do good, he cannot do evil, for submitting to the Laws his Ministers will co-operate with him, and should he on the contrary attempt to infringe them, his own Ministers will leave him insulated in the midst of the Republic, and will even impeach him to the Senate. The Ministers being responsible for such offences as may be committed are the persons that govern, and it is not the least advantage of the system, that those more immediately exercising the functions of the Executive Power, take an interesting and active part in the deliberations of the Government, and consider their duties as personal.

It may happen that the President may not be a man of great talents or virtues, and notwithstanding the want of those essential qualities he may still perform the duties of his situation in a satisfactory manner, because in such case the Ministry doing every thing itself, bears the burthen of the State. However exorbitant the Authority of Executive Power in Great-Britain may appear, it would not perhaps be too great in the Republic of Venezuela; here the Congress has bound both the hands and heads of the Magistrates, and has assumed a portion of the Executive functions, contrary to the maxim of Montesquieu, who says, that a Representative Body ought not to take upon itself any active principle; it ought to make Laws and see those executed which it does make. Nothing is so dangerous to a People as a weak Executive, and if it has been deemed necessary to endow it with so many attributes in a Monarchy, how infinitely more indispensible would it be in a Republic. Let us fix our attention on this difference, and we shall find that the equilibrium of Power ought to be distributed in two ways. In a Republic the Executive ought to be the strongest, because every thing conspires against it; and on the other hand in a Monarchy the Legislative ought to be the most powerful, as every thing unites in favour of the Sovereign. The veneration, which People bear for a regal Magistracy, is a proof of its influence in augmenting the superstitious respect paid to that species of Authority. The splendor of the Throne, Crown, and Purple, the formidable

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support given by the nobility, the immense riches acquired by generations of the same dynasty, and the fraternal protection afforded by Kings to each other, are considerable advantages militating in favour of Royal Authority, and render it almost unlimited. Those very advantages are a reason why a Republican Magistrate should be endowed with greater power than that possessed by a Constitutional Prince.

A Republican Magistrate is an insulated individual in the midst of society, entrusted with the duty of curbing the impetus of the People towards licentiousness, and the propensity of Judges and Administrators to an abuse of the Laws. Such a one, with regard to the Legislative Body, the Senate, and the People, is a single individual resisting the combined attack of the opinions, the interests, and the passions of society, which, according to what Carnot says, is constantly striving betwixt the desire of governing and that of not being subject to any Authority. He is in short one athlet opposed to a multitude of others. The only corrective to such weakness is a vigorous and suitable resistance to the opposition made to the Executive Power by the Legislative Body and People of a Republic. If the Executive do not possess the means of exercising all the Authority properly placed at its disposal, it becomes null, and the Government expires, leaving anarchy, usurpation, and tyranny as its heirs and successors.

Let the whole system of Government therefore be strengthened, and the equilibrium established in such a manner, that it cannot be overturned, or its refinement become a cause of decay. As no form of Government is so weak as a Democracy, its Constitution ought to be as solid as possible, and its institutions conducive to stability. If such be not the case, we may reckon on having only a Government on trial, and not a permanent system; and, on having a wavering, tumultuous, and anarchical community, and not a social establishment in which happiness, peace, and justice reign.

Legislators!—Let us not be presumptuous, but moderate in our pretensions. It is by no means likely that we can do what has never yet been accomplished by any of the human race, what the greatest and wisest Nations have never effected. Undefined Liberty, and absolute Democracy are the rocks on which Republican hopes and expectations have been wrecked.

Take a view of the Republics of antiquity, of those of modern times, and of those rising into existence, and you will find, that

almost

almost all have been frustrated in their attempts. The men, who aim at legitimate institutions and social perfection, are undoubtedly deserving of every praise; but, who can say that mankind possess complete wisdom, or that they practise all the virtues which the union of power and justice imperatively demand? Angels, and not men, can alone exist free, peaceable, and happy, in the exercise of Sovereign Power.

Whilst the People of Venezuela exercise the rights they lawfully enjoy—let us moderate the excessive pretensions which an incompetent form of Government might suggest—and let us give up that Federal System which does not suit us—let us get clear of the triumvirate Executive Power, and concenter it in one President—and let us commit to him sufficient Authority to enable him to resist the inconveniences arising from our recent situation, from the state of warfare we have been suffering under, and from the kind of foreign and domestic enemies we have had to deal with, and with whom we shall still have to contend for a length of time. Let the Legislative Power resign the attributes belonging to the Executive, and acquire nevertheless fresh consistency, and fresh influence in the equilibrium of Authority. Let the Courts of Justice be reformed by the permanency and independence of the Judges, by the establishment of Juries, and of Civil and Criminal Codes, not dictated by antiquity nor by conquering Kings, but by the voice of nature, by the cry of justice, and by the genius of wisdom.

It is my anxious wish, that every part of the Government and Administration should acquire that degree of vigour, which can alone sustain a due equilibrium, not simply amongst the Members of Government, but even amongst the various ranks of which society is composed. It would not signify, were the springs of a political system to be relaxed, if that relaxation did not occasion the dissolution of the social body, and the ruin of those associated. The cries of the human race in the fields of battle and in tumultuous assemblies, appeal to Heaven against those inconsiderate and blind Legislators, who have thought they could with impunity make trials of chimerical institutions. All the Nations on earth have sought after Liberty, some by arms, and other by Laws, passing alternately from anarchy to despotism, or from despotism to anarchy, but very few have been satisfied with moderate attainments, or adopted Constitutions conformable to their means, nature and circumstances.

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Let us not attempt what is impossible, least by endeavouring to rise too high in the Regions of Liberty, we fall into the abyss of tyranny. From absolute Liberty there is always a descent to absolute Power, and the medium betwixt the two extremes is supreme social Liberty. Abstract ideas give rise to the pernicious idea of unlimited Liberty. Let us so act, that the power of People be restrained within the limits pointed out by reason and interest; that the National will be curbed by a just Authority; and that a civil and criminal Legislation, analogous to our Constitution, govern imperatively the Judicial Power; in which case an equilibrium will exist, and those differences and discords avoided which would embarass the concerns of State, as well as that species of complication which shackles instead of uniting society.

To form a stable Government, a National feeling is required possessing an uniform inclination towards two principal points, regulating public will, and limiting public authority, the bounds of which are difficult to be assigned, but it may be supposed that the best rule for our direction, is reciprocal restriction and concentration, so that there may be the least friction possible betwixt Legitimate Will and Legitimate Power.

Love of Country, Laws, and Magistrates, ought to be the ruling passion in the breast of every Republican. Venezuelans love their Country but not its Laws, because they are bad, and the source of evil, and as little could they respect their Magistrates, as the old ones were wicked, and the new ones are hardly known in the career they have commenced. If a sacred respect does not exist for Country, Laws, and constituted Authorities, society is a state of confusion an abyss, and a conflict of man with man, and of body with body.

To save our incipient Republic from such a chaos, all our moral powers will be insufficient, unless we melt the whole People down into one mass; the composition of the Government is a whole, the Legislation is a whole, and National feeling is a whole. Unity, Unity, Unity, ought to be our device. The blood of our Citizens is various, let us mix it to make it one; our Constitution has divided Authority, let us agree to unite it; our Laws are the sad remains of all ancient and modern Despotisms, let the monstrous structure be demolished, let it fall, and withdrawing from its ruins, let us erect a Temple to Justice, and under the auspices of its sacred influence, let us dictate a Code of Venezuelan-Laws. Should we

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wish to consult records and models of Legislation,—Great-Britain, France, and North-America, present us with admirable ones.

Popular education ought to be the first care of the Congress' paternal regard. Morals and knowledge are the cardinal points of a Republic, and morals and knowledge are what we most want.

Let us take from Athens her Areopagus, and the guardians of customs and Laws;—let us take from Rome her censors and domestic Tribunals, and forming a holy alliance of those moral institutions—let us renew on earth the idea of a People not contented with being free and powerful, but which desires also to be virtuous.

Let us take from Sparta her austere establishments, and form from those three springs a reservoir of virtue.

Let us give our Republic a fourth Power with Authority to preside over the infancy and hearts of men—public spirit, good habits, and Republican morality. Let us constitute this Areopagus to watch over the education of youth and National instruction, to purify whatever may be corrupt in the Republic—to impeach ingratitude, egotism, luke-warmness in the Country's cause, sloth, and idleness,—and to pass judgment on the first germs of corruption and pernicious example.

We should correct manners with moral pain, the same as the Law punishes crime with corporal, not only what may offend, but what may ridicule, not only what may assault, but what may weaken, and not only what may violate the Constitution, but whatever may infringe on public decency.

The Jurisdiction of this really sacred Tribunal, ought to be effective in every thing regarding education and instruction, and only deliberative as to pains and punishments; and thus its annals and records, in which will be inscribed its acts and deliberations, and the moral principles and actions of Citizens, will be the registers of virtue and vice. Registers which the People will consult in their elections, the Magistrates in their determinations, and the Judges in their decisions. Such an institution, however chimerical it may appear, is infinitely easier to realise, than others of less utility to mankind established by some ancient and modern Legislators.

Legislators!

Legislators!—By the Project of the Constitution, which I respectfully submit to your consideration, you will discover the feeling by which it was dictated.

In proposing the division of our Citizens into active and passive, I have endeavoured to excite National prosperity by industry's two great springs—labour and knowledge. Stimulated by those two powerful causes, the greatest difficulties may be overcome, and men made respectable and happy.

In imposing equitable and prudent restrictions on the primary and electoral assemblies, the first barrier is opposed to popular licentiousness, and thereby those injurious and tumultuous meetings avoided, which at all times have given rise to prejudicial consequences in the election, and which have of course been entailed on the Magistrates and the Government, as the primordial act is generative of either the Liberty or Slavery of a People.

By increasing in the balance of power the weight of the Congress, by the number of Legislators and the nature of the Senate, a fixed basis is bestowed on this primary body of the Nation, and it is invested with great importance for the exercise of its sovereign functions.

In separating distinctly the Executive from the Legislative Power, it is not intended to sow division betwixt those Supreme Authorities, but to unite them with those bonds of harmony which proceed from independence.

In investing the Executive with a Power and Authority much exceeding what it hitherto possessed, it is by no means intended to enable a despot to tyrannise over the Republic, but to prevent deliberative despotism becoming the immediate cause of a round of despotic changes, in which anarchy would be alternately replaced by oligarchy and monocracy.

In soliciting the independence of Judges, the establishment of Juries, and a new Code, the security of civil Liberty is requested, the most estimable, the most equitable, the most necessary, and in one word the only Liberty, as without it, all others are a nullity. An amendment is asked of the lamentable abuses in our Judicature, and which derive their origin from the filthy sink of Spanish Legislation,

collected

collected in various ages, and from various sources, equally from the productions of folly, and of talent, equally the fruit of good sense, and of extravagance, and equally the memorial of genius and of caprice. That judicial Encyclopedia, that monster with ten thousand heads, which has hitherto been a rod of punishment to Spanish Nations, is the fiercest calamity the anger of Heaven ever permitted that unfortunate Empire to be afflicted with.

Meditating on the most efficient mode of regenerating the character and habits, which tyranny and war have given us, I have dared to suggest a moral power, drawn from the remote ages of antiquity, and those obsolete Laws, which for some time maintained public virtue amongst the Greeks and Romans, and although it may be considered a mere whim of fancy, it is possible, and I flatter myself, that you will not altogether overlook an idea, which, when meliorated by experience and knowledge, may prove of the greatest efficacy.

Terrified at the disunion which has hitherto existed, and must exist amongst us from the subtle spirit characterising the Federative System, I have been induced to solicit you to adopt the concentration and union of all the States of Venezuela into one Republic, one, and indivisible. A measure in my opinion, urgent, vital, and saving, and of such a nature that without it, the fruit of our regeneration would be destruction.

It is my duty, Legislators, to present to you a just and faithful picture of my political, civil, and military Administration, but to do so would tire your valuable attention too much, and rob you at this moment of time equally precious and pressing, and the Secretaries of State will therefore give an account to the Congress of their various departments, and exhibit at the same time those documents and records, necessary to illustrate every thing, and to make you thoroughly acquainted with the real and actual state of the Republic.

I will not notice the most momentous acts of my command, although they concern most of my Countrymen, and will call your attention only to the last memorable revolution. Horrid, atrocious, and impious slavery, covered with her sable mantle the Land of Venezuela, and our atmosphere lowered with the dark gloomy clouds of the tempest, threatening a fiery deluge. I implored the protection of the God of Nature, and at his Almighty word, the storm was dispelled. The day-star of Liberty rose, slavery broke her chains, and

Venezuela

Venezuela was surrounded with new and with grateful sons, who turned the instruments of her thrall and bondage into arms of freedom. Yes! those who were formerly slaves, are now free, those who were formerly the enemies of our Country, are now its defenders.

I leave to your Sovereign Authority the reform or repeal of all my ordonances, statutes, and decrees, but I implore you to confirm the complete emancipation of the Slaves, as I would beg my life, or the salvation of the Republic.

To exhibit the military history of Venezuela, would be to bring to our recollection the history of Republican heroism amongst the ancients; it would shew that Venezuela had made as brilliant sacrifices on the sacred Altar of Liberty. The noble hearts of our generous warriors, have been filled with those sublime and honourable feelings, which have ever been attributed to the benefactors of the human race. Not fighting for power or fortune, nor even glory, but for Liberty alone; the title of Liberator of the Republic has been their highest recompense, having, in forming an association of those gallant heroes, instituted the Order of Liberators of Venezuela.—*Legislators!* To you it belongs to confer Honours and Decorations, and it is your duty to exercise that act of National gratitude.

Men who have given up all the benefits and advantages they formerly enjoyed as a proof of their virtue and disinterestedness—men who have undergone every thing horrible in a most inhuman war, suffering the most painful privations and the cruellest anguish—men so deserving of their Country, merit the attention of Government; and I have therefore given directions to recompense them out of the National Property.

If I have acquired any portion of merit in the eyes of my Countrymen, I entreat you, Representatives, to vouchsafe my petition, as the reward of my feeble services, and let the Congress order a distribution of the National Property, conformable to the ordonance I passed in the name of the Republic, in favour of the Military sons of Venezuela.

After our having in a succession of victories destroyed the Spanish armies, the Court of Madrid in despair, vainly endeavoured to take by surprise the feelings of those magnanimous Sovereigns, who had just extirpated usurpation and tyranny in Europe, and who ought

to protect the legitimacy and justice of the cause of America. Spain unable to reduce us to submission by dint of arms, had recourse to her insiduous policy, and tried every perfidious art. Ferdinand humbled himself so far as to confess, that without the assistance of foreign aid, he could not force us back under his ignominious yoke; a yoke which no mortal power can oblige us to submit to. Venezuela convinced that she is in possession of sufficient strength to repel her oppressors, has declared through the organ of Government, her fixed and final determination to fight to annihilation in defence of her political life, not only against Spain, but even against the universe, should the universe be so degraded as to assume the party of a destructive Government, whose only objects are an exterminating sword, and the shrieks of the Inquisition—a Government that desires not fertile regions, but deserts—not cities, but ruins—not subjects, but sepulchres. The declaration of the Republic of Venezuela is the most glorious, the most heroic, and the most dignified act of a free People; and it is with peculiar satisfaction, I have the honour of laying it before Congress, sanctioned as it is by the unanimous approbation of the free People of the Land.

Since the second epoch of the Republic, our Armies wanted the necessaries of war; they were constantly void of arms and ammunition, and were at all times badly equipped; but at present the brave Defenders of Independence are not only armed with justice, but with power, and our troops may rank with the choicest in Europe, now that they possess equal means of destruction.

For these important advantages, we are indebted to the unbounded liberality of some generous Foreigners, who, hearing the groans of suffering humanity, and seeing the cause of Freedom, Reason, and Justice, ready to sink, could not remain quiet but flew to our succour with their munificent aid and protection, and furnished the Republic with every thing needful to cause their philanthropical principles triumph. Those friends of mankind are the Guardian Geniuses of America, and to them we owe a debt of eternal gratitude, as well as a religious fulfilment of the several obligations contracted with them. The National Debt, Legislators, is the deposit of the good faith, the honour, and the gratitude of Venezuela: respect it as the holy ark which encloses not only the rights of our benefactors, but the glory of our fidelity. Let us perish rather than fail, in any the smallest point, in the completion of those engagements, which have been the salvation of our Country, and of the lives of her Sons.

The union of New-Granada and Venezuela in one great State, has uniformly been the ardent wish of the People and Governments of these Republics. The fortune of war has effected this junction so much desired by every American, and in fact we are incorporated. These Sister-Nations have entrusted to you their interests, rights and destinies. In contemplating the union of this immense district, my mind rises with delight to the stupendous height necessary for viewing properly so wonderful a picture.

Flying from present and approaching times, my imagination plunges into future ages in which I observe with admiration and amazement, the prosperity, the splendour, and the animation, which this vast region will have acquired;—my ideas are wafted on, and I see my beloved native Land in the center of the universe expanding herself on her extensive coasts between those Oceans, which nature has separated, and which our Country will have united with large and capacious canals. I see her the bond, the center, and the emporium of the human race; I see her transmitting to earth's remotest bounds, those Treasures contained in her mountains of Gold and Silver; I see her distributing by her salutiferous plants, health and life to the afflicted of the old world; I see her imparting to the sages of other regions her inestimable secrets, ignorant until then, how much her height of knowledge transcends her excessive wealth:—Yes! I see her seated on the Throne of Freedom, wielding the sceptre of justice, and crowned with glory, shew the old world the majesty of the new.

Legislators!—Condescend to receive with indulgence the declaration of my political Creed; the highest wishes of my heart and earnest petition, which in the name of the People I have dared to address you.

Vouchsafe to grant to Venezuela a Government purely popular, purely just, and purely moral, which will enchain oppression, anarchy, and crime. A Government which will cause innocency, philanthropy, and peace to reign. A Government which, under the dominion of inexorable Laws, will cause Equality and Liberty triumph.

Gentlemen!

Gentlemen!—Commence your duties, I have finished mine.

The Congress of the Republic of Venezuela is installed; in it from this moment is centered the National Sovereignty—we all owe to it obedience and fidelity—my sword, and those of my illustrious Fellows-in-arms will maintain its August Authority.

God save the Congress!

(Memorandum of a previous correspondence)

To Doctors Peroio and Pallacios, members of the general Congress of Venezuela.

Sirs- when I spoke to you last evening, expressing my wishes that the honorable congress should review the claims made for restitution in the cases of the American schooners Tiger and Liberty, I was moved to it by a sense of justice to individuals, and desire of a good understanding between our governments.

Referring to the correspondence which is unnecessarily prolix, and separating all extraneous matter from it, you will find, that admiral Brion captured two American schooners, one ascending the other descending the Oronoco; or, to speak more accurately, made use of them for that purpose, and thought of making prize of them afterwards: that his crews being in want of provisions, the cargo of the Liberty was immediately taken out, and appropriated to their use,- the officers being ejected from on board, both were armed and converted into seamen to strengthen him (admiral Brion) in his position between Point La Brion and the opposite island. That the subsequent, or as I have called it, posthumous trial in the admiralty-court (I mean the admiral's court) in Angostura, cannot be regarded as an impartial proceeding, according to the Law of nations, for the reason I have stated. Before judgment or process the Liberty was advertised for public sale. Before judicial enquiry to ascertain the question of prize or no prize, the vessels and cargoes were already consented to the use of the captors or captors, as they promised they would do. (See answer letter A.)

But waiving all this, you will find, that the pretence of blockade is untenable.- As none was established, the admiral, (if he calculated on the trading Guayana &c. de facto) was bound to give notice to the Liberty and order her down. The crew put on board, were conducting her to the admiral, not out of the river.- The cargo was really the property of Mellie & Leany, both very worthy men, but the former particularly a distinguished benefactor of Venezuela, for which he exhausted not only a good of his money, but expended much of his blood. It is my former opinion that Pallacios representations at Washington occasioned the supercargo to come into the river, in hope of encountering a profitable market- he being + on his way to Angostura.

as liberty by his instructions to seek a market between Para and Cura
To speake of a paper blockade as effective, when it was not enforced
above six months, especially to persons who understand the acknowledge
law, would be ridiculous. In fact this has no bearing on the question as
we shall see. There can be no blockade without notice and competent
force. Nothing remained the former, the Liberty could forfeit nothing
the petty articles, said to be destined to Angostura, individual adventure
belonging to persons on board were the by things paid for by the adm
ral's representative. So that they cannot and ought not to pre
judice the bona fide property of Leathe and Leamy. As these gent
men had just commenced business, after many adventures, sufferings
losses on the part of the former the capture of this schooner prob, an ch
attaneau the vice-consul informed me by letter, "the actual cause of the
ruin of the house"
Intercourse having been constantly kept up by open boats &c. be
tween Angostura and Trinidad, forbids the idea of a blockade which
know requires a competent squadron to stationed as to render en trans
hazardous, or a battery on land in such position as to answer
same end with regard to the particular port.
The case of the Tiger, absolutely admits of no disputation. She w
dispatched by the Lamson, the agent of Messrs. Peabody & Tucker of Sa
who had a commercial house in Angostura, and were endeav
to wind up their accounts. She had received a cargo of produce in p
ment of some debt. Had there been a blockade, such as th
of nations contemplates, and Angostura been reduced, neutral pr
must have been respected as sacred. No part of the law of nation
more indisputable than this. How then could the Tiger in ever h
be to capture where there was no blockade?
"Although, as I have said in my letter of September 10, to genera
Bolivar, the amount claimed is comparatively inconsiderable, it
be of great consequence to the claimants. The principle which appe
to have been violated by the admiral and the court involve the m
important considerations, the chief cause of complaint and remonstran
I would recommend to your perusal the whole of that letter, a
as if the previous ones of July 25 and Sept. 6.
The blockade determined on at Barcelona I once suppose
intended to be executed, and to expected myself July 27. but more recen

positive information, grounded on the private explanation of admiral
to Messrs Benedicte &c. of St Thomas, proves that he viewed it only as a
ruse de guerre, to barrass the enemy, - while (as he said) his friends
understood the object, or ought to know it.

I have equal authority for concluding that the admiral would
have acted differently in the cases which form the unpleasant
subject of remonstrance and reclamation, had not adverse circumstan-
ces in some of his maritime adventures and the temptation of a singu-
lar kind of monopoly or privilege placing floating property &c. at his
disposal, - but not swayed him by calculations of private and per-
sonal interest. With this however I have no business. State transa
with state.

On entering the most clear and conclusive, I naturally urged
reparation with earnestness and zeal, but always with a view to pro
mote justice and public harmony. I repeat now, from the note of
July 27, enclosing my first letter, & I rejoice that this is the only
source of momentary disputation between the two governments,
at once the first and (as I hope) the last."

As the person who conducted those vessels in form, long after they
were incorporated with admiral Brion's squadron, was interested in pal
ating his conduct, I can very easily comprehend the source of some ma-
lignant insinuations made, and evidence adduced against the claims. - Not knowing
how proper to rely on those, I hope the general congress will not hesitate
over in their concern. - Since we have beheld (to cite some expres
sion from my first letter) a war of edicts from 1793 till 1811, unte
most precious of maritime rights, let it be the glory of republics to
reinstate the broken tablets of public law, rebuild the temple of
Justice, weigh reparation in her impartial scales, and let us examples which
men (now) must admire if they cannot imitate."

Wishing freedom and prosperity to your country, and all possible
felicity to yourselves, I remain, gentlemen, most respectfully

Your devoted friend & servt. P. Irvine. -

Angostura, February 24, 1819.

P. S. - By copies of invoices heretofore sent, you will perceive, that the whole
sum claimed for Lopez, in case of the Tiger is 23,719 dollars; in that of the Liberty
one dollar viz. 12000 for the value, capital &c. and 4000 for the schooner, which
is stated in the first condition. - Relative to vessels, ownership and date, you
will be fully informed in the first letter of July 26.

Anxious to avoid encroachment on your valuable time, I fear I have partially sacrificed perspicuity to brevity. - Dum brevis esse laboro obscurus fio.

(A.)

On board the admiral's ship in the Bronwegrin
2d of July, 1817.

Sir,

This will be handed you by an officer of the independent squadron under my cognizance consisting of thirty sail. This officer has strict orders to observe the good order to be observed on board your vessels and I assure you, that no American property shall be touched, provided no resistance is made. I am sir, yours &c.

L. Brion, adm'l &c.

To the commander of the American schooner up the river Bronwego.

Remarks on the above &c.

This civil note, directed to the master of the Piper shows, that admiral Brion did not imagine (as he had not any right to capture neutral property. - & little right had he to detain the Liberty, whose freighters (Leslie & Leary) had previously furnished, as I am credibly informed, the cargo of provisions delivered by Pellow. All circumstances prove, that he had no intention then of converting them into prizes; nor did he adopt this last resort, until it was found more convenient to procure condemnation than to make compensation. This is briefly the whole truth; and I hope the impartial of Venezuela will not permit such deeds of contention to stain up in their soils, or to produce either private pique or public discord. - I speak now as an individual.

B. S.

Angostura 27th February 1819.

Rec'd 10th 3.

Angostura Feby. 20th 1819.

Sir,

I am on the point of embarking in a schooner for Trinidad, and whilst she is preparing for sail I minute down a sketch of military and political affairs in Venezuela.

Dispatches of the 15th inst. were received last night from General Paez who was in full pursuit of Morillo. This Officer had risked every thing in ordering the Apure & Arauca in hopes of bringing the patriot army to a general action. At first was Paez policy to avoid a pitched battle and to await reinforcements, and had special orders to do so, he contenting himself with harrassing the enemy by a guerilla warfare - annoying his foraging parties and depriving him of all supplies. - In consequence, Morillo was compelled to recross the Arauca, and was retreating towards the cultivated country from which he so lately and ravenously advanced. He had not a head of cattle, and an active foe hanging on his rear molesting him at every step. Morillo had circulated a boasting proclamation among the Llaneros, who could not read it. Paez commands in it sentence by sentence; but the retrograde marches his antagonist is the strongest confutation.

Should Paez not destroy the Spanish force, though it is probable he will, the expedition of English troops and Hanoverians, from Margarita, must complete their discomfiture and expulsion. Besides this, reinforcements to the number of 5.000 men, and several vessels of war, are expected from England, whose cabinet takes a decided part whatever they may pretend for the independence of this you have doubtless received many proofs. Whilst Mac Gregor, Elsom, English &c. were rivalling each other in raising troops for New Grenada and Venezuela, their printed advertisements were posted up in every part of London, and almost every part of England

the former offering a bounty of 20 dolls. to each soldier on his arrival in Nova Granada, came to pay in a little time after many of his rank & files were brought here by the officers. Col. English has a rendezvous or receiving house 3 doors from the public office in Downing street. Publicity in this country, no doubt to keep a check upon Government. If Ferdinand VII resists their wishes, I shall not wonder if the English secretly assist to dethrone him and reinstate his father in the government.

The Congress are about discussing General Bolivar's project of a constitution: I hope they will not adopt it entirely. Several members obstinately oppose it. But whatever be the result any independent government must pave the way for improvement. This is the utmost that can be expected at present. The habits of slavery are not to be cast aside in an instant. General B. ventures a copy of his project, and confines at the same time, his Discourse, for perusal; which with his fondness for conversing on the subject, prove how highly he estimates these performances. — As he brought the topic on the carpet, I enquired how he hoped to apply the principle of responsibility to a senatorial body so powerful, and hereditary; saying, that without that saving ingredient, that Conservative spirit in the composition of his senate, it must degenerate into corruption and tyranny: that mere stability, I considered as no advantage. Perfect things, ought to be permanent; imperfect ones ought to be alterable, because every change might be an amendment. — I gave some instances to explain my meaning. He answered with great fluency and at great length. He thought the first object would be secured by the right of accusation &c. lodged in the house of representatives &c. and spoke of the necessity of finding some substitute, some moral anchor (his words) to supply the deficiency

declining influence of revealed religion, which has lim
in having lost its efficacy. And that is on the plea that
will be perfect in Veracruz, and perhaps, every nation where the veil
of superstition becoming a little tattered, men run to the
contrary extreme, and imagine that all systems of revealed
religion are human contrivances to enforce respect for a
particular moral or political-moral code.

I did not become one to enter into warm controversy,
so I avoided making a rejoinder declining for the same
reason to show, for many very early that government exerts more
influence on society than society on government, for he has
asserted that it depended on the character and disposition
of a people, not on institutions, whether they became slaves
or not, omitting also to show that an hereditary senate
would soon require and create a permanent executive
head — a king. He trusts more to education, a free
press and melioration of manners, than to any institution.

I have conversed with some members of congress on the
subject of the claims, and left them a summary of
the facts respecting the capture (and confiscation of the
schooners. I am in hopes, they will admit the demand, but
when they shall be in a condition to make restitution, I am
not divine. Admiral Brion, who is accordingly full of spirits
of admiralty, of which he talks as much as a king does of prero-
gative, may perhaps be doomed to refund the amount. That
however does not interest the parties. The claimants want payment, not
caring particularly whence it comes.

General Bolivar and his staff sailed yesterday for
the Apure; General Urdaneta, of Vera Cruz fame. having
sailed for Margarita the day before, in a schooner with
60 or 70 English sailors and 2 or 3 officers, who will contribute

† Recently appointed adjutant-General of the force.

to man the boats before any other vessels destined to cover the debarkation at _____.

General B. you will see, and I forgot to remark it in its proper place, appears to persevere contrary to my expectation in promoting the general emancipation of the blacks whether he be consistent with himself or to acquire popularity and an army for ulterior objects, I can only conjecture. Perhaps he intends that the troops shall bear the burden of continuing them in their present condition in the territories possessed by the enemy - It is fortunate that they are not very numerous. I wish the United States had but 50 or 60 thousand Negroes!

Port of Spain (Trinidad) March 12, 18

I arrived here to-day, having read on the passage among other trifles a pamphlet written in London, by Mr Estrada, a proscribed Spanish patriot, and addressed to Ferdinand VII. under the title of a Representation or remonstrance. This intelligent writer, though not a friend to pure democratic principles, is an enemy to legitimacy - if absolute monarchy be implied by the term. He argues plausibly England to interfere in the South American contest by showing that North-America is not indifferent to the struggle that she will endeavor to give a turn to the revolution favorable republican government, and will marshal the whole continent against the system of things, and that from her extent, growing population & resources, America must in that event controul Europe. The English ministry have not overlooked this eloquent essay. Canning therefore in addition to her commercial calculations, will exert herself to detach South from North-America by creating different institutions, and raising a spirit in the one hostile to that free form and maxims practised in the other. Our policy, I trust will thwart those attempts, to bar us duly and liberality

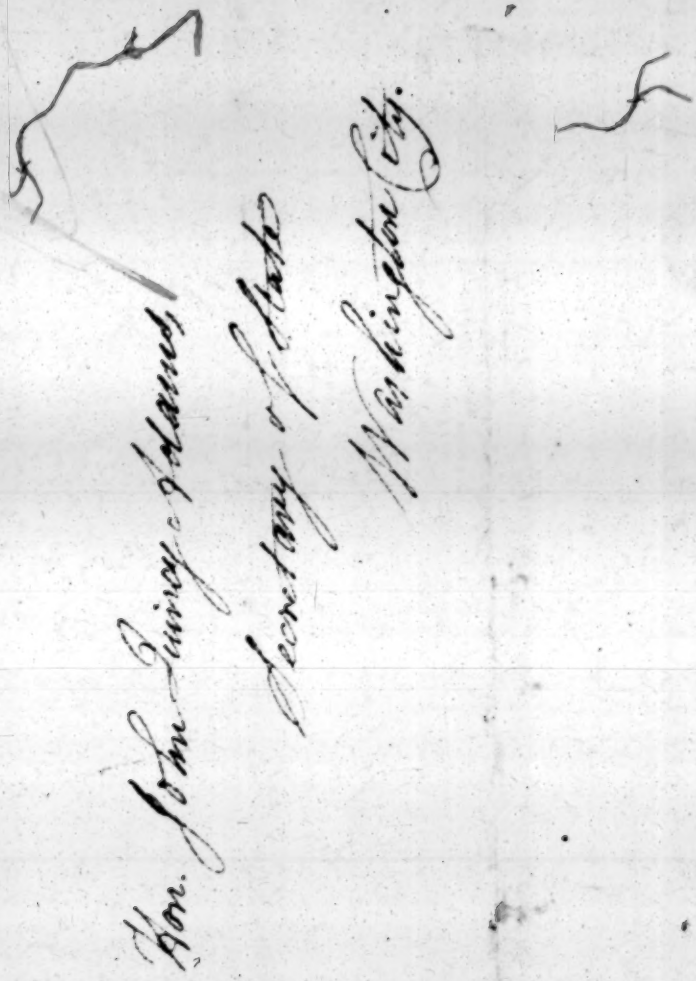
give, viz. to support the respectable body in the South, who are jealously & sincerely contending for a practicable freedom. — This ballance will increase from day to day, if a good foundation be laid. I know that they wish to march with us — and hope we shall not be backward to open our ranks and receive them with hearty cheer. With the holy alliance of Europe we cannot contract friendship or sympathy — With the new governments of S. America we may have both. — We have a great and ultimate interest in preventing monarchies from growing up in our neighborhood, if we can crush them in the shell. — Monarchies and aristocracies must look for fellowship in Europe. Republics of the best kind must look beyond the Athlantic not over seas for instruction, example, sympathy and support. But I, a private & obscure citizen, need not enlarge on such a subject to a public administrator, who takes an expansive "view of the whole ground."

The generality of English and foreign residents in this flourishing town, are warmly devoted to the patriot cause in despite of an arbitrary governor and I am gratified to the heart at hearing them express their hopes of reform in England and utter praises on the pattern offered to the world by the United States. Until now I was not aware that such a spirit existed. Of this and other topics, I anticipate the pleasure shall have in conversing about them at length one day.

Mr Littlepage, an American settled in business here, informs me that 10,000 men can (and will be obtained from England, if the Venezolanians need so many. That 200,000 dollars can be raised on loan to be in London for the same cause.

Irvine Baptis – Angostura 28 Feb. 1819.

Rec? 3 April.



rec'd May 24.

Port-of-Spain (Trinidad) 27 March 1819.

Sir,

I had luckily made the enclosed abstract of Bolivar's project of a constitution for my own amusement solely, but I shall for I have seen no other, it may amuse you. I did not suppose it worth the while to trouble you with a translation of the entire project, whilst we are uncertain what is to be retained or disapproved. You can draw your pen through the comments, or through all. — A letter from Angostura written by a member of the congress, intimates that the project would be adopted with the exception of two provisions which he did not point out.

D——r. no doubt prefers the chance of English favor, friendship, and alliance to that of any other. it is not the same with the people. the majority look towards the United States. a republic would alienate them irrecoverably, and I should dread the preponderance of English influence and the aggrandizement of English power in that quarter. this is the chief concern I entertain, but our government have doubtless watched every thing, and taken provident measures. the form the forms of government in South-America the latter be what they may, friendly relations are necessary, if practicable, between them and us. the ascendancy of England is already dangerous. what would it be, if the weight of Spanish America were thrown into the scale with India and English acquisitions every where! this is the solicitude of your best friends in this part of the world — and even here are some warm ones — of whom I may speak here after, but not write.

Intelligence is repeated of an expedition from Chile to Payan. I know not exactly what credit to give it. D. Salazar

think it probable, and intends returning to his country one day.
Letters from Caracas received in Angostura represented that
General Morales under Last 3000 men, that 2000 royalists
had marched from Santa Fe to attack him, Ladecoeur
marched on receipt of tidings from Coro, for somewhere quarter
that the Spaniards had been defeated.

Of subsequents you will have heard later intelligence
before this reaches you, than I can detail. It is believed, that the
expedition from Margarita will succeed.

At latest dates, Morillo held a post on the left bank
of the Orinoco, and San Fernando on the Apure. Another
division was posted on the opposite side of the same river,
and the third at Calabozo. However, it is not probable
that he would leave his forces thus divided and exposed.

A letter from one of my acquaintance in Angostura,
tells me that there appears a good deal of honest intention
in the congress, who are learning something from day to
day. We shall judge of the tree by the fruit.

Disappointed for ten days past in obtaining a passage
to Martinique where I wish to touch for a confidential,
I have detained this note for the first opportunity.

Retaliation of Brunswick against Bourbon has stopped the
frequent trade; and the cautious smugglers commence on both
sides make it a rule to take no passengers that they may not have
witnesses. To-morrow or next day I hope to meet a conveyance.

Excuse the liberty I have taken as a private citizen, and
consider me very respectfully your obed. servant,

&c. &c. &c.

Hon. John Quincy Adams,
Secy. of State.

[Last night (March 30) arrived off this harbor, col. English with two of his ships (very fine armed transports) with which he anchored, expecting the arrival of another ship and brig, that had sailed in company - before he proceeds to Margarita. He has 600 troops or upwards on board, besides the arms and clothing &c. His whole expedition, he says, amounts to 1600. Col English opened the Letter page, that the Duke of Sussex had obtained from one of the ministers, the secretary of foreign affairs, I presume) a letter directed to British functionaries civil & military, desiring them not to molest or interrupt in any respect any of the expeditions fitted or fitting out in England for South America. This was to be confidentially used in case of need - and, I suppose, if was the clandestine form of it that induced Sir Ralph N. Woodford, the governor, to give a written permission (directed to the harbor master and chief of police) to "Mr English, his wife and female servt to land and remain on shore, 24 hours;" - taking care to insert in the same permit (by way of parenthesis) - destined to the aid of the people in revolt &c. in contravention of his Majesty's proclamation of November 27th 1817." Col. E. was probably signed at Trin, - as he has not yet landed - and Woodford perhaps introduced the passage more particularly as a justification of his past conduct, which has been marked by decided partiality to the Spanish royalists.

Dr Salazar informs me that the news is accepted of a successful movement in favor of the patriots having taken

place viz Popayan. - If the intelligence is to be re
on, an expedition by sea had been formed in Chile, which h
probably succeeded. If this be so, the principal provinces
of New-Granada or Peru can receive no succour in sne
nor remittances in money, from Panama, or from Mexico
Panamá. - You will doubtless have received later intelligen
on this head than I possess*

A letter from Dr. Pallacios to his friend here
apears him that gen. Bermudez had collected 1400 men
and near Maturin (in Cumana) to cooperate with the Ma
garita forces &c. He lauds the conduct of "the incomp
Paez", who is regarded as the hero of the day.

Yours, as heretofore &c.

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* It is not unlikely that Lord Cochrane went to form such
purpose, and execute it, in the hope of receiving ultimate
from gen. Mac Gregor, on penetrating into the interior.
a project was hinted at in the London papers. - From
same quarter, they may hereafter invade Mexico.

Some features of the projected constitutions
of these definitions introduce a chapter on
the rights & duties of men and citizens.

Title 2. provides that the republic of Venezuela
be one and indivisible, the provinces retaining
their present boundaries. Barcelona, Barinas, Caracas,
Cora, Cumana, Guayana, Maracaybo, Margarita, & Truxillo, & compose the bolivarian Confederation.

Title 3. relates to citizens active and passive, the former enjoying the right of suffrage, the latter the right of protection. also provides for naturalization &c.

Title 4. Prescribes the objects of the parochial assemblies (Sect. 1) every four years, when they are to chuse 1 an elector for every 500 souls &c. 2. municipal members; 3. a departmental judge &c. & appoint the justices of the peace (and jurors for the parish.

The electoral assemblies meet quadrennially on the 15th of Nov.r to elect the representatives or representatives of the departments according to the ratio — to examine election returns and declare the results, form a list of 24 jurors for each parish, according to the majority of suffrages &c. &c. &c.

Title 5. of the sovereignty and its exercise declares that the supreme power resides in the totality or body of the citizens; that it is imprescriptible and inalienable.

Title 6. treats of the legislative power, to be exercised by the General Congress: Congress to be divided into two chambers, a house of representatives and a senate. to be convoked biennially, and opened sessions by the 15th of January — hold ordinarily a session of 30 days — the Congress having power in other

in Mr Jones's letter of 27. Mar. 1819.

to be sought and conquered, and as visit of Bolivar, who retired. It would exclude many others whose public services and calamities, not of their begetting, obliged to take refuge in the islands or be an asylum in North America or England. This manifests a particular view, one might imagine, in the composition of the senate. But the grand objection is to a permanent senate, always liable to become corrupt, and their corruption incurable. — Witness the Venetian senate and the British House of Lords, as well as privileged orders in all ages and nations.

The senate to possess a judicial character in certain cases relating to public agents, members of congress and others, according to the provisions of the constitution — to receive returns of election for president and vice-president of the Republic, and also the Houses of Representatives to ascertain the votes.

Title 4 defines the executive power. — The president of the Republic is eligible for four years, by the electoral assemblies who choose the representatives. He must be a citizen of Venezuela by birth, and have resided in its territory the last ten years immediately preceding his election, unless his absence may have been in the commission or service of the republic. Until the year 1825 it will suffice to have undertaken the campaign of 1817 and have continued his services, absent or present, till the day of election. —

3

The President is commander in chief of the forces by sea and land — nominates all agents or functionaries who may not be reserved for the people, congress or other authority — declares war in the name of the republic after the congress has decreed it (and takes all preparatory measures — concludes treaties with foreign powers — sends and receives ambassadors, plenipotentiaries, diplomatic agents and ministers of all grades — assists (he present) at debates or discussions of either house when he thinks proper, always presiding in them; but in such cases the chambers are not to deliberate while he is present. — In cases of notorious injustice he may reject the sentence of the judicial authority, — and if the same persist in its decision, he may suspend its execution until the determination of the senate be known, which determination shall be conclusive — He shall annually communicate to congress any information political or military, financial or economical on the state of the republic and suggest improvements or reform in any branch, without presenting the formal project of a law. Shall give either House particular information when called for, reserving what may be improper for publication, but not misrepresenting for sake of concealment — and shall punctually attend to the execution of the laws &c. &c.

the persons of the President shall be inviolable, can not be sued, tried, detained or arrested during his term of office, except by virtue of a decree of the senate setting forth the cause to the House of Representatives.

The House may impeach him for treason or conspiracy against the constitution and the state.

Art. 5. The senatorial dignity being a recompense due to merit, and to services rendered the republic, the constitution appoints presidents senators when at the conclusion of their functions, though by resignation they may not have been accused of misconduct, or who having undergone impeachment and trial, have been acquitted by the senate.

Chapter or Title 8 prescribes the formation and jurisdiction of the supreme judiciary authority, which is to be vested in a High Court of Justice. This is to be divided into the court of Appeals and Courts of Cassation. the former to — The former decides on appeals, according to the laws, from the principal courts in the states and has original jurisdiction in certain cases enumerated.

The judges are nominated by the president, who sends a list of three the number to the House, this body reduces it one-third, and remits it to the senate for [illegible] for election or [illegible]
+ to open this spacious door, which admits more senators than representatives +

Title 9.

This chapter describes the Moral power of the republic, to be composed of a president & forty members, who, under the title of an Areopagus, are to exercise a plenary and independent authority over public manners or customs and over primary education.

It is constituted into two chambers:

the 1st of Morals & 2d. of Education.

Congress in the first instance appoint the Areopagus by a plurality of votes, electing them from among fathers of families, who may have been distinguished by the education of their sons, and above all for the exercise of public virtues. Once constituted, the Areopagus itself supplies all vacancies that may happen.

The president of the Areopagus to be chosen by the senate from two lists, one presented by the House of Representatives, the other by the president of the republic.

The age of 35 years complete is indispensable to ~~a member of the~~ an Areopagite, besides the possession of public virtues.

The members of the Areopagus shall be styled Patres Patrice, Fathers of their Country, and those who shall have served 25 years as Areopagites shall be hailed with the title of Padre Benemerito de la Patria. Meritorious Father of his Country, he treated by all tribunals &c. &c. with

8
judicial respectable. The Areopagites to be invested with extraordinary ceremony, and congress are to regulate by a special act the honors to be paid them their costume and the precedency they are to have in assemblies and on public occasions.

A member of the Areopagus can only be dismissed or degraded by that same body.

The Areopagites when chosen are to apply to congress for the requisite sums to defray their annual expenses, for which they are to make their agents strictly account.

They may distribute prizes or civic crowns every year among citizens most conspicuous for eminent traits of virtue and patriotism, and deprive of those same rewards the persons who by a forfeiture of them become unworthy to bear them.

They are to declare who are heroes, as eminent virtuous, heroical, or illustrious, those who are worthy of such honor. And without this declaration from the Areopagus congress cannot decree nor erect statue or other monument to the memory of any name.

They can proclaim virtuous actions with applause, establish meetings; and publish with ignominy and reproach the vicious, their deeds of corruption and indecency; and point out for public veneration the founders and institutions that have made the greatest progress in their colleges. The Senate Chamber of eloquence direct the moral opinion of the republic at large, chastises vices with shame and infamy, and cherishes

public virtues by honor and glory. The press is the organ of their decisions.

Their authority is independent and absolute. no appeal from their decision but to eternity and to posterity. ——— Their jurisdiction extends not only to individuals, but to families, departments, provinces, corporations, tribunals, to all authorities, and even to the republic itself. When this degenerate, it ought to be denounced to the world. The very government is subject to its censure in cases of delinquency, violation of faith or corruption &c. ——— And moral and political works, periodical papers and all writings whatever, are liable (but only after publication) to the inspection and censure of the three passes. [All their powers and attributes are circumstantially detailed in thirteen articles. The chamber is to organize as moral police, and nominate as many censors as convenient. — In a recompense for his zeal and labors, a very worthy censor is to be styled a Cato &c. — Women as well as men are subject to the jurisdiction of this Chamber, and receive censures or acclamations as they merit it.]

The Board of Directors of Education are charged with the education of youth morally & physically from their birth till twelve years old. The co-operation of mothers being indispensably necessary, and best adapted to mould the first ideas into true

der minds, the Board of Education to compile abridge carefully and publish throughout the republic brief and simple rudiments of instruction adapted to the comprehension of all mothers of families

they are also to publish in the language of the country the best foreign works on the subject, with observations and corrections, as they shall judge proper

They are to spare no expense or sacrifice to obtain the necessary information, and shall commission for that purpose, zealous, enlightened, unprejudiced men, who shall travel the world over seeking and treasuring up all kinds of knowledge pertinent to this subject.

In superintending the primary schools for girls as well as boys, reading, writing, arithmetic and the usual rules of grammar, shall be diligently taught, the pupils to be instructed in the rights and duties of men and citizens, to be inspired with ideas and sentiments of honor and probity, love of country and its laws, industry, respect to parents, to the aged, and magistrates, and besides attachment to the government.

This Chamber shall determine the number of colleges to be established, their situation, &c. in each parish, province or department, and appoint the instructor whose wife shall be the instructress of the girls but under the direction of her husband. The Chamber are to form rules, and regulations, and general police of these establishments, and direct the course of study according to the

genius, disposition, class and fortune of the individual
to specifying the education proper to the youth
respectively, from their childhood they may
acquire useful and precise ideas, fundamental notions most suitable to their condition and fortune, sentiments noble and
moral, principles of sociability and patriotism &c.

The office of instructor shall be said to be held in high estimation, and teachers shall be honored, respected, loved, as the first and most precious citizens of the republic.

In literary matters the Chamber is to be the director of public opinion until the formation of a philosophical Institution. They are to criticise and analyze works published on every subject, giving an opinion on their merit in the Moniteur of the 4 newspapers.

Title 10. Organization of Interior, or administration of the Provinces.

In the capital of each province there shall be a governor immediately subject to the President of the republic, he is to preside in the tribunal of first appeal of the province; preside in the municipalities and exercise the high police throughout; watch over the fulfilment of the laws; appoint the prefects of de-

partments, and superintend the administration of revenue. A governor must possess the same qualifications as a representative, is to be appointed for three years, at the expiration of which he may be named for another province. None can serve above six years, until after an interval of three years.

§2, 3 relate to the departments and the judiciary institutions.

The laws are to determine the forms of proceedings, but cannot prohibit citizens from settling suits and grievances by arbitration, nor from investigating and ascertaining facts in criminal cases by the judgment of jurors.

Title 11. Revision of the Constitution.

Every ten years the House of Representatives may propose amendments of any article or part of the constitution, on the agreement of two thirds of the entire number of representatives. The like sanction on the part of the senate is also requisite. Then the proposition is to be discussed as another law. But during the ten years congress may interpret provisionally all articles of which there can be any doubt.

Title 12. General Provisions.

The oaths of office &c are prescribed in the first articles for the various functionaries and

99 military officers.

No citizen can be arrested but in virtue of a warrant from a judge or other person authorised by Law. which order must express the grounds of imprisonment a copy of it must be furnished to the prisoner.

(Other provision follow favorable to justice and humanity.)

None are subject to arbitrary detention except those who arrest or cause others to be arrested illegally, or who abuse a legal power of arrestation.

Relatives cannot be debarred from visiting their friends in prison, except for three first days in certain cases. Nor can a citizen be obliged to give testimony against himself, his parents, sons, brothers or kindred within the 4th degree of consanguinity, or the 2d degree of affinity.

Such some are the essential provisions of general Bolivar's project of a constitution to be united to the examination of Congress.

This instrument is written with excellence and perspicuity, and like the thoughts being happily expressed in that language which Charles V. thought worthy and capable of conveying ideas to the gods. The bill of rights

which we may extract from the 1st and last chapters, contains ~~two~~ liberal acknowledgmen[illegible] and just so ~~as~~ for rights of person and property.

Of representation in spirit and object, the author entertains extraordinary notions. Though the representative is to legislate for the nation, he does so, as the organ of a particular society who constitute him their agent. Does a county in Kentucky, or the Union at large, choose a representative for Boston? No! but Boston lends for agent and instructs him according to their will. What destroys responsibility is destructive of freedom. The disowns a constituent is ready to betray a nation.

The members of the Representative Chamber hold their seats too long. To counterbalance a permanent senate, if any counterpoise can be found, annual or biennial elections seem indispensable.

The senatorial dignity is to be conferred as a reward for eminent service? This is preposterous, because it deprives the people of the opportunity of honoring the worthy by frequent elections to places of trust - and because it may enable a senator to be ungrateful with impunity - for, it enables him to enslave his benefactors. Evils generated by permanent and hereditary bodies are permanent and hereditary too. Effects always corresponding to causes.

The moral branch of the Areopagus

would not, in my opinion, answer the end in view, but become a fountain of immorality itself, tainted with the vices of an Inquisition. Yet it's not strange that general Bolivar endeavored to find a remedy against the demoralizing tendency of religion, summary and despotic rule. — Industry, knowledge, freedom, and an unshackled press and public opinion, are a moral power of superior efficacy to the Chamber so called.

The other branch, or Board of Education, might, with a little alteration, be converted to an excellent purpose. A good education forms citizens to support the republic. Knowledge is the appropriate aliment of liberty. The present project savours too much of the Chinese, it contemplates classes in society. — It seems to prescribe an education for the plantadarins, and a discipline for the coolays, the porters, the lower orders. The effect of a wise government is to prevent monopoly of power or property or information, to assume a sufficient degree of moral equality for the maintenance of public freedom. — The fatal example of depraved senators would infect the manners of a people. — An aristocracy ...

could not annihilate nor ~~ever~~ neutralize the Patrician poison, and if they could, it were unprofitable labor to set up one order to create vice, and another to destroy it.

If the generals and chiefs of the republic deserve well of their country, let them rely on the discernment and gratitude of their fellow citizens. If they achieve public freedom, let them enjoy freedom but not privilege. - Perhaps the poor soldier who fought without pay, deserves more consideration and gratitude than the general who, by virtue of his rank and ~~employment~~ extracted the means of living from the community.

There are several commendable articles in this project, but, to render it conservative, or republican, of rational liberty, several nocious provisions must be rejected - which I sincerely hope may be the case.

General Bolivar deserves applause for his frankness. - The courts public investigation; ~~but~~ it would be unfair to criticise from detached parts an instrument of 76 pages. - When the whole appears, we may offer more particular comments.

It would be unjust to [illegible] lines 251-7 to omit the arguments & sentiments of those persons who were averse to the early measures of the revolution of Connecticut. They allege, that premature attempts to effect so much at the beginning, have a great cause of ruining so little in the end. God and reason mean [illegible] to establish constitutions and exact rights, and the experiment of this country proved that the people could not support them. A few intelligent minds could not enlighten gross ignorance all at once, nor eradicate servile habits. The liberties preached against privileges; but the presumptions would aspire to it and the mass submit to it. In short, said a principal actor in the revolution, we found that governments could not be propagated as trees or animals; that a good constitution would not suit a degenerate people, and perhaps a republican form could not last a week or a single day in Connecticut simple or stratified.

To these general observations they make some particular remarks, as the proposition to permit a toleration of all religions, which alarmed the orthodox and fanatical, and furnished a powerful weapon to the anti-

sect, who whatever they pretend to, hope neither to perish nor fanaticise themselves, but who took the occasion to practise on the simplicity of the pious, and make religion subservient to oppression.

It is objected to Miranda and others that they encouraged debate and publications, which inflamed the multitudes and drove them to anarchy whom the leaders wished to march only to liberty &c. &c.

Well; allowing the utmost latitude and weight to these allegations, we may be permitted to remark, that Theology now have little influence, and they did never have too little influence in political affairs; and freedom of worship is conceded by all concerned as a natural, unalienable right. The multitudes acquired a greater taste and consequence and it is proposed to elevate the negro slaves. The atrocious doctrines of former years have become antiquated. If the free mulattos were unprepared for independence, can the servile negro be capable instantly of freedom? If so, why deposit so much power, forever, in the hands of a hereditary senate? If not, why consider all in the same light, and look on me himself as a thing placed at a low immense and insurmountable distance? They who affirm that men cannot become

free often times wish that they may not. But, there is no such thing as perfection to be found in the leading articles of

that general conclusions can draw from a few peculiarities, and a permanent system is founded on temporary inability, mistake or inconsistency. We have seen the remarkable change effected by a few years of war and confusion, and what might not be produced in time of profound peace? Power conferred now certainly will be a perpetual barrier against amendments. We hope, that our South American brothers, when they attain to their rights from a Spanish yoke, will not blindly thrust them into a Papistical noose. We wish them to be free and indulge in the hope of seeing them adopt the proper means to become so. But, whatever errors they commit their destiny must be dearest to us.

I. L. Robbins is of opinion, that a republican form and title, are, under present circumstances, sufficient recommendations to the government and people of the United States. — A federal government, he observes, was never established in Venezuela. It was formed but met with opposition from the ignorance and prejudices of those leading men who could not conceive an American gentleman

would not understand it, nor be controlled by it. A central government, being more simple, will have better success than that which seemed complex and invidious or prescriptive.†

The contest between the federal government of New-Grenada, and the province of Cundinamarca, affords another excuse for avoiding that source of contention. — 'Tis a pity surely, that an fair or imperfect experiment tried under adverse circumstances, should be made to exercise a malignant influence in spite of more auspicious opportunities.

Rec'd in B. Ayres 17 March 1819.

† the ignorant ascribed the federal constitution to the leaders in Caracas, who, they alleged, sought to domineer over all the provinces of Venezuela. — the argument was more specious than true. — — — — —

Recd 2. June.

Baltimore, 1st of June, 1817.

Sir,

In consequence of calm and head-wind during my passage from St. Thomas, added to other unforeseen circumstances, I did not reach Philadelphia before the 29th ult.o

During my stay at St. Thomas's I received your communications of the 21st of December last, which had been returned from Margarita, - and accordingly, duplicates of the enclosed were forwarded to Dr. Palacios. General Bolivar is highly and deservedly esteemed by the more jealous patriots of Venezuela, who will never acquiesce in the condemnation of his motives, however violatory of the laws of nations his conduct with regard to the Amelia of Sedition may have been. He is, besides, the best artillery officer of the country and earned just laurels and applause by his gallant defence of San Mateo against a superior royal force under Boves, &c. &c. — To this view of his character I adapted the terms of the communication referred to. We owe justice to friends and foes.

The trivial notes that passed relative to the invitation to attend at the installation are not worth transmitting. I send them nevertheless, that all my conduct may come under your review. The answer to yr. B's. extravagantly complimental note was dictated by a desire of manifesting the deep importance I attached to the formation of a congress - a creating a new epoch. ——— By more recent information, derived from a gentleman, who arrived at Philadelphia on Saturday last from Angostura (which he left on the 29th of April) it appears highly probable that the body

will not disappoint the hopes of the republicans. It is pretty well ascertained, that they will reject Bolivar's proposition of a perpetual dictator: - and, with respect to religious toleration, the same person assures me, that for the purpose of encouraging it without formality, or without exciting alarm, the priests in the congress prudently suggest the propriety of passing silently over the subject. By this negative course, sectarian bigotry will be kept asleep 'till time dissolves her mysteries, and enables the human mind to escape from prejudice to reason. This measure, which I hope to see realized, - may secure the liberties of Venezuela, by its tendency to favor the influx of enlightened emigrants. - Judging by the latest verbal statements and newspaper publications, I must regard the prospect of Venezuela, political and military, as equally flattering.

In three or four days, I expect to have the honor of waiting on you - (and, after my return to this place, or to Philad.a (where I left my books and notes locked up in charge of my friend Rob.t) I shall instantly set about forming a concise abstract of such facts as I have learnt touching the concluding part of your instructions of 31st January 1818. - This, I trust, will serve to correct any inaccurate representations, or erroneous opinions, into which partial informants may have betrayed me, - as well as to persuade you that my time was not wholly spent in idleness or fruitless excursions.

I remain, sir, most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

B. Irvine

Hon. John Quincy Adams
Secretary of State.

Irvine, Baptis – Baltimore, 1 June 1879.

Rec'd 2 June.

(Translation.

in B. Irvine's of 1. June 1819.

Angostura, February 14, 1819.

Sir,

I have the honor to announce to you, that the General Congress of Venezuela will be installed to-morrow the 15th inst. at the Hall of the Palace in this capital. So august a ceremony would receive a greater degree of solemnity, if by designing to give a new proof of the interest you take in the felicity of Venezuela, you should assemble at half past ten A. M. to assist on that occasion.

I renew the testimony of respect and consideration with which I am your obedient, devoted servant,

Mr B. Irvine, Agent of the United States &c.

Bolivar.

(Copy of answer.)

Angostura, 14th February 1819.

Sir,

I have the honor to return your excellency my unfeigned thanks for another very polite proof of your attention just received in the invitation to attend at the grand ceremony of installing the Congress to-morrow in the Capitol. I cannot but felicitate yourself and your country on the auspicious event. I shall not lose the opportunity of increasing the number of spectators of the welcome spectacle, though lookers-on are of no consequence, except for the gratification or example received — where the actors furnish all the interest of the scene.

Since I must, for the present, return to my country, however reluctantly, without visiting Caracas on the way, it will partially console me for the privation, to be enabled to say: I was present at the installation of the Congress.

I avail myself of this occasion to inform your excellency that I hope to set out for the United States by the end of the present week; and if there be not a more direct channel of conveyance, will most cheerfully take charge of any documents or dispatches which this government may think proper to forward to its agents &c. in that quarter.

Anticipating and wishing complete success to the arms as well as Councils of Venezuela, I remain, with

Your excellency's very obedient servt

W. Irving.

His excellency Genl. Bolivar,
Supreme Chief &c.

m B. Irvines of
June 1819.

Angostura, Febrero 11th de 1819.

Sor Agente

Tengo el honor de anunciar á U.S. que
mañana 15. del Corriente se instalará el Congre-
so General de Venezuela en la Sala de
Palacio de esta Capital. Tan augusta función
recibirá un grado mas de solemnidad si quisiera
U.S. dar una nueva prueba de la parte q.e
toma V.S. la felicidad de Venezuela, concurrien-
do á las Diez y media de la mañana á pre-
senciar aquella Ceremonia.

Renuevo á U.S. el testimonio de respe-
to consideracion con q.e soy de U.S.

Sr. D. Irvine Agente
de los Estados Unidos del
Norte Cerca de Vene-
zuela.

Sr. Atento Servr
J. Lewis

Al Sor B. Irvine
&c &a &c

Presente

Dr B. Dawnes of 1. June 1819.

St Thomas, 22 April 1819.

Sir,

On my arrival here this morning, I found duplicate copies of a dispatch from the Secretary of State for the United States, dated the 21st of December last, and directed to meet Angostura. As this communication explains an incident which may be of some interest in the relations between our respective governments, it is to be regretted that I had not sooner received it; but I now hasten to perform my duty with the same spirit of friendship and respect for the government of Venezuela in which my instructions are conceived and expressed.

From the documents enclosed you will perceive that the President of the United States saw himself constrained by a sense of public duty, regardless of all considerations arising out of the personal worth of individuals, to refuse accredition to General Clemente as public agent from Venezuela to the United States However painful the task, it was necessary to perform it.

You are aware, sir, that general Clemente, in the quality of agent from Venezuela, although he had not then presented himself as such, had jointly with others, (within the limits of the United States) signed and issued a commission to a foreign officer, calculated to involve the nation in hostilities with foreign powers. This act, however, for the motives of some of the agents, was equally an abuse of hospitality and a violation of the law of nations. We cannot prohibit illegal expeditions for laudable ends; - we certainly cannot authorize them in the bosom of a neutral nation, where peace and security may be thereby endangered. No part of the law of nations is more indisputable than this. All writers are one and the same opinion about it. The United States, as

you may remember, acted on the same policy in 1793 when a French ambassador and French agents in an intemperate zeal for the cause of France and of freedom endeavored to promote its success at the expence of our neutrality. Now, as more recently, it became necessary for our government steadily to pursue the path of neutrality, and shun the turbulent vortex of European broils and coalitions.

"You will" says Mr. Secretary Adams "communicate this information (and these documents) in a friendly and conciliatory manner, to the government of Venezuela, with the assurance that the refusal to receive communications from Mr. Lowrie arose exclusively from his personal misconduct in those transactions which have been explicitly disavowed to you by general Bolivar. Similar objections, of course, apply only to those who have behaved in a similar manner, by no means to any person who conducted himself conformably to our laws, which it is the president's duty to see faithfully executed.

I pray you, sir, to communicate this intelligence to the president of the republic— or, during his absence, to the acting government and constituent congress of Venezuela. I cannot doubt their readiness to receive the explanation here given; and I cannot but hope that the little misunderstandings which have unfortunately overcast the clarion of our intercourse will be dissipated like morning mist from the mountain's top, and exhibit, under the existing dawn of our destinies, reciprocal relations of friendship.

In transmitting these letters from Lowrie to Hamilton, and the latter, the printed documents have been lost; but, the notoriety of the fact alleged renders it unnecessary, and at present useless, either to collect or to lose time in substantiating it.

this durable as the mountain's base.— Adherence to the eternal principles of justice is at once the best of national greatness and the surest guaranty of public tranquillity. Neither your government, I am persuaded, can ever be indifferent to these sacred principles.

I eagerly seize this fleeting occasion to renew to yourself the homage of my sincere personal regard, and am, with the utmost respect,

Your devoted humble servant,

B. Irvine.

Hon. Dr. M. Palacios,
Minister of State &c. &c.
of Venezuela.

N.B.— In the absence of Gl. Briceño with General Bolivar, I have concluded to make you the organ of this communication. Should there be any informality in the case, you will have the kindness to overlook it, and forward this letter to the proper department.— I am as yet ignorant of the new organization — if there be any. ——— In the same way, I hope that the Congress of Venezuela will waive further form and those further litigation, by reviewing the claims of which I have already addressed yourself and Dr. Roscio.

Yours as above, B. I.

South American Intelligence

The following abstract of information, very lately received verbally and by letter from persons of the highest respectability in Angostura and the West India Islands, is entitled to implicit credit. It is furnished solely for the gratification of persons interested in the cause of South American independence, more especially in that of Venezuela.—

Two brilliant affairs have lately taken place between detachments from the respective armies in the neighborhood of the Arauca rivers, in the province of Barinas, both of which terminated in favor of the independents. In the first, col. Pigott, a foreign officer of merit, greatly distinguished himself—having had two horses killed under him.—Suffice it to say, that the royalists were driven from their position.—The latter engagement is one of the most extraordinary recorded in the annals of modern warfare, or ancient either:—

General Paez, the commander of the cavalry composed of the free people of color and blacks of the plains, called llaneros,—had repeatedly solicited permission from gen. Bolivar to attack the enemy's camp with a select band of volunteers, but was as often refused. The attack appeared too hazardous and partial to justify such a measure; and that officer, instructed by experience, resolved not to hazard the reduction of his force by detachment—the Fabian or Washingtonian system, in short, was adopted, and

the president of the republic - deemed impossible the maintaining it. He would not risk a decisive battle with half his army; but await the co-operation of the expedition from Ste Margarita. — Nevertheless, he yielded to the importunities of Paez, and allowed him for once to indulge his chivalrous projects. — Then lieut. officer required 150 volunteers from his own guard of honor instantly. It is unnecessary to state, that the summons was received with acclamations: 4 lieut. colonels and colonels and 170 captains immediately joined their leader. — Doing dis encumbered of all unnecessary accoutrements, the detachment instantly crossed the river in front of Morillo's main army, who were (doubtless surprized at whereby so unexpected Paez approached within speaking distance of his antagonist's camp (and take time with his little party. — He had brought me more, lest he should affright them; but I hoped that Morillo would not be intimidated by a handful of lancers, who had just crossed a river in their rear, and now had an army before them. — Provoked by this bantering defiance, Morillo ordered large detachments to defile from right and left, in order to surround the enemy and cut off his retreat. This was the very movement which Paez availed; on its success hinged calculated his success. Prompt at the moment therefore he gave laconic orders to his little column

who with Lance in rest rushed directly on the Spanish line.— Opening their passage to the rear, they wheeled about, and penetrated again to the front with prodigious slaughter.— The enemy's ranks were thrown into confusion and dismay by these daring charges, and 500 of their number were either killed or wounded.

Paez himself is reported to have cut and lanced nine with his own hand; Captain Grant a Scotch officer killed five,— and others distinguished themselves equally in the work of carnage.— With the loss of 200 to 400 of his gallant corps, the immortal Paez recrossed the Apure, and rejoined the army in triumph.— All were electrified to admiration, or petrified to astonishment at this atchievment.— The names of every individual appear in the bulletin, and each was presented with the badge of the order of Libertador de Venezuela, an honor which many of them had attained already.

Col. English has arrived at Margarita,— as the public have already been informed. Col. Ursla has reached the same destination. When English anchored off Port of Spain, he received a special permission from Gov. Woodford, to land and remain ashore for 24 hours— but this passport was not penned in a very friendly mood, as it reflected on Mr English for proceeding towards the neighboring provinces in revolt, con-

treaty to his majesty's proclamation of Nov 18[illegible]
- He landed; but, finding that gen. Woodford
was arming and manning the steamboat to
her along side of his squadron, to arrest his
soldiers to desert, he hurried back, with an
emphatic threat, confirmed by a militaire oath
oath or two, that if she came along side he
would instantly sink her. Sir Ralph Woodford
then abandoned his expedition, and the English
turned its voyage to Margarita.

A Prussian colonel had touched at Trinidad on
way to Bolivar's camp. He is instructed to tend
him the service of 4000 Prussian troops, on con
tion that he would allow the merchants of
Hamburg &c. to export with them as great a
quantity of merchandize as they pleased, duty
The British sloop of war Fly, reports, that 1000 Eng
troops had also reached Margarita from Europe, and
that the expedition (which was nearly ready for sea) w
consist of 2500 Europeans and 3000 native troops.
are well equipped, and appeared in high spir
Guiana was said to be in a state of starvation
We forgot to have mentioned in its proper place, th
in the defeat of gen. Latorre's division by the pat

an interesting correspondence with Morillo was taken by the victors. From this it appears that an expedition from Lima menaced New Granada. One account states, that an invading army had actually entered it, and that the Spaniards were flying in all directions.

More protracted than usual had arrived at Angostura from the interior.

The congress were engaged in administering public affairs; and, if we can judge by appearances, their deliberations will result in the formation of a constitution of civil government as free and liberal as can be established in that country under present circumstances.

It is probable, that within a few months, the royal forces will be expelled from Venezuela. But, we dare not from speculation and leave time to unfold events.

P. S. The government of Venezuela appeared inclined to encourage the improvement of the soil by industrious emigrants. The island of Trinidad, in the Orinoco, has been ceded to an English gentleman, on condition of cultivating it. The Congress, we understand, have also authorised the introduction of a steamboat or steamboats, regardless of the monopoly promised or adhered to Admiral Brion. — Deputies from a couple

of English societies has arrived at the seat of
Government in Guayana to solicit the grant
an immense tract of land, or as some say for
the privilege of cultivating that whole
province entirely for the benefit of Senegambia. What
success would attend an application so modest
and disinterested, we cannot absolutely predict.

Memᵗ. of
Irvine (Baptis) 4 June 1819 - deposited by him
on that day.

B. Irvine June 4. 1819

Late Venezuelan news -

Recd 3. July.

Philadelphia 30th June 1819.

Private

Sir

Before I went to New-York, a few days since, for private business of some importance to me, - if landlines had not rendered it impossible to collect even trifling debts - I had translated the project, according to promise, and left it to be copied by a friend. It is wrong-ly but faithfully executed, owing for want of time to revise it, & now forwarded with all its imperfections. I am only sorry for the delay it may strike, and the total interruption I have experienced in copying other remarks. - I shall return to Baltimore next week, and write them out.

I lately received a letter and saw another from Thomas, mine da too towards the latter end of May, & the 9th inst. this mentions the readiness of the expedition, after extraordinary & I hope not fatal postponements & provocations failed to the eastward & Cumana to take on board Generals Bermudez troops, and would join the rendezvous at a place appointed. the strange stoppage had been occasioned by an unlucky intrigue or conspiracy of generals Arismendi Gomez and several others not only against a Genl. Brion but the expedition & Gen. Urdaneta, of whose appointment to its chief command Arismendi was jealous. He said, he was planning the political separation of Venezuela from the general government, and had alienated the minds of the volunteers from the expedition. But the plot was seasonably discovered, and the conspirators immediately apprehended. On the native troops absenting themselves from parade, the ruse (and decisive step) of arrest was taken, - and the chief, with his accomplices, was sent to Angostura for trial. Since that time Brion

and Jolly have composed their mighty differences, and
agreed to co-operate in the common cause.

Much depends, as to Venezuela, on the success of this
enterprize. An unexpected delay has given the royalists time
for preparation to counteract it. But it is to be hoped, they
have not discovered the real point of destination. An officer
of high rank and ability expresses some doubt about the issue
owing to its delay. A few weeks will proclaim its triumph or
failure.

The plot alluded to is disgusting, but will be useful
to the Republic, by teaching a lesson of caution against our
easy governors. Arismendi, much more cruel than Bermudez,
was almost the only man who enriched himself by the
revolution. He is bloody and avaricious, - and had become
a main pillar of P—'s dictatorship. Gomez was truly
a gallant man, both mind and mettle. He it was who really
expelled the Spaniards. It is supposed that Piarist
influence involved him in the conspiracy. Could Venezuela
but obtain her independence, all such attempts will
operate as warning against investing any man with un-
limited power, or suffering him to usurp it.

I renew the considerations of sincere esteem, with
which I am, Sir,

Your very obed.t servant,

D. L.—

Hon. Secretary of State.

5

Irvine, Baptist – Philad.a 30 June 1819.

Rec.d 3 July.

Venezuelan affairs – Conspiracy of Arismendi, &c.

Enclosure – Translation of Project of a Constitution for Venezuela –

Hon. John Quincy Adams
Secretary of State

Rec? 19th July.

Baltimore 16th July 1814. 267

Dear Sir

In addition to a brief sketch of intelligence which I inclosed hastily to one of the papers (the Intrepid) it may not be amiss to note a few particulars which have since occurred, much of which I did not think proper, and had not time to abridge for publication. It seems right that I should communicate it privately to you.

Doctor Worthington, who writes me a long letter under June 15th states various other items of news: — Dr Doctor Parkin Pleasonton and Col. Benjamin Rush Govr of New Jersey, will be here almost immediately for England, the two former as commissioners to negotiate a loan, and the latter as secretary. I fervently hope they may succeed, but I fear they have bad reasons for their purpose. Mr Hamilton however thinks that they will succeed — though the British government have not fulfilled their promise to this in another instance, I suppose, is meant as (all the letter is ironical.)

"Stocks in contemplation to lend another commissioner to the U. States in order to procure provisions, in flour, beef, pork, naval stores &c. &c. Some have applied to on behalf of President Jefferson, but have given no answer, waiting first to see the nature of the commission."

"Mr Hamilton has made a requisition for six of the Brigs, which he wishes to obtain jointly with the government. I have not heard of his success." You know, sir, as an English or Scotch gentleman of respectability, and much favoured in Augusta. You will see that some propositions have been made to take the Brigs by Mr Herring and Jeffrey. but their agent a Mr Allen, has gone to England without closing the contract."

From a longer letter written at a different date by Dr Caldwell a member of congress and Judge, I extract the following passages —

General Santander who was dispatched to Cúcuta a bordering province of Nov-Grenada, has formed an effect army there of upwards of 2300 men, entaff the communi cation between Bogotá and Santa Fé, and gained many important advantages over Barreiro, the Spanish General, who finally retreated after several defeats in the fie and by accounts Santander took much spoil on three occasions, and having passed the mountain-ridges of Cac (Serranias) above 2 leagues over to descend, as it is believed he has descended into the valleys that lead to Santa-Fé, distant 7 days journey, where inhabitants were expecting him as the saviour of their country.

"Since those events, we have learned, that Santander has ob tained other advantages over the enemy's corps, in their retr on flight to the kingdom (of Peru) and this in two battles so he freed and therefore thought and think will become a spirit ance.

"Des sages retardements sont souvent le principe des grands et solides succès, says a modern sage. But others had form and practised it before. You see we are likely to adopt his maxim. Only a few just and generous spirits are wanting to aid their fellowmen engaged in a glorious work. There is no fear if others should live and learn. Such fears dishonor virtue and humanity. You who breathe these liberal principles may extend the sentiments, and + + + + + + + + +

"Your congress, I may say that it surmounts labors, labors that require to be viewed with an eye in continual action to be estimated by comparison with the history of the world how great and singular are our cares and toils, especially in the uncom regarded of the necessary information and resources. But as I believe from my soul that this is the work of providence, I con + Unless he alludes to the liberation of the slaves, I know not his meaning in this passage, which I have given over, having no presentation.

fore we it endeavor to discharge my duty, and thus enjoy tranquility of heart and mind."

Having mentioned the lamentable loss sustained by the death of Pallacios, who expired in his arms, he proceeds:-

"Projects of colonization, applications for Corps, and extensive speculations occupy our sittings; and finally, an important mission of Messrs. Peñalver & Roscio, to go for England, where friendship and generosity have become more in our behalf. (donde la amistad, la generosidad &c. han ennarecido mas claramente para nro beneficio.) ~~And I believe you will soon have another agent~~

Mr Forsyth has communicated to me, and I to the congress your Catos note.

And I believe you will soon have another agent of ours sufficiently authorised.

"Deputies to the Congress have arrived from Caracas, which is, as you are aware, the frontier province of New Spain. They are Messrs. Bergara and Uribe, both officers of worth. So we are uniting interests, and multiplying relations, (and this infant republic is daily gaining strength.

"You will perceive that this letter is written successively according to events. The last (arrivals of deputies of the 14th of June) General Bolivar proceeds this winter (wet season) towards the kingdom of Santa Fé.) He will unite with Santander and form an army of done 5 000 strong; from its condition (and the distance of Morillo, who is gone to Carracas, he will take New-Grenada, which has no adequate force to resist him. (the detachment of certain officers here, which precludes decisive operations during this season, has suggested this enterprize, which in case of an auspicious result reduces the enemy to despair, and in 5 or 6 months an army may come from Santa-Fé to complete our deliverance."

Morillo, he thinks, may be hatching some new plan, the same as to London, is conclusive.

scheme but the government would endeavor to make
time.
This is all I extract from these letters, having n
time to translate to you.
The congress were thinking seriously about
excommunicating Mr. Fergusson politically; yet the comm
body who had lately threatened both Sweden and Malta
to account for maltreating him. One of them says, with
to the declaration of a majority, sanctioned a senate-for-l
though they also care the hereditary feature; you may jud
of Bolivar's influence with them. However they will be
independent and I should grieve to see them adopt
incurable aristocracy, either from the native ambition, fol
or from attention to England, whose
they study to please. Bs. ascendancy is very dangerou
as he possesses great talent for mischief, and cannot
the worst of all governments, a plural despotism. Bu
I shall not lengthen these scraps of news with useless comme

I remain, sir, most respectfully,
Your obedient servt.
D. Irvine.

Hon. John Q. Adams
Secy. of State.

Washington Affairs - Communications going to
Congress for this year - Mr. Irvine

B. Irvine to
John Q.
Mr. Adams, Secretary of
State.

Chiefly in relation to
S. American affairs.

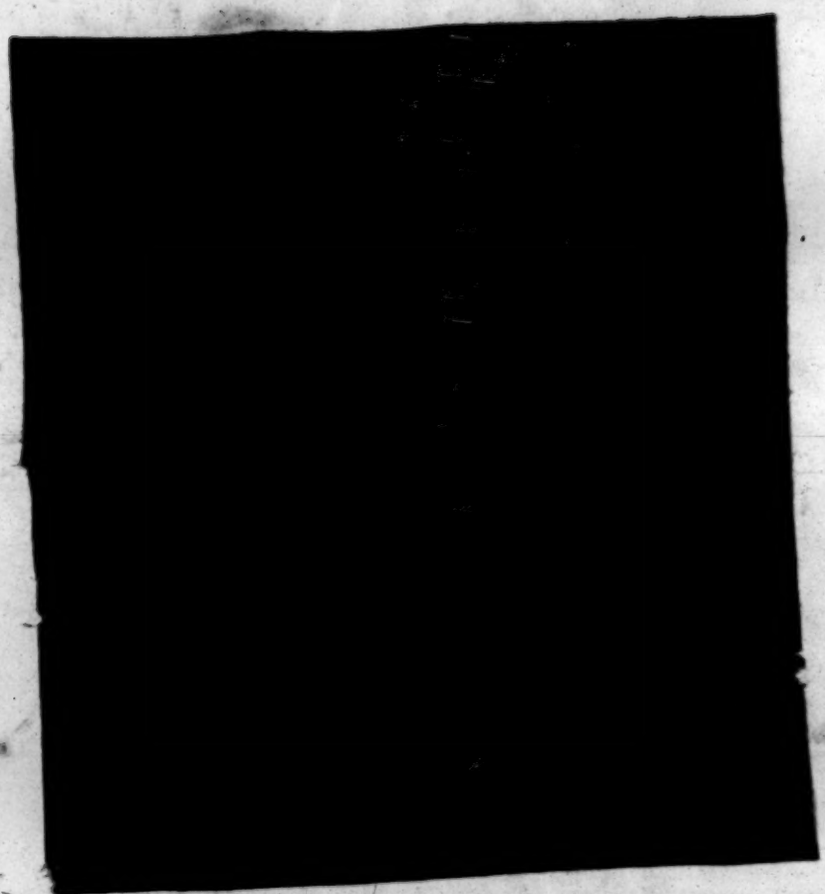
Fragment.

Beginning with page 31 & ending with page 461

The [illegible] pages relate to affairs
[illegible]a, and
R[illegible]
Co[illegible] despatches from
Laguayra Vol. 1.-

Nov. 30/91-

Irvine



Not having received this from the ty
er until this day Saturday, May 20 it
has been impossible to correct words misspe
and other blunders relating to quotations &c;
as they are not of vital importance, allowance it
hoped will be made for them. B. J.

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Cursory Notes on Venezuela.

Baltimore 25th Sept. 1819.

Sir.

The memorable discovery of the American continent, by Columbus, near the close of the 15th century* scarcely excited deeper sensations in the civilized world, than the revolution of the Spanish Colonies occasions at present. It calls every where an anxious throb in the bosom of the public, and challenges universal regard from Government and people; something having either transpired, or is expected, which enchains universal attention. All, seem to anticipate consequences with the same solicitude, whatever be the diversity of motives, wishes or designs. Some, who are unfriendly to political emancipation, are very covetous, nevertheless, of commercial intercourse, which may afford imployment for their ships and seamen, and open a profitable vent for their manufactures. In the general palpitation, it is curious to observe, how one passion restrains or overcomes another; as we see mercantile cupidity temporarily neutralizing the most virulent hatred of revolution. Fearing the return of the continent to Spanish domination, with but a little relaxation of the exclusive system, the strongest anti-revolutionists wish so much

---

* August 1. 1498... when he descried Cape Paria, having landed a day before at Punta de la Playa, in the island of Trinidad, mistaking the promontary for an island, he named it at the moment Santa Isla; but was speedily, and joyfully undeceived.

success to the reformists as may enable them
to stipulate for traffic with the colonies
such they are destined to remain... or with
independent States, if they can maintain
that exalted character. They do not des-
cale the sealing up of the great garden
the Hesperides, if they, by a favorable ex-
ception, can elude the dragons, and carry
off a portion of the golden fruits. Several
nations of the old world are in hopes of
pairing the wastes of ruinous wars, by re-
millances from the new. As the customa
sources of trade are shut up elsewhere, an
ily is inflamed by sanguine calculation
of gainful traffic with Spanish Americ
The magnitude of the struggle, may be judg
by the universality of the impulse. Among
States and individuals, none is unmoved.
this question, the very miser is not indif-
ferent: his fancy, if ever it soars, desires
Elysium in the bowels of the American
mountains... there stands the temple or
the cave of his devotions. With more e
panded views, the statist is mindful of
the contest attentive to its influence
on the productions of vast regions, wh
have remitted 3,500 millions of dolla
to Europe, since the conquest, he revolve
in his mind the probable effect of sus
pending mining operations there on me
tallic currency, industry, paper money
and commerce generally. Whether the
suspension be more or less transitory, he
sighs at the impostures to which it has
furnished a pretext... inundating com

munities with paper, and supporting the
privileged with higher pretensions... screening
their fraudful issues, under plea of expedi
ency, accommodation or necessity... supplying
the most deceptive excuses in which fraud
delights to be enveloped. So the general trader,
its other products, mineral, animal and veg-
etable, are likewise of interest: Some eager
motive, noble or ignoble, selfish or generous,
actuates every beholder, and accelerates
the pulse of Society. The mathematician,
the naturalist, the speculative antiquarian
associate, with their recollections of South
America, the illustrious labors of La Con-
damine Ulloa and their French and Spanish
colleagues; the learned researches of a Molina,
Garcilaso; a Clavigero, a Carli, and a host
of savans, down to the patient and erudite in-
vestigations of a Humboldt, the favorite son
of philosophy and science. The Philanthro-
pist, who has wept over the recitals of Las
Casas, of Muñoz,[x] and Sorguanada, consoles
himself that barbarity has reached its limit;
others, of the benevolent mould, but of some-
what "sterner stuff" catching indignant
fire at perusing the same bloody tragedies,
invoke Heaven for a retributive justice burn
the Grammont and Montbar for Vengeance,
and imagine, in their transports that they
behold her angry image in the gleaming flash-
ings of the Independents that cut a triumph-
ant passage for plumed Victory... her chariot

[x] Muñoz the Royal Historiographer, confirmed the statements of Las Casas
fully; but the Spanish ministers of that day, would not authorize the publication of his
work.

wheels crushing prostrate Cruelty in the dust,
quenching Fury in its own blood, as volcano
are exhausted by their own fires. To all spectators,
repeat, this theatre has the interest of Classic
ground. None behold with more affection and
disinterestedness than the people of the United
States, the mighty efforts of the Independents
to break the odious chains of political and
commercial thraldom... Chains, galling even
Heaven knows, at first, but intolerable from
additions,... from the lengthening links and
increasing weight of three hundred years
... Though Justice and policy, have, in the
present posture of the world, imposed on the
Government strict neutrality between the
belligerents, yet it is morally impossible
that individuals, true to the principles of
our revolution, can be regardless of the
momentous events of South America,
assert her rights and disburden her trade of
a hated monopoly.

Instead, however, of wandering
over a boundless field, we must confine
ourselves to prescribed limits, and submit
to your better judgment, the required infor-
mation respecting Venezuela... at least the
best I have been able to obtain. To me,
is cause of peculiar and sincere regret,
my opportunities, so limited, have precluded
me from acquiring a more extensive
knowledge of the subject. What I have
gleaned, has been postponed 'till now, in
The hope, deferred from day to day, of be-
abled to announce, in this humble Jour-
for me, the pleasing intelligence of the

Venezolanians having reached the goal of their wishes. Circumstances accidental and unforseen, have hitherto defeated this expectation. - I have therefore thrown together some notes (undeserving, I fear, from their meagerness of the title of Report) respecting the scene of war, its causes, objects, and the conduct of parties. Governed, as I shall be, by the most rigid impartiality, political predilections notwithstanding. I present this letter with full assurance of its well founded claim to the character of authentic. As Venezuela may probably form an intimate union with New Granada, as formally proposed in 1811. and repealed in 1813. - and as the incidents of this eventful revolution, have connected them closely; but above all, as their interests appear to be reciprocal; it will sometimes be necessary to speak of them as one. I intend then, to fill the brief outline with general remarks on their geographical position; political and military events - productions and commerce; extracting no more from published works already known, than may seem requisite to explain particular observations.

Venezuela, the ancient Captain Generalship of Caraccas, extends, on the Atlantic ocean or Caribbean sea, which bounds it on the North, from the river La Hacha about 73° W. long. to the mouth of the river Poumaron, in 59°; × according to the latest

× The Essequibo ought, properly, to be its Eastern limit on the Atlantic; but the Dutch formerly encroached on their neighbor's land marks, as far as Cape Nassau, which their English successors will probably consider as the legitimate demarcation. Time and power conspire to confirm usurpation of all kinds.

"Dutch Guayana" [it may not be amiss to remember] "was formerly the property of the crown of England, and the English had made settlements at Surrinam; but of these settlements the Dutch made themselves masters in the reign of Charles II. in retaliation for the conquest of New Holland, and by a subsequent treaty in February 1674. they obtained a cession of all the English territories in Guayana, in exchange for what they had possessed in the province of New York." [Bancroft's Essay, &c. 1769.]

maps, if not the most perfect; constructed conformably to the treaties of 1777 and 1801, and other authorities / not omitting intrusion from one side, and acquiescence or want of means on the other, / the boundery line of Venezuela stretches from the Rumaron till it intersects a branch of the river Cuyuni, about long. 60° W. and thence reaching the Essequibo, ascends that river above the cataracts nearing its sources: from thence it sweeps around in a southerly and crosses the Rupununi, its W. branch, towards lake Parima; approaching the eastern bank of this far-famed lake / the fabled seat of Manoa, or El Dorado, the golden city / It bends southwardly, until it strikes the Rio Blanco: pursuing this stream within less than half a degree of the equator, a line running parallel to it westerly, becomes the southern limit of Guayana, to the Rio negro: there it proceeds up that river to fort San Carlos, and again runs due west, at the distance of about half a degree N. of the equator, to 68° 30' W. long. From 68° it turns nearly due north, till it cuts the Oronoco / at the mouth of the Guaviare / which constitutes the westerly boundery of Guayana, till within 3/4ths of a degree of the mouth of Apure / from whence, to the sea, the Oronoco is the north boundery of Guayana. / New Granada from this point, viz. above the confluence of the Apure and Oronoco, confines southerly / on Barinas, from whose western extremity the line winds along the mountains of Maracaybo and Santa Martha, to the mouth of the Rio de la Hacha, / the place of beginning

ning. This space comprises the provinces of Maracaybo, Caraccas, Barcelona, Cumana, Guayana and Barinas. In the contemplated division, Merida and Truxillo, are regarded as provinces; besides which we must reckon the island of Margarita, and others adjacent to the coast. The most northern limit of Venezuela is Punta de Gallinas, about 12° 15' N. latitude... the most southern, the S. limit of Guyana, confining on the Serradores of Portugal, about 25' N latitude. These lines enclose an area of 91,519 square leagues, or 373.671 geographical square miles... deducting only the superficial contents of lake Maracaybo, without making any allowance for the surface of Parime, whose extent is not known, though its existence can hardly be doubted.

New Granada, on a part of its Northern line, is bounded by the province of Barinas, whence it bends to the Atlantic; which is its N. boundary to the confines of Casta Rica... Veraguas in the isthmus, being a frontier province, of a contiguous, peaceable province may be so denomonated; on the East, by Venezuelian or Spanish and Portuguese Guayana; on the South, by the great river of Amazons or Maranon, and the line of Iden de Bracamoros, which divides it from Peru; and on the West by the Pacific Ocean. The southernmost point of Iden is situate in 6° 30' S latitude; the northernmost, in 12° N. This most

interesting region comprehends a surface of about 56.011/19 square leagues, or 504,100 square miles.x Regarded as a whole, such is political incorporation or consolidation may render them, these territories are washed by the Atlantic ocean from Cape Nassau, to Costa Rica; and by the Pacific, from Chiriquin, in the province of Veraguas, which confines on Guatemala, to Tumbez, or the shores of Mach[illegible]. It opens its arms to the commerce of Europe and Asia, of North America, of [illegible], and the rest of the continent. It is destitute of none of the advantages ascribed to New Spain, or its capital, by M. Humboldt, however powerful the influence it exercise over political events. "A King of Spain," says he "resident in the capital of Mexico, might transmit his orders in five weeks to the peninsula, in Europe, and in six weeks to the Philippine islands in Asia. The vast kingdom of New Spain [like New Granada, &c] under a careful cultivation, would, alone, produce all that commerce collects together from the rest of the globe; sugar, cochineal, cacao, cotton, coffee, wheat, hemp, flax, silk, oils, and wine." If any preference seems due to Mexico, in mines of iron or timber, it is more than compensated to New Granada and Venezuela, by the incompara-

x Maps to be executed from actual surveys, may perhaps have some material errors to correct in existing Charts, framed without exact data, or admeasurement.

number of safe and accessible ports on either sea.* But this is not the place for extending these remarks.

The territory we have traced is remarkably intersected by cordilleras, or ranges of lofty mountains. The great chains of the Andes traverse New Granada, in its greatest longitude from South to North... for most of the course in four small ridges: the mountains of Santa Fe, Pamplona, La Grita, and Merida, are united to the littoral chain or mountains of the coast, by the transverse mountains of Coro, Socuyo, and Bargusimeto.† Many other spurs separate laterally, or run off at right angles from the Andes. Point de la Peña, or Cape Paria, opposite Port of Spain, in Trinidad, terminates the mountain range of Caracas and Cumana. Several peaks of the interior ridges ascend above the regions of perpetual snow; as the Sierra Nevada of Merida, and several of the paramos in New Grenada ‡ their altitudes attempering the heats of the surrounding countries, and giving to the torrid zone the coolness of the temperate. Nothing can be more grateful, within the tropics, than the refrigerent influence thus provided in the economy of nature against the terrors

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† It was these, that Guimilla long since observed; they answered as a bulwark or breastwork against the fury of the Northern Storms which at one season of the year so remarkably agitate the billows of the neighbouring seas.

Besides the principal mountains Niguitao and Las Rosas, sent out branches towards the N.E. The Altar-mountain joins the Paramo of Las Rosas to the S.E. and a branch of it runs N.E. by San Felipe to the granitic mountains of the coast, near Puto Cabello. Another branch of it runs E. towards Nirgua and Pinaco, uniting the interior chain of Yusma, villa de Cura, &c. and Sabana de Ocumare. ‡ See Personal Narative, vol. III. p. 528.

of a "burning sky." Those mountains are the source of numerous rivers that plough their course to the ocean through vallies which they fertilize. They produce the most precious timber; and while their sides are garnished with the fruit-trees and grain once supposed peculiar to the colder climates, peaches, pears, nectarines, and apples, wheat, barley and rye, the richer valley below is covered with plantains, sugar-cane, tobacco, with all the plants and fruit trees of the tropics.

About 2° N. latitude, in New Granada, the cordillera of the Andes is severed into three principal ridges; the Eastern-most of which divides the waters of the Meta, from those of the grand river Magdalena, that bears the contributions of several boatable, navigable rivers, particularly the confluent Cauca, to the sea. The Magdalena forms, near its mouth, the boundery between Carthagena and Santa Martha. The central chain of the three divides the valley of the Magdalena from the river Cauca; and the Western ridge disjoins the valley of Cauca from the province of Choco. Farther westward, and near the coast, runs a fourth chain of mountains with a considerable gap or break near the Atrato. A project for the prosperity of New Granada, and Venezuela especially and for promoting commercial intercourse through America with Asia and the western coast, is connected with the localities of this portion of the continent. We shall

particularize it in another place. The Atrato receives, on its Eastern side, alone, the tribute of twenty considerable rivers issuing from the mountain. Lagoons and marshes abound on its borders; reservoirs, prepared by nature, on the margin of all the rivers for receiving the waters that overflow their banks in the rainy season.

The junction of the Cauca with the Magdalena, below Mom-pox, and the banks of both above the bifurcation, are marked by the separation of several caños (conduits or channels) which form innumerable islands, and re-unite with the parent stream, after irrigating the natural meadows through which they meander. In the seasons of inundation, they pour their superfluous waters into numerous marginal lakes, as the Apure, Arauca, &c. before their confluence with the Oronoco.

In the chain, between the Cauca and Magdalena, occur the colossal summits, called paramos, Guanacas, Baragan, and Quindin, described so eloquently, with other impressive scenery, by various authors from Acosta to Humboldt. If in the vivid descriptions of earlier writers, we discover a warmth of imagination, inclined to exaggeration, they are corrected by later travellers. — It is admitted, that they exercise a refrigerative influence on the atmosphere of the place; and freshness wafted on every breeze, counteracts the natural effects

with the exception of a sand bar at its mouth, the Magdalena is navigable by the largest Ships to Mompox, or above it; and heavy boats can proceed as far as Honda, where there are obstructions, above which it is boatable nearly 150 miles. But it is liable to calms which with the obstacles at its entrance, render it less valuable to the people than is desirable. It is unnavigable for large vessels without all the aid and art of steam. The winds and currents drift the ~~coast~~ sand into ridges almost every where on that coast. [Ocaña, on this river, is nearly parallel to Cucutá, from which it is separated by a lofty ridge. Trade from Cucutá, follows the course of the waters that descend to the lake of Maracaybo.] The Cauca ~~Buenaventura~~ penetrates about as far as the Magdalena, but is not boatable for an equal destance.

of the vertical ray. It is not on account of that preventative quality, which checks the relaxation of climate, that we make reference to descriptive sketches of the paramos. There are stronger and more appropriate reasons for it than the indulgence of fancy. Apparently an exclusive theme for poets, the naturalist & the warrior have disputed their pretension. The genius of poetry, whose magical prerogative it is to confer life and motion on mute matter, and invest it with all the attributes of personality; that transformed Mount Atlas into a giant, shorn upholding the heavens; that subjected the unruly and imprisoned winds to the command of a rigid keeper; to what account would not this creative power have converted a paramo! where the night-bird /zumbidor/ hums his drowsy chant, and the huge condor perches with his prey-devouring, in quiet, the lamb he had clutched from a neighboring flock, and, with which, he [redacted] mounted into "upper air" at once beyond the reach and view of leagued pursuers, clamorous dogs and hallooing Indians. Here might creative fancy revel... conjuring many a fantastic shape; and here, no doubt, "the residentiary spirit of the storm would hold his court and muster his legionary hosts and celebrate a high carnival." - But our humbler business is plain recital, and thundering cataracts, even those of Tequendama or Pusambio, or

or Rio Vinagre, ~~or thereabouts~~ ~~mountainous~~ belong not to our province, if, perchance, they be not connected, like some mountain scene with a signal occurrence, political or military.

"Paramo, or puna" says Humboldt, signifies neither a desert nor a heath; but a mountainous place covered with stunted trees, exposed to the winds, and in which a damp cold perpetually reigns. It is the region of cold damps and fogs. - Hence, em paramarse, to be as chill, as if one were on the ridge of the Andes. Monte Nevado, /snowy mountain/ differs from Paramo, and means a mountain that enters the limit of perpetual snow.* Ulloa, in the first vol. of his voyage, has incidentally described them, and more familiarly.

'In those elevated regions, declivities of mountains are passable in many cases, only on the shoulders of carqueros or cabalitos, mulatto carriers, on whose backs are buckled a sort of basket to receive the traveller. - Rivers and abysses, where the descent forbids the construction of wooden or stone

* Father Gumilla considers the paramos within the torrid zone, as a bounteous provision of Providence to render it habitable, though in themselves totally uninhabitable, noxious and deadly. He either identifies a paramo with a sierra nevado, or is propense, like all lovers of the marvellous, to turn magician. Their chilling cold, he affirms, penetrates the bones and marrow, causing a forcible, pegorific contraction of the lips. Putrefaction never takes place in the bodies of persons who perish there - they continue, without the least decay. As the Paramo is intolerable to birds and beasts of prey, the corpse remains undisfigured. Those who die of cold /los emparamados/ preserve in death a smiling aspect, the lips being withdrawn from the teeth the cause just stated; as Father Acosta, the illustrious Piedrahita and others philosophically explain /See El Orinoco Ilustrado, tom. 1 p. 55./ This may be styled a flattering picture of death, and a natural process of embalming the dead, more efficacious than the aromatic pickle of the ancient Egyptians. If Moses or Empedocles had expired on a paramo, in the Andes, as our author describes it, we should have missed many theological criticism about the one, much literary disputation on the fate of the other; and the elegant Feijoo must have lost one topic for learned and classical discussion.

bridges, are passed by cables of the a-
gave, or bejuco / aloe and a species of tough
vine / or natural withe / or sometimes of
steps of of hide stretched by a windless to a
proper tension, from one stupendous bank
to another. This strong cable is termed a
tarabita; along which articles and pe-
sons, mules, &c. being suspended, slide sa-
ly over in leathern hammocks, carefully
lashed. Where the banks are less precip-
itous, a bridge of bejuco cables, covere
with bamboos, suffices to form a commu-
nication between cities & provinces.
one of this kind, of extreme length, exist
on the Apurimac, and forms a thorough
fare between Quito, Lima, Cuzco and La Pat
Don A. Ulloa appropriately terms the b
juco a "ligneous cordage." The bridge of
Penipe across the Rio Chambo, on the co
trary, has its longitudinal ropes of pita
a small species of agave. / See Humboldts Res
ches, p. 172. / It is 120 feet long.

These obstacles are frequently
encountered amongst the gigantic barri
of the Andes. If these mountains presen
so many impediments & military expe
The very difficulties sometimes gives th
highest advantage. An intrepid band,
skilfully posted in the defiles, may ba
the attempts of mighty hosts. Or an
army suddenly scaling the height
of the cordilleras, infallibly surprise
and defeats the unwary foe reposing
security amidst fortresses he had deem
impassable and impregnable. He had

no more conceived the possibility of an attack from invaders climbing the summits, than he had anticipated the descent of an enemy from the clouds. He is struck, confounded and beaten, before he thinks of an antagonist. Such incidents have happened in various countries, & in the region we speak of. during the present war. Let us however proceed with the descriptive outline, as necessary, as it is dry and insipid.

Coasting eastwardly from the Magdalena, and passing the Rio de la Hacha the western limit of Venezuela, we find another communication between the sea and the interior country, by means of the river Sulia, which flows into the lake Maracaybo. Commercial intercourse is maintained by this water and its various branches through Merida, and even to Cucuta. - The chief intermidiate rivers between the outlet of Maracaybo and the Oronoco, are the Tocuyo, Aroa, Yaguai, Tuy, Unare, Neveri, Manzanares, Lariaco, and Guarapiche, all of which descend from the chain adjacent from to the coast, and are minutely described by Depons, Humboldt & Lavayse, &c. &c. To is the Oronoco, the Meta, and its important tributaries Casanare, Chire, Aripore, Pauto, Guasimena &c. &c. &c. and the little Rio negro & Aguas Blancas, that form the grandest and most direct communications between Guayana

Casanare and the province of Santa Fe. These, with other navigable rivers, as the Sinaruco, Capanaparo, Arauca, &c. &c. drain the immense plains comprehended between the base of the mountains, Santa Fé, Pamplona and Merida, and the Orinoco below the confluence of Apure.

The region lying S. & E. of the Orinoco, is scarcely less distinguished by its mountains than Santa Martha or Merida, or the isthmus itself. If of ~~inferior~~ gentler elevation, they do not pierce the clouds by so many turrets and peaks ... they are strewed in greater number. The Sierre de Parimé of indefinite extent, infringes on the upper Orinoco, and occasions the cataracts of Atures and Maypure. Great ridges, running from N. to S. or from N.W. to S.E. give birth to numberless rivers, and controul them in their course. Of the tract embraced between the great curve of the Orinoco on the West, from the Apure to the Guaviare, and French and British Guayana to the East, a full third appears heaved into mountains. Bold corros sever the waters of Caroni from those of the Cuyuni on one side, from the Caura on the other, and both from the streams that pour themselves into the Upper Orinoco, near its source, from their Eastern & Southern slopes. A great portion of Guayana is consequently inaccessible or unexplored wilderness inhabited by independent tribes.

A dutch surgeon with several Indians to conduct him, ascended the river Essequibo, three hundred miles from the sea; and from thence transporting his canoe by creeks and rivulets, or overland, arrived at a branch of the Rio Blanco, and finally by the Rio Negro at the Amazons, "without discovering any considerable mountain in all this course." This traveller was seen by M. De la Condamine, in 1743. who names him Nicolas Hartsman; he had begun his journey in 1740. with the intention of exploring the golden lake of Parima. [Bancroft's Essay. &c pp. 14. 15.]

England now possessing important colonies in Guayana will doubtless be the first by her enterprize, to turn to advantage the route discovered by Hartsman. By it she will probably open a commercial & interior intercourse with upper Spanish Guayana and the territories of Brasil.

of natives. Whether we survey the facilities offered by this section of America to inland communication by rivers and canals, and their effects on domestic and foreign commerce during peace, by an easy transportation of commodities of all kinds; or calculate their advantages for conveying stores and troops during war, we can hardly discover, on any part of the globe, superior capabilities to those of Venezuela and New Granada. Long before Baron Humboldt convinced incredulous foreigners, of a connection between the Oronoco and the peerless Marañon, by the Casiquiare and Rio-negro, canoes had frequently descended from the Casequiare to Angostura.[x] This link unites an internal navigation of more than 15,000 miles, reckoning with the two great rivers, the Apure, Arauca, Meta, Guariare, &c. flowing into the Oronoco... and the great branches of Rio Madera Mamore and Guapare, the Purus, Jutay, and Ucayale, with the Napo, Putumayu, and Rio Negro, &c. that fall into the Amazons or Marañon. It is asserted by several tourists, that the little river Pao,—not to be confounded with Conception del Pao, can easily be joined by a canal with the lake of Tacarigua, [Valencia] into which it formerly ran its course, having been changed by an earthquake and inundation; since

[x] See Voyage aux îles de Trinidad, &c et en Venezuela.

ascend
d from

which it communicates with the Apure. This "canal" would open a commercial intercourse between Caracas and Guayana and with upper Brazil. Commerce will one day derive great benefit from these interior communications.[x] By the Magdalena and Cauca, New Granada is penetrated to the vicinity of the equator; but there are interruptions in the channels which deny access for all that distance. Of the Atrato and Chagres we shall speak more appositely in another place.

This region is interspersed with plains, steppes, or pampas, similar to those scattered over the continent, from North to South; all of which, doubtless owe their origin to the like cause, or series of causes;- since it is admitted that our globe has undergone several catastrophes; and we see traces of disrupture and violence too evident to be doubted. These plains are believed to have been occasioned by the recession of the waters which once covered them; their pressure on the sides or dikes of the grand basins, forcing "resistless way" over mounds and enclosures. It is a received opinion, that the sea once filled the basin situated between the coast-range of mountains, and the Sierra de Parime, washing towards the west, the sides of the mountains of Pamplona and Merida, especially as the inclination

[x] See Voyage aux iles de Trinidad, &c & en Venezuela Tom. II & Depon's voyages.

the plains is from E. to W. The plains of the Oronoco, being lower than those of Mexico, are less arid and less liable to those causes which impede vegetation there; which Mr. Humboldt believes to consist in muriate of soda, and lime, nitrate of potash and other saline substances, that cover the surface." / P. Essay on New Spain Lib. 1. Ch. III. / and the Tableaux de la Nature.

The author of the Voyage to Trinidad, &c. already cited, speculates much on the same subject, more curious than useful here... tom 1, 40 to 47. Trinidad and Tobago, he thinks, were dissevered from the continent+ in some great catastrophe or irruption of the sea, when some countries emerged from the ocean-bed, and others sank to its bottom. The waters which buried the vast plains now situated between the La Plata and Amazons; the Oronoco and perhaps Lower Louisiana, burst the mounds which confined them to their basins, of which the Caribbean islands formed the principal tops. Before this [last] grand epoch of the bouleversement of our planet, of the destruction of the greater part of our species, and

+ Every thing proves the dismemberment of these islands from terra firma on the left bank of the Oronoco; the same beds of earth, rocks, fossils, vegetables and animals. Yet, limestone, he says, is somewhat rare in Trinidad and Tobago; while the grand chain of the Brigantine and Guacharo is entirely calcarious! But in these plains imbedded and petrified shells are not met so commonly, as in the Antilles.

several races of animals, recorded in the annals or traditions of all nations, in place of the caribbean sea, was, / [illegible] a mediterranean or inland lake, placed between the caribbean mountains / now become islands / the chain of Sierra de Parime, those of Merida, &c. and other mountains of that portion of South America, of which those on the coasts of Cumaná, were probably a secondary chain. But conjecture, however ingenious, is like an amusing, digression, that relieves a dull subject, without explaining it. Let us pass from calastrophes in our globe, to those in society.

The country, whose bounds we have slightly traced, and some of whose advantages are so apparent, became many years ago, the theatre of revolution, from causes that are familiar to the minds of all. There, war has raged with various fortune: political changes have succeeded each other as frequently, if not as regularly, as the tides. According to the fluctuation of opinion, the current of interest, [power discerned] the frenzy of superstitious fear in benighted minds did events seem to ebb and flow. The ascendency of individual ambition is not to be omitted, nor the result of experiments imperfectly tried, in moments of tumult and alarm. To form clearer ideas of the embat-

tled powers of armies and opinions, perhaps we ought previously to review the past and present condition of the people of Venezuela... the obstacles to be overcome, and the means they commanded to secure the end.

Unfortunately for the people of South America, the epoch of Spanish freedom had passed away, before the discovery and colonization: or if a few rays still lingered on the horizon after the setting sun, they speedily vanished into darkness. Even Aragon and Castile, once so free, were now enslaved: for the sorry remnant of privilege that may have been permitted, here and there, deserves no consideration. Valencia, for instance, preserved a few of them, till the war of the succession was terminated: and Biscay, for wishing to retain some fractions of right a little longer, was, in a manner excommunicated from the Spanish family... dissociated from the provinces, and interdicted from a free trade with America. Thus is she punished for her pertinacity. The executive every where swallowed up, or preponderated against the legislative power; its paramount influence overspread every part of the empire. The Cortes, or congress, in which the interests of the three estates of the realm, people, nobles, and clergy† were represent-

† The people chose procuradores / procters or solicitors / for

ed from the formation of the Gothic institutions, which succeed the Roman government, were now nearly laid aside. Therefore this body had been punctually convened and consulted ... It was deemed as fundamental and indispensable, as an annual parliament was formerly held in England. All supplies were voted by them; for they held the national purse: their vote decided the policy to be pursued, not only in cases of emergency, but ordinarily, in all affairs of moment. Questions of finance revenue, and expenditures, were especially referred to them. When they adjourned, they left a committee of eight members at court, for the purpose of council & watchfulness. The measures, are notorious, by which the subtle Ferdinand V. united so much power in his own hand, sapped their authority, and enabled his successor, aided by other circumstances, to dispense with the Cortes, except for a formality. Having obtained the grand masterships of the three military orders, with the use of their funds, he needed the fewer supplies ... the alcavala granted in 1341, for the conquest of Algesiras[x] but continued by

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the towns, cities and boroughs. The several classes were consulted in all difficulties ... "especially," says John II. in 1418, in the order for convoking them) the procuradores of the cities, towns, and places of the kingdom - wherefore, we order and ordain, that in such important and arduous affairs, the Cortes be assembled and form a council of the three estates of our kingdom, according to the usages of our predecessors.

[x] Though granted but for three years, M. de Pons observes, that the assent of the nation for five centuries, has stamped on it a "character of legality which the most subtle reasonings can

silent acquiescence became another prominent and important fund to a prince bent on enlarging the circle of his patronage and dominion. At first it was a fifth, next a tenth, afterwards, and now fourteen per cent. of the value of all merchandize and property, bought and sold. This form of contribution, with many useful arts, however, was borrowed from the Moors. The energetic proceedings of Cardinal Ximenes, with the bold dissembling crafty policy of Charles V. may be said to have annihilated the representative, legislative part of the Spanish government. This ambitious monarch and his ministers, finding the Cortes reluctant in voting money, contrived to discontinue them. "And having" says Clark, "obtained a grant of the sale of cruzada-bulls from the Pope, they could raise money without the consent of the Cortes; and so took leave of an Assembly, which few Princes or Ministers are fond of seeing." Proportionably, as "indulgencies have always sold better in Spain than in any other country," did those bulls contribute to enslave her—a

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destroy." "What ancient duty can show a more respectable origin?" answer,—any and every tax which the people or their representatives positively impose, authorize & renew. Can supineness legalize usurpation, or tenure by military force? If it does, we may lawfully despoil the weary traveller of clothes or money, if we find him asleep by the way side, overcome with fatigue. In point of right we cannot divest our neighbor of a particle that belongs to him, without his consent, but in point of fact, we know that mankind in all times & under all governments, lose their rights the moment they cease to guard them.

Laborde, not quite so prone to flatter power, observes, that the revenues of alcavala and almotarifazgo, as barbarous as their names and the times in which they were devised, produced very little, and are expensive in collecting: the cruzado-bulls founded on puerilities, and unworthy of a true religion and of a wise government, diminishes daily, as the country becomes more enlightened," &c.

sad consequence of superstitious or fanatical belief. But, we believe, that a long time antecedent to the capture of Ceuta, by Cardinal Ximenes, similar grants had been made by Spanish Monarchs, since they were coeval with the Crusades or wars of the cross. What revenues were levied by them in America we shall presently see.

As freedom of conscience had perished in Spain, before this era, the people were irrecoverably deprived of an opportunity, which accident sometimes, though seldom, offers, of rekindling the extinguished taper of civil rights at the torch of religious liberty. More anciently, this country was eminently blessed with both. Though it is stiffly maintained by some, that image-worship was spread over Europe by the 6th Century, it does not appear to have been more than partially introduced into Spain, until the end of the 8th. A signal proof of the prevalence of religious [redacted] freedom at that period, is the controversy carried on in 783-4 between Elipand, bishop of Toledo, & other prelates, concerning the divinity of Christ. The former maintaining, that by reason of his humanity he was only the adoptive son of God; his opponents asserting the contrary, and tracing his tenets to an old heresy of Nestorious. The divines managed the debate pretty much like Peter, Martin and Jack, in the

celebrated work of a learned Dean.

Auricular confession, it seems was first prescribed by Innocent III; an admirable expedient, under artful management, and pretence of easing the conscience, for subjugating the mind to dependency, and extracting secrets. No human policy can be stronger, than that which is founded on human weakness. Prestigious practices, enforced by an apparent sanctity, oftentimes bewilder judgments naturally strong.*

I speak but of the abuse, or political perversion of the thing; for far be it from me to indulge in narrow sectarian notions in this enquiry. Experience has demonstrated, that neither pure religion nor free government can exist without perfect liberty of opinion,

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*. According to Clarke Spain had therefore appealed to general Councils, and professed the Nicene creed [if creeds are worthy of mention:] the Chief Magistrate was head of the church, consequently the Bishop of Rome had no more authority there than any other Metan. There was no adoration of the host, and no auricular confession; no prayers were addressed to saints or angels; and the incomprehensible doctrine of transubstantiation had no existence, as it has not an older date than the time of Innocent III. in the Lateran council held after the year 1200. The Gothic Liturgy, called Muzarabic from Mozarabe, a Christian living with the moors, was used in the churches.

Bearing in mind only the tendency of causes and effects, political and moral, one is struck in reviewing the progress of pontifical power, or the career of Church government, with the marked analogy between them and the growth of arbitrary power in the State. In the beginning the people all elected their Bishops; but the Head of the Church soon usurped that authority. These did not become entirely subservients to [illegible] Rome till the 13th century. Pope Nicholas III. following up the spirit of encroachment, stripped the Romish clergy of the right of choosing the Supreme Pontiff, and lodged it in a College of Cardinals. The diffusion of fanaticism advanced pari passu with the contraction of civil and ecclesiastical freedom. As that circle enlarged its circumference, like the sands of the desert, this was continually diminishing, until all power seemed to concentre in the pope himself. Paschalis II. besides compelling the Emperor Henry IV. to attend, barefoot at his door excommunicated Henry V. and near the beginning of the 12th century, interdicted the priests

on all matters practical or speculative, under the sun. Public liberty, [in matters of] opinion, [rests on freedom of thinking; and] hence, under the influence of republican freedom, literature revives from its suffocation. The history of all nations confirms this illustrious author's sentiments on the liberty of the press, &c. It is more sacrilegious to violate the sanctuary of private judgment ... or abridge the free scope of opinion, than to pillage or defile a temple. This violation may be repaired by donation, &c.; but that has no equivalent. It is irreparable, because it is inestimable. Circumstances extern, and [with respect to our agency] accidental, may and do controul the will of man, as they create alternatives or deny them ... and always furnish the preponderant motive but the Deity, by endowing every sentient being with a faculty of perception, mind or judgment, seems to have made him accountable for the unshackled use of it. Perhaps no policy is more pa-

from marriage - that abomination from nuptial engagements might render them more faithful Samaritanesses of the Bridegroom. This order was repeated by Celestus II; and Clement III. excommunicated the Danes, for insisting on the right of their clergy to marry. Adrian IV. obliged the Emperor [illegible] to hold his stirrup, and excommunicated him into the bargain, for presuming to claim the right of precedency to Popes in affixing his signature. Alexander III excommunicated the Emperor Frederick I, and forced him to prostrate himself at his feet, when he trod on his neck. - Celestinus III placed the crown on the Emperor's head and kicked it off again, exclaiming nos me regas regnant. / Kings reign by my authority / Jam sales est. Such pictures as induce us to fancy we are contemplating the pranks of monkies, rather than the history of men, are a sad rebuke to human vanity, folly, and insufficiency. Power is too inebriating to be given without bounds. [illegible] religious curses and excommunications had been introduced in the 4th Century; but the furious mode of communicating by maledictions of bell, book, and candle - a splendid kind of execration, immortalized by Scott, was first used by Clement VI.

Thomas, a religious curse and excommunications had been introduced in the 4th century; but the furious mode of communicating by bell, book, and candle, a splendid kind of execration, immortalized by Scott, was first used by Clement VI.

pably mistaken, than that of ascribing importance to mere opinion... all men being of fallible judgement, if their integrity were never so perfect, & the mind unwarped by interest, passion or caprice. Where none can pretend to infallibility, who shall presume to prescribe? In the intercourse of society, however, one man's reason may counteract the errors of another; and mistake is rectifiable, "where reason is left free to combat it." But to hoodwink the eye of the purblind... or tie up the arm of feebleness itself, is insulting mockery. And on the other hand, if opinion be important wherefore is it so inconsistently, [not to say wickedly] trammelled? To be useful, it must be active and practical. Its entire emancipation answers a better purpose than its regulation - if such right existed. Under the plan of prescription, the mind of society continues stationary or retrogrades - at least it will only resemble a stunted shrub or a clipped hedge; under a free system it imbibes nutrition and vigor from all the elements, strikes deep root in the stubbornest soil, and towers toward heaven like the mountain-pine or the cedar of Lebanon. It is imprescriptible who shall stamp opinions as orthodox or stigmatise them as heterodox. Let them circulate like coin, by their intrinsic weigh or worth. Power is only called in to stamp a nominal value on base metal, or baser dogmas. Absur-

dity will soon be laughed to scorn in a
rational community; but as every au
thor is desirous of gaining the honest suf
frage of his fellow men, he will dread
to trespass against reason, religion an
morality. This is a sufficient restrain
Truth being invincible, wants no pigmy
power to defend it by prescription - tho
were to discredit it by enslaving reas
If any man peculiarly merits expulsio
from society, it is he who would fetter
the freedom of discussion; for, as eve
bee collects honey from surrounding
fragrance, and carries it to the hive
and every ant bears its grain to the
common heap; so every capable ma
is morally bound to contribute his quota to the
social fund of thought, of arts, scienc
or economy. But in exposing doctrine
or arraigning practices pernicious to
dom and disgraceful to man, I disc
all intention of reprobating those who
conscientiously entertain contrary
sentiments: that were to be guilty o
the illiberality I condemn. My sol
aim is to explain political institu
when complicated with ecclesiastic
ordinances, it seemed necessary to u
twist the chain and observe the parts re
spectively. A prurience for specula
politics, is not requisite to account fo
this poor expostulation in behalf of so
principles, when we behold the popula
tion of the noblest countries on the glo
ucums to a triple despotism for thei

neglect of them, writhing in torture, expiating, by many centuries of sacrifice, affliction, and torrents of blood, the original sins of an ancestry pious, but bigotted, blind and presumptuous. No asylum, not a solitary nook, was reserved for freedom of any kind. All was surrendered to the monarch, the nobles, or the priesthood. Darkness was thus reflected with slavery, from the mother-country to the colonies.

Let us hear the evidence of a Spanish Doctor of the Civil Law in this matter. His panegyric on the Spanish monarchy, furnishes, like the History of Rome, another example of the fatal speed with which nations rush from freedom to servitude. Don Joseph Berni y Catali, Doctor, &c. and advocate of the Royal Council, in his famous treatise / splendidly printed in folio / on the creation, antiquity, and privileges of the titularies of Castile, dedicated to Carlos III de Borbon, successor to Ferdinand VI, has given us a delectable compend of all that is desirable in such a theme. In order to lose the less of this quintessence, we bottle it up as it issues from his alembic - in other words, we translate him as literally as possible.

"Leaving their praises / says he / to abler pens than mine, I shall only remark, that through Gods grace we may boast of a monarchy happy in religion, justice, piety, the extension of

arts, sciences, manufactories, and rich in the means of remunerating merit: 'tis our bounden duty to pray God for the temporal and spiritual welfare of our Catholic Monarch and royal house; and offer with earnestness our lives and fortunes in defense of his royal person, and fulfillment of his laws and decrees, with especial, indispensable obligation to recognize him, love him, fear him, honor him and protect him: The first, because in a temporal quality, he is God's vicegerent (tiene lugar de Dios) in the Spanish monarchy,(x) and is Styled the Vicar of God, The second, because his laws have the holy scriptures.(†) The third, because in temporalities our Sovereign acknowledges no superior in this world, the King of Kings alone excepted: viz.- God our Creator, Redeemer and Saviour, &c. [and so on through every clause, keeping up the parallel between God and the King] We are then dutifully to serve, reverence and fear him with the utmost affection, in seeing, in hearing, in smelling, in tasting, in tongue, in tact; in our understanding; in fancy (en la fantasia) in imagination, in meditation and in recollection (en recuerdo)(‖) X X X X X "The

(x) Law 5. title V. part II. (†) Proverbs 8th chap. verse XV.

(‖) At every clause he cites a cloud of proofs from the Laws of Spain, or from the Scriptures - which has the effect of all learned dust of blinding the sight, not of illuminating the mind.-

duty of the Kings officers, is briefly couched in the oath of fealty; and lastly, the vassal is bound generally to render blind obedience to the sovereign, and invoke heavens blessings on his temporal and spiritual prosperity." [75.7b.] —"He alone [the King] can ordain laws and interpret them." [79.] —"Civilians and lawyers reap numberless rewards, according to their deserts, viz. the offices of principal Alcaldes, auditors, corregidors, mayors or governors, counsellors, attorney-generalships, gowns in the high courts of audiencia, chancellorships, and councils; so that our monarch in the solitary branch of jurisprudence, rewards by his favors alone, supports above fifty thousand jurists, and I am still below the mark." * [Yaun me quedo corto.]

× × × The Treasury Department employs an incredible number of vassals, in the administration and care of the royal revenues." † × × × ×

"He deserving [in the Church] he graciously decorates with mitre or preferment, invests with prebends, priorships, curacies, livings, benefices, &c. in propor-

* In 1788, there were recorded 5660 counsellors; and 9351 scriveners or escribanos, who present petitions, &c. besides judges, constables, attornies, clerks, door keepers, &c. &c. &c. estimated at 100,000 persons engaged in courts of Law, as Judges, Notaries, lawyers, &c. [See Laborde's View of Spain.] It is not the immense number, nor tremendous expense, that constitutes the worst evil, or most formidable calamity of those caterpillars; but it is their wide spread influence, in maintaining mistery or ambiguity, to further bilfation and perpetuate their power.

† Tax gatherers were rated at 27.922; but I am not certain that these include all the agents of the Treasury Department, — the employés for the sale of tobacco, and conducting other branches of the Kings monopoly.

tion to merit; the cathedrals of Spain and the Indies, appertaining to the king's patronage [patronato real] or right of presentation, and as regal patron he has endowed them: this right of presenting to ecclesiastical benefices is confirmed by the instrumentality of papal bulls and decrees, as attested by by the historians of Spain, exclusive of the well known concordat between his Holiness and our Sovereign Lord Ferdinando VI. who rests in glory. So that as worth is rewarded, Spain finds herself possessed of theologians, and celebrated canonists in thousands, and a multitude of orators. ( )

If it were our province to criticise foreign institutions, we might ask, whether any race of bipeds can so far forget their rights and character, and apostatize so widely from nature, as to subscribe to these tenets. If there be such, they ought, on the principle of detur dignioni, give way to a more decent community of honeymhy who, as insinuated in the didactic, immortal work of a celebrated writer

× Monks, priests and nuns the same year, in 1925 convents for males, & 1081 convents for females, amounted to 657. By the concordat between Pope Benedict VI and Ferdinand VI [as stated above] the presentation to all benefices excepting 52 prime ones, and supplying vacancies occasioned by deaths happening at Rome, belongs to the crown of Spain. "No bulls nor briefs are received, published or executed in Spain, unless they have been viewed by the council of Castile & have received its exequatur &c. on the other hand the Pope has a check, & may refuse to grant bulls of licence." [See Laborde's descriptive or any.]

are comparatively higher objects of respect. More transcendant homage was never claimed for knight-errantry, by the chivalrous Don Quixotte himself, nor profounder adoration professed for a mistress, than are here required for the throne.- our author has certainly given a high relief to his figures. It reminds us of major Cartwright's portraiture of the constitution of Great Britain,[x] however unlike the people may be to each other. It is an excellent constitution, says that respected reformer, for the lawyer, the divine, and the nobility; but what is it for the client, the mechanic, the farmer, the manufacturer? What is it for the laborer, and adscripts to the soil, doomed to travail all his wretched days to earn a scanty subsistence.[2] - Yet as there seems an indefinite gradation in the intellectual and moral qualities of men, why should we dispute any more about governments, than about tastes.[2] It is because governments exercise a sort of promethean plastic power over society; mould ~~[illegible]~~ the human disposition at pleasure; and mark all the different degrees in "the scale of humanity."

Don J. José Mier y Guerra, late Doctor in the University of Mexico, has written a curious history (in 2 vols 8vo) of the revolution there; dis

[x] Rights & Remedies, part II.

the most intimate knowl-
American and Spanish af-
ntroversial chapters, tho
im, in part, to blur the
acter of impartial narra
with this drawbacks, it
is a valuable acquisition to history
If his similes be sometimes ludicrous
they never fail to elucidate the sub-
ject. This author observes, of the sub-
ject we have just touched; That the
æra of establishing despotism in Spa
corresponded with that of the Discov-
ery of America; and judges and vice-
roys passed over to this country with
the same arbitrary notions which
kings had arrogated in that; and as
two cats, according to the proverb,
cannot lodge in the same wallet,
there originated a perpetual conflict
between alter-ego and vicedors / judges /
protected by Royal commission.

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x This gentleman had travelled much in Europe a
cupied in researches relative to American affairs
discovery, conquest, colonization, natural history &c
For this purpose he spent several years in the various cap
itals of France, Italy, &c. &c. Espousing the cause of the
deposed viceroy, M. Iturrigaray, in the late conflict in
new Spain, Doct. Mier y Guerra went to London to de
fend him. After writing some Essays in vindication of
the viceroy, he extended his purpose to a History. He wa
prompted to this, by seeing that London had become a
of common arena for managing the literary and political
'disputations of the Spanish and transatlantic world' - th
advocate of the Cortes, was publishing there his "Spaniard
in London;" the "Brazilian Courier" was going on; an Amer
ican there replied to some incubrations of the Spaniard.
- an access was opened in that little world to all the worl
of the globe. The Semanario of Santa Fe, the Peruvian
Mercury, [illegible] Science, &c. both subsequently sup
pressed. Regarding England as the "arbitress of events" th
authors, in some degree, accommodated their writings
to the bent of the government. Whatever bias they take
this medium, they reflect new light on important subj
and are pretty just in detail of facts.

the first audience of Mexico persecuted Cortes to extremes; [they outlawed him] and they first in Lima deposed the first Viceroy of Peru, Blasco Nonez de Vela, seized & sent him to Spain, &c. Although the laws of the Indies contain innumerable provisions, enjoining on lawyers and judges the strictest obedience to the viceroys, and exhorting both to harmony, yet nothing has been capable of restraining them. For, in spite of the dependence in which the gentlemen of the gown are placed by the laws, as they are a numerous body, and the Council of the Indies [superior to the viceroys] composed of the same persons who have been judges in America, those, [captain generals and viceroys] like Iturrigaray, have uniformly fallen victims to their more powerful adversaries [Historia de la Revolucion de Mexico, tom. I. 173—4] But if the conquerors of Mexico remonstrated with the Emperor against suffering advocates to embark for America; and if the procurors for Hispaniola and Cuba, [Antonio Velasquez and Panfilo de Narvaez] succeeded in preventing lawyers from migrating to the new world on account of their stirring up strife and litigation,* the lawyers may reply, that their presence was feared as that of ruffians of wrongs, defenders of innocence, minis-

* —"Alcanzaron, que no fuesen letrados à America, por ser causa de que hubiese pleitos". —[Dect. M. y G. et Herrera, Decad. 2, lib. II.

isters of justice, and punishers of mil
itary rapacity!

Conquests and discoveries being ge
erally made by individual enterpris
and at private expense, extensive priv
ileges were accorded by contract to the
conquerors and their descendants. Thes
were to become Governors of the countr
with titles of nobility; the natives were
distributed in lots and quotients, call
repartimientos among soldiery and of
ficers according to rank. In Mexico
they were regularly enclosed like sh
or cattle in a pen when captured, an
branded as slaves, and divided amo
the victors.* Encomiendas were cre
ed at every settlement; the natives
being received as vassals, to be protec
ed against vexation and wrong! to be
instructed in the christian religion!

* At Segura de la Frontera, founded on the ruins of Te-
peaca, after Cortez and a remnant of his myrmadons had m
dfficully escaped to Tlascala from Mexico, at the first incursion
that artful chieftain caused the first branding-iron to be ma
for branding the native prisoners as slaves. They were brand-
ed with the letter G. for Guerra, (war) boys and girls, men an
women, as they were taken. The king's fifth was first set apa
another fifth for Cortez, and the residue of booty and beauty
divided among officers and soldiers. The latter had always
murmur at foul play, or embezzlement in the nefarious b
siness - Cortez having a strong propension for appropriating
large share to himself and favorites. In consequence of thi
his walls used to be written over with lampoons. To a set o
pasquinades he wrote for answer, That a "white wall was
paper for fools;" it was rejoined, "and for truth." (See Ber
Diaz amusing candid History of the Conquest - 236 - et
Cortez' cruelty and policy were equal to his intr
ity - in dividing the people, & conquering by each other's st
he showed his art. Burning Montezuma's chiefs before
palace, and making him a chained prisoner, beheld the
tacle, - hanging Xicotanga, the son of his ally and benefac
contrary to the remonstrance of Alvarado; torturing Guat
motzin, the last Emperor of Mexico, and the Prince of Tacub
to cause them to confess treasures which they had not - which
Diaz calls an "inhuman process" - his butcheries, burning,
worrying thousands with dogs: - all these atrocious deeds, m
led with the boldness of his schemes, and the ability wi
which they were executed, display a notable mixture of h

and taught the arts and economy of social life! By this arrangement the aborigines ought to have stood somewhat in the same relation to the encomenderos &c. as the plebeians of infant Rome to the patricians, or clients to patrons: but their condition became more insupportable than that of serfs or villeins /ascripti glebæ/ under the great feudal lords in Europe. However this apportionment of freemen among settlers, and the payment of tribute, branding and enslavement were justified by sundry Spanish writers, on various grounds, but particularly because they were infidels – a strange foundation for a stigmatical charge, since all men believe as much as they can; and education and example form our opinions, or standards of judging: the Brahmin, the Mahomedan, the Christian, severally follow the steps and creeds of their ancestors – and birth-place, in Turkey, France, Hindostan, or China, decides one's political or religious cast of character. The partition of the Indians was succeeded by the foundation of cities, towns, villages, and the creation of alcaldes or judges, in ordinary cases, and other magistrates – a municipality was formed. The King retained the

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lality, dexterity, and nervosm. But his companions were heroes too. Fanaticism and chivalry characterized them all. For, as Don Juan Corradi says, in speaking of Vasco Nuñez's expedition, "It seemed as if the Spaniards of that day, in soul and body, were made of steel." /descubrimento &c. dom. iii. 20.

the chief sovereignty / allo dominio / and the conquerors, under grantees, were pledged to defend the soil.

The horrid abuses perpetrated under this system became so excessive that Montesino Las Casas, Cordova, and other Dominicans liberales in the Indian question / humanely rang an alarm in the ears of Popes and Emperors; procuring orders, briefs, bulls, and anathamas to arrest the head long career of desolation. Those holy men, in opposition to the Franciscans preached at that day, "the rights of man." x Two millions of the natives had been dragged from Venezuela, transported to the west Indies, and sold at Porto Rico, & Hispaniola: to work in the mynes where they perished miserably three millions had disappeared from the Antillas, sinking under cruel torments, or borne in slavery to Spain, or drowned in the pearl

x Solarzano in his Politica Indiana, cites the opinions of St Paul, St Chrysostom St Isidore, St Thomas and others as well as the example of the Romans who taxed the Jews and other infidels among them. Lib. II chap. XIX. Tythes, it was argued were due to God & had precedency of every thing and tribute was payable to the king, in acknowledgement of his sovereignty, for the enjoyment of security under his laws and government. Joshua, by divine command, had parcelled the land of promise among the tribes of Israel. St. Gregory had permitted some nobles of Sardinia, to exact tribute of infidels there, as there conversion was an office that required some return. Lib. iii chap. 1. &c. Tythes were pronounced divine, as a debt due to the Deity; and Simon Maydel citing Elian, relates how an animal in Lybia, which supports itself by hunting, divides all the spoils of the chase into eleven parts, of which he takes ten, and leaves the other untouched, as reserved to God; hereby giving us an example, that they are worse and more barbarous than the wild beasts of Lybia, who withhold the tithes which God commands them to pay from their fields and harvests for the service of his church, and the maintenance of his ministers. Such brutish precedents must have been conclusive in that age, and deserve due consideration in this. What blasphemy! The name of God is forever dragged in to justify the enslavement of man — and a friendship constantly maintained between him and the King

fisheries. They were sometimes yoked together like brutes, and publickly sold as carcasses, under the opprobrious designation of quarlos de bellaco, to feed the dogs that had assisted the conquerors. [See Mierry Guerra's Hist. Mexico.]

Paganism was not the only ground on which the Castaveros built their impious pretensions, and vindicated their brutality; but from an alledged inferiority, inferred their right to enslave the natives. Early dispatches from the invaders, are tinctured as deeply with this doctrine as with the ideas of crusaders. Thus, the conqueror of Mexico, in his letters to the Emperor, seems ever impressed with the idea, that the Holy Ghost inspired him with this or that counsel, &c. Relating one of his battles, with the inhabitants of a village, he says, "but as we bore the banners of the cross, and fought for our faith and the service of your sacred Majesty, in your royal fortune, God granted us a victory so signal, that we slaughtered vast numbers without any loss on our part." So in storming a temple which he dedicated to the Virgin, he assigns the glory of his victory, "to the assistance of God and his glorious mother." Reasons enough to excuse cruelty! "Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum!" It is true he elsewhere attributes his triumph, sometimes his existence, to the cavalry alone, accoutred as horses and dragoons were in that age. But in proportion as

he encountered men of intelligence, he recedes from his idea of subjugation. Relating, in his 3d letter the capture of a Rocky height, by scaling it, and his giving quarter to its defenders, he states that he spared them on account of their excellent capacity, which perceived and comprehended every thing; and was anxious to acquire such vassals for the Emperor.* Again, seeing how superior, in point of intellect were the natives of these parts, to the islanders, he remarks, that he thought they should not be equally enslaved, proposing as an amelioration, that the chiefs and people should be committed to the Spaniards in trust. but in the meantime they must furnish their lords with provisions. This was his idea of an encomienda, whose servitude became as harsh and insufferable, as the more direct form. But if such was the tenor of the exception, what must have been the rule?

We are inquisitive only after the strange imputation of inferiority, and the modification suggested, according to the degree of it, in the judgment of the aggressors. The mass of the conquerors at this time, sedulously circulated the romance, of the aborigines not being worthy to be ranked

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* "Especialmente queriendo allos ser vasallos de v. estra magestad, i es gente de tanta capacidad que todo lo entienden i conocen mui bien, mandé que no se les ficiese mas daño." /Carta Tercera de Relacion,

as men - In later times, and in countries more boastful of civilization, some jurists and commentators, on the same principle, have defined law to be a rule prescribed by a superior; consequently, for the government of inferiors.'

Roused by the outrageousness of those assumptions and practises, Las Casas returned from St Domingo to the Court, and obtained orders that thenceforth the Indians should not be branded with hot iron upon the forehead, breast, arms and legs, as hundreds of thousands had been in that and other colonies. This pious champion of human rights set out in 1531, to signify those beneficent orders to Pizarro and Almagro in Peru: but horror-struck at the spectacles that met his eyes in Nicaragua, Panama, &c. he returned to Spain, and penned at Valencia, his Breve Relacion or Concise Narrative of the Destruction of the Indians, which he presented to the Emperor, and seconded by his personal remonstrances. Charles V. deeply moved by a relation of such horrors, gave him a set audience in Barcelona. He there urged his arguments at length against repartimientos and encomiendas; based on twenty propositions, logically arranged and conclusively proved. Las Casas expatiated on them very circumstantially, but mindful

of method. They were examined by a junta of the learned, who yielding to the force of truth, framed 42 ordinances, conformably to their principles: these were approved and signed by the Emperor, on the 20th november, same year, and constituted the first, at least the principal body of the Laws of the Indies. From the suggestions of this Apostle of the Indians, as he has been aptly styled, originated the visitors, correjedors, and courts of audience [audiencias]; the latter then considered as the guardian shield of the nation. It was the duty of the council of the Indies to watch over the observance of the Cedulas & ordinances of every description which should emanate from the King & correct such gross disorders. [See Mier y Guerra, 375.]

But the vice was already too deeply rooted to be eradicated by the joint influence of kings and popes; and the attempt to enforce the orders abolishing encomiendas, declaring the Indians free and equally united to Spain, in quality of subjects, excited a revolt in Peru. In 1547, the decree of abolition was revoked. Answers, as they are called, were in the mean time, written by De Leon and Albornoz to the arguments of Las Casas; but the strongest reason was, that the Indians were necessary to tend their cattle, and perform all manner of drudgery. It was to no purpose that

court had suppressed the discourses of Sepulveda and renounced the right of conquest; it complied with circumstances & began to regulate what it could not annul [Pol. Indiana, lib. III cap 1.] Indeed it is not the nature of courts to battle very obstinately for humanity. Encomiendas were declared heritable only by the son or next heir of the conqueror. While alarmed by the refractory spirit of the opposition in Peru, the Government commissioned Gasca, the Licentiate, to pacify the settlers with a revocation of all exceptionable edicts. To appease the tumult by any means, he had latitudinarian instructions; for, "provided the territory were secured for the King, the devil himself might govern it." [Zuequando al rey la tierra, la gobernase el diablo.] × To preserve a province was every thing; the happiness or extirpation of the natives, an object of no moment. The unshielded Indians were now at the disposure of their task masters: no law was enforced in their favor unless it agreed with the interest of their immediate lords. Paul's proclamation of equality, and the Declaration of Charles, were unregarded.† We learn, by the memoirs or representations of the Deputies, Feliu, Robles, [delegate of Chiapa, in the Spanish Cortes,] and the letters of Mr. Paros, that the servile labors of the natives are exacted to this day, with unabated rigor. God

× Garcilasso's Commentaries, part II. lib. 3.

† The Indians of Tlascala, of Cempoal, Tezcuco, and Peru [of the latter 1500,000 had fallen in 1544, in fighting the battles of Spain,] were merely exempt from slavery for their services. Their laws, magistrates and usages were acknowledged, and they were formally united to the Spanish dominions as subjects of Castile.

help them, says Torquemada, for they have no human succour because of their remoteness from the eyes of the king. Their worse than feudal bondage, was certainly aggravated by their distance from the centre of authority. The vanquished evinced a keen sensibility to their fate; "ever bewailing the death of their ancestors, the imprisonment of their chiefs, and their own captivity." When goaded to desperation they revolted. To quell their insurrection the dogs were let loose upon them; their caciques were burned at the stake, by hundreds [sometimes two at once] and those wretches who were not annihilated, were branded and sold at auction. [Se herraron y se vendieron en almoneda.] By these means were cutt off all the lofty spirits who could not succumb to slavery. They survived, who brooked it.

Venezuela, or the Caplain-generalships of Caracas, was one of the political groups[x] or territories under military government, into which Spanish America was cast. It was subdivided into six military governments or provinces, as already named, and had 4 military commandencies, at La Guayra, Porto Cavello, Coro, and Barcelona. It was governed by the Laws of the Indies, consisting of various

[x] Viz. vice Royalties of Mexico, New Granada, Peru and Buenos Ayres. Presidencies of Quito, Chile and Guatimala and Capitan Generalships of Floridas, Cuba, St Domingo, Porto Rico, Venezuela: but Yucatan and the internal provinces, Comandancies or dependent on Mexico, Quito and Santa Fe.,

There were erected in the same territories five audiencias, viz. in Mexico, Guadalajara, St Domingo, Havana, Caracas, Santa Fe de Bogata, Quito, Lima, Cuzco, Chuquisaca, Tarapaca de Chile and Buenos-Ayres.- An audiencia is a high court of justice; possesses likewise the character of an administrative body and cabinet council.

dulas, reales ordenes, pragmaticas and ordenanzas. Cedula is a royal decree issued through the medium of the Supreme Council of the Indies, beginning and ending Yo el Rey — I, the King, &c. The second are the King's orders, dispatched by his ministers. Pragmatica is an edict or rescript promulgated for the correction of some abuse, and implies a particular interference. An ordenanza, or ordinance is framed for the regulation of a special department, branch or business. The laws are customarily considered as results of a deliberation with the King in council. [Hist. de Mexico, tom. ii. 575 &c.] Boundless panegyric is lavished on this code; and doubtless it compreses some acts founded in wisdom and justice: but the contradictions arising from multiplicity, not to enumerate other grounds, admit of endless interpretation, which defeat the end of law. The code becomes an instrument of oppression and a source of litigation.* The author of a valuable manuscript History of Caracas, which comes down a little later than the epoch of the earthquake, and which I may often consult, beholds in the Laws of the Indies, contrary to others' encomium, a crude jumble, surcharged with invidious prohibitions levelled at South American rights, education, agriculture, commerce and manufactures.

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* It is said to require from seven to ten years to study the Spanish laws and fit a student for practice. but a Spaniard surveys the English laws with affright. An eminent South American, however, who came to a British island, Trinidad, and there saw in a lawyer's library, an abridgement in 20 vols. of English law, &c. lifted his hands and eyes in astonishment — "Compendia! Jesus de Christo! Valgame Dios!" An abridgement ass of Christ! Gracious God! what an abridgement!!

Chasms in this code were to be filled up by the famous Laws of Castile, or Laws of the Seven Partidas, digested by the Council of Castile (12 in number) & appointed by Ferdinand III, who died in 1252. The work was compiled during the reign of his son and successor, the celebrated Alphonso X, surnamed The wise (El Sabio.) In composing this system, considerable use was made of the civil law of imperial not of republican Rome, as well as of the Gothic and canon laws. It was first promulgated in 1259, but did not receive the sanction of the Cortes, till 1348. Iriarte calls this compilation a "precious book," [3 vols 4to.] one of the few which immortalize the fame of a nation.*

Ferdinand and Isabella issued a royal edict (Ordenamiento real,) and of the laws of Toro, so called from being there published by Ferdinand, - Isabella dying in the interim, - A committee had been 25 years composing them. The code is sometimes cited; as are the autos acordados of Castile, acts adopted on a consultation with the Council of State † sanctioned by Philip V.

Las Leyes de Estilo, a record or collection of usages, made by a Spanish lawyer, are the common law of some provinces of Spain, but hardly known in America. Not so the laws of the Consulado de Bilboa, the guide in commercial cases, not specially embraced by the Laws of the Indies - paramount to all others.

† Acuerdo; the deliberation of the audience with a captain General or viceroy; or its result.

* Don Manuel Moreno, on the contrary, in his very estimable memoir of the Life of Don. Mariano Moreno, page 23-24 et seq. proves, that the orders of the court and ministry really governed the country - but the Codes of the Indies contain what they may. It is almost a reflection on our taste and literary curiosity, that this valuable geographical and political work has not been translated and published in the United States.

The machinery by which these laws were to be executed, or local regulations ordained, has been amply detailed by a multitude of writers. We shall abbreviate longer statements into an epitome of the principle.

A captain-general is the King's representative, commander in chief of the forces, President of the Audiencia, and of every tribunal except commercial or financial ones, over which the Intendent, / an officer who administers all the business of rents / presides. In capacity of governor of Caracas, he presided in the Cabildos. He takes cognizance of civil and criminal causes in the first instance, & enjoys a liberal salary, besides perquisites of office. Like a Roman Dictator he is accountable for his conduct only at the expiration of his usual official term; when a law officer appointed for the purpose of scrutinizes his behaviour & receives complaints and testemony. This investigation is called residencia. From sympathy, fellowship, or sinister motives, this provision has commonly proved inefficacious. An officer must be indolent indeed, so people think, who does not entrench himself impregnably during his term. Mailed in metal, he stands invulnerable; that yellow metal which makes black, white; foul, fair; wrong, right; and base, noble," &c. A residencia, is therefore a useless ceremony, though the intention was just. An assessor, counsellor or assistant, who was always a lawyer, contributed his advice to the governor, as well as to

judges, in certain cases. This office, as the title imports, is borrowed from Rome, where assessores, assisted the Prætor in his judicial proceedings; and were so named from sitting with him on the same bench. They were co-adjutors also to the proconsuls in their provinces; but in this capacity partook more of the nature of a council or a jury.

Next to the Captain-general in rank and authority, but equal in respectability, was the high court of audiencia, an august body, possessing greater and more peculiar powers in America, than the audiences in Spain. They were originally intended to protect the natives against rapacity and oppression; to decide on appeal from alcaldes and corregidores; and sometimes from the ecclesiastical tribunals. They possess advisory or administrative authority, and sit at the Council Board with the Captain-general or Viceroy, at whose demise or absence they govern alternately. In a word, "they govern those who govern all the rest."[x] Every Spanish writer extolls the design and institution of the audience as a happy device for protecting the feeble against the powerful; and this tribunal has commonly been held in the highest veneration. Like Roman Senators, they wo-

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[x] Solorzano, has also remarked the obtainment of an order by the procurators of Cuba, &c. inhibiting lawyers from going to America, in order to prevent litigation. But they were sent afterwards, as a check on military abuses. Lorenzo solicited the Emperor for a reinforcement of moral and virtuous clergy priests to finish the subjugation of the natives, whilst soldiers were remonstrating against lawyers.

a distinguishing costume, or flowing robe [garnácha] and used to bear a vara [an emblematic rod] suspended from the button-hole - a badge which seems to have impressed, as much awe as did the fasces formerly borne before the consuls. The preamble to a royal ordinance of 1543, instituting the audience of Mexico, solemnly professes its object to be, the benefit, improvement, alleviation, peace and tranquillity of the subjects and natives, throughout towns and provinces; as we are bound [in duty] to God and to them, and to fulfill the office we hold of God on earth, we have resolved to establish our audience & royal chancery, &c. Members of the audience were reverenced as princes; and when casually met by travellers, on the way, it was a common courtesy to alight in token of homage, and offer to accompany them. [Rel Indiana, ib. ch. IV. 16.] This author is of opinion that their authority and respectability would be best secured by avoiding ostentation and arrogance, & by showing the world that their prudence and humility exceeded their power.

The audiencia of Caraccas, whose jurisdiction was commensurate with the Captain-generalship, was composed of a regent, 3 oridores, 2 fiscals†

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† Every one recollects the distinction between the public treasury and the personal [privy purse] funds of the Prince in Imperial Rome, [erarium and fiscus;] and the functions of Quaestor and his officers. The office of fiscal, was properly restricted to causes relating to the rights and revenue of the Emperor. A Spanish fiscal is analagous to the Roman advocate appointed by Adrian to guard and vindicate the prince's exchequer; and a more general advocacy of the rights of the crown assimilates him to the Procurator Caesaris, or Attorney General. [See Rel Indiana, lib. v cap. 6.; and

one for civil and criminal affairs, another for the finances; a reporter and an alguazil mayor.

This tribunal, I repeat was designed among other purposes, as a counterpoise to the inordinate power of the governor, or captain general, but the oidores are not completely responsible themselves... being exempt from the right of challenge, which lies against asesores and other judges. It is optional with them whether they admit or disallow the validity of exceptions. These they become judges in their own cause, and may, at discretion, mulct an objector in $200 in case of a Governor, or $120 case of an oidor. An important safeguard is here removed, where it is most essential - as self-interest rejects exceptions to integrity or other disqualifications Challengers will be mute under apprehensions of amercement while bribery stamps another stain on the soiled ermine of the bench. Something of this kind occurred in Puebla not long ago. Mr. La Casa, a gentleman who had a cause depending in the Alta Corte, excepted to Doct. ——, as a man notoriously dissolute and venal, &c. &c. and biased in the case. The judges rejected the objections and fined the Challenger $50. The suitor then stated, that if Doct. ——, harbored any remnant of delicacy, he would voluntarily relinquish his seat during a trial of

Roman historians. * fiscal sometimes indicates the punishment to be inflicted according to law, after trial; was ex officio protector of orphans; expounded the law, supported the privileges of the town, &c. and arraigned the violators of them.

which he knew his probity was impeached. Doct [illegible], was of another opinion! he thought that he ought not to desert the dignified station in which the Chief Executive had placed him, in order to gratify an irritated suitor. — He kept his seat, and Señor L. C—'s cause was weighed how fairly, I will not enquire, and found wanting.

As in Spain there lies an appeal from the judgments of the audience to the Council of Castile, for the chancerias of Valladolid and Granada, in their respective districts; so in America, an appeal is made in the last resort, against desicions of the audience to the Supreme Council of the Indies — i.e. by those who can defray the expense! × Until the establishment of the audience of Caracas, in 1786, that Captain-generalship had been alternately under the jurisdiction of the audience of San Domingo or of Santa Fé.

Judiciary formalities, tedious, complicated, and expensive, in most countries, are exceedingly so in the Spanish colonies; the facility of exceptions enhancing the evil, and re-

× M. Depons after chaunting some fulsome strains in praise of the monarchy and Council of the Indies, the next minute undermines his eulogium by admitting, that truth has very rarely the good fortune to reach them, for it can seldom extend so far. If Justice be blind, it ought to be in perfection there!

So at the hulls of pathetic wailings at the heinousness of the slave trade, which indeed cannot be overrated, the weird slave, he says, extorting involuntary groans. After thus feelingly bemoaning their hard fate, in vol. 1. he coolly informs us in the 3d. that the principal cause of the declension of Agriculture in Terra Firma, is "the fault of not introducing more negroes." Depons's work has many good traits, with a studied elegance of phraseology — but there is a woful want of consistency and independence. Every writer of [illegible] tunes his canticles to please the vitiated ear of royalty. How puerile!

larding justice from whose province the number of fueros or privileges is a fearful subtraction.

Of Alcaldes there are several Grades inferior and superior, of first vote, &c. — The former exercise the authority of Justices of the Peace, having cognizance of criminal causes in their districts ... Alcaldes Mayores, in certain cases, might try appeals from the former; and Alcaldes del crimen, have equal powers with oidores [members of the audience] in their proper districts: they also take cognizance of appeals in criminal causes, from inferior tribunals. In some provinces they form one hall or court with the oidores,* and like them might bear the dread ensign or vara [which represents the sceptre. [See Politica Indiana lib v. chap 3.] This elaborate author compares them in some respects to the Quæstores patricii; and in remote provinces are necessary to repress crimes by inflicting prompt punishment on offenders

An alguaçil is equivalent to by constable; alguaçil mayor to high-Sheriff or marshal. Alcayde signifies either the governor of a castle, or keeper of a jail. But these things are familiarly known.

Cabildo, Ayuntamiento or consejo, answering to chapter, council, or assembly † is a municipal body

* In Mexico "la sala de Alcaldes del crimen hace un solo tribunal con los oidores." [Bis. de la Revolucion.]

† Cabildo, from capitulum. Ayuntamiento is synonymous with junta or reunion, i.e. union, meeting or assembly. [See Mier y Guerra.]

entrusted in the cities with matters of police, economy, and local regulation, as weights and measures. Formerly the whole Cabildo was chosen directly by the people: the king appointing a certain number of regidors whose office is venal, being sold by proclamation of a public crier, to the highest bidder, &c. But latterly, and at present, the King, governor, Adelantado, names 12 regidores for a city, and 6 for a small town, entitled to a chapter. They are appointed for life, and may sell or transfer their office. Annually the regidors elect two alcaldes in ordinary, the first of whom bears the vara of justice. The Cabildos used to chuse the procuradors or representatives of towns &c. in the Cortes. Some have likened alcaldes and regidores to the decumviri and decurrones in a Roman colony, which they governed locally, as Consuls and Senate. To these are to be added the Sindic of the corporation, and Solicitor-like plebian tribunes of the people, special organs and agents to guard the privileges of their communities. There are numerous ordinances to prohibit the interference of the audiencia, &c. in the election of alcaldes; but these have been openly infringed or overleaped. They were violated in Caracas, but are unavailing forms at best. Where the fountain is impure, the interruption of the stream is of little consequence. See Solorzano Indiana lib. V. cap. 1. and Torquemada Monarquia de mexico. Though the Cabildos were scarcely the shadow of popular organization, yet of this

the government became jealous, and checked the extension of it.

Besides those branches of executive, magistratical, judicial or legislative office was the Tribunal of Inquisition, or Holy Office, introduced for politic purposes in church and state; but principally to suppress all opinions except those conformable to prescribed dogmas. It was first located in St. Domingo, but was since transferred to Carthagena, with jurisdiction over Hispaniola, New Granada and Terra Firma. The Holy Office decide on accusations of heresy or free thinking: anathematize whatever they please, and interpose their mandates like non-conductors between simple minds and the lightning ray that threatens to electrify the reasoning faculty, to palsy superstition, to singe credulity and consume imposture. In contemplating the exercise of the most monstrous, most transcendant powers ever usurped by man, some people have been perplexed to devine the precise views of the Inquisitors; whether they regarded the world as in a state of non-age, or childhood, and it was requisite to dictate dogmas, as nurses administer papi[illegible] the principle that "where ignorance is bliss 'tis folly to be wise"—and so happy ignorance was preferable to deep knowledge;—or that a chosen few had discovered a perfect standard of judging, and charitably arrogated the right of forcing it on others; conscious their system would not be

a close inspection, they resolved that it should not be examined at all. However it was- for conjecture itself is posed in such extravagance,- that sanguinary engine in one century, shed more human blood than ever stained the whole pagan world, on account of superstition. A power so infernal, was never before arrogated by man. Rome, in all the pride of dominion, never dreamed of enslaving the conscience.

It is almost unnecessary to recapitulate the history of this abominable machine, as to Europe. We all recollect that it was established in 1471 by Ferdinand and Isabella; but Ferdinand was soon alarmed at its progress, and tried in vain to undermine it The Arragonese flew to arms to oppose its entrance into their province. Catholic, as they were, they abhorred its secret modes of trial, as subversive of justice and freedom. An Inquisition was established in Mexico and Lima, in 1571, by Philip II; that of Carthagena, in 1610, by Philip III. Inquisitors were honorated from royal jurisdiction and allowed to bear arms to enforce their orders and punishments, or make seizures. Philip II assigns his reasons for the measure, and decrees the disbursement of their salaries from the royal coffers, provided the fines, penalties, and confiscations, be insufficient for discharging them. A condition was annexed to this in another bula requiring the officers of the Holy

office to furnish statements of their re
cepts on oath before the King's agents,
and to pay them their stipends. The
Inquisitors of Lima refused to exhib
it those accounts, and declared the K
officers excommunicated - if they shoul
not instantly pay their wages. In the
conflict the Holy office triumphed. -
Armed in the panoply of the church
they were invulnerable, and their ma
azine of anathamas was exhaustless.
The collision produced two new decree
Inquisitorial stipends were paid, and
means were contrived, or attempted, fo
taking account from their receivers
by the Viceroys. An apology was even ma
for the monarch: Pressed and drain
by so many wars, it was said, the Spa
ish government thought it was very re
sonable, that the public treasury sho
be lightened of as many burdens as pos
sible.

Missionary systems compounde
of civil discipline and ecclesiastical w
sages, are so generally understood now
a days, that we need not review them a
large. The pious labours of the early m
sionaries, and the prudent precepts of
the Jesuits, deserve many of the prai
is pronounced by Ulloa, Muratori, &
Their efforts, even in partially chris-
tianizing the Indians, consoled hum
ity for some of the bloody massacres
the conquerors. It was near the end
the 16th century, when the Jesuits com
menced the work of proselytism in
ana* having previously made sev

* It was so early as 1524, that priests went to mexi
where they were almost adored by the Conqueror, to impre

al converts in Trinidad, and erected villages in Casanare. Fathers Llauri and Verara reduced the Guayanese to civil life, and founded among them five churches. They devoted all their cares to augment the number of the faithful. These foundations soon devolved on the Capuchins, who have not evinced equal address with their predecessors. The Jesuits first study was, to acquire, by insinuating arts and little attentions, the confidence and friendships of the natives they wished to convert; and their plan was successful. Their discernment of human nature, its weakness and superstitious fears was profound. By these they tamed the fiercest tribes - with the exception of those who constantly led a nomadic life. That zeal which effected the conversion of the more fixed & docile Salives, on the meta was fruitless with the wandering Guayeas, Chircoas. An inclination for permanent habitation or for agriculture, is the commencement of civilization; that foundation must be laid before the human mind can imbibe doctrines adapted to a social state. It was not from indocility, but from erratic habits, that many of the savages refused

Indians with reverence. Special orders were also issued to army, to treat them with all respect, "which they did" (says Gomara) liberal donations and alms in order to cancel their sins." He relates rellous stories of the effigy of the cross, and the elements of the sacrament, &c. putting the devil to flight in various directions. Many were forto attend worship: their idols and images being proscribed, their temples being burnt and temples sacked, they used to secrete some their effigies, and so in the dark to practise their creed; but as were persecuted, they placed the cross over the effigy they bu- it; and if detected, and menaced with faggots, or baited by blood hounds pretended the cross was the object of their adoration. But this not avail them, though they complained bitterly, that after ing the images of Jesus and mary among their gods, these not tolerated. Olmedo and other priests, however, disrelished s coercion. [See Gomara; cap. 219..223 to 228, et passim - and 's Hist Tay.]

to learn even mummery, easily as it was of attainment, and adapted as it was to the lowest grade of intellect. The famed propagandists of Paraguay, who christianized the Guaranies of Uruguay and Parana could hardly procure a hearing from the hoards of Peromayo; for their territories being very extensive, and they leading a vagrant sort of lives without a permanent home, the zeal of the good father was frustrated." A roaming Arab or a roving Carib wants no dogmas. That inspire fear, or teach justice, or regulate civil life. He is unprepared for the reception of a liberal religion which ought to foster a pure morality, promote entire freedom of opinion on all subjects advance the perfection of civilization and exalt the dignity of our nature to the utmost elevation of which it is susceptible. But by systematic perversion it has too commonly debased, afflicted, and scourged mankind. The policy of the sons of Ignacius was, comparatively beneficent; they visited the poor Indians in sickness and alleviated their distresses; taught them, by degrees, the mechanic arts - having shops for weavers, carpenters, smiths, silver-smiths, watch-makers, &c. &c. in every town or village. They erected schools for instructing the neophites in reading writing dancing and music. They cheered them by diversions and established such economy and policy as cannot be passed over in silence without great injustice to those wise legislators [See Ulloa, vol ii. 179 et seq.] It has

been justly remarked, that, if it had not been for the judicious exertions of the Jesuits in Guayana, that whole province would yet be a howling wilderness. Their first and more fortunate approaches were made in the quality of traders, donors rather: - they made presents of fishing hooks, beads, needles and other articles esteemed by the natives. Gratuities so acceptable won their good will, and paved the way by which one religion marched out and another marched in. Gumilla affirms, that the women were always the first to befriend them; and that even amongst pagans, that sex possesses more piety" than the men. By ingratiating themselves with them, they generally succeeded in bringing over their husbands. Once obtaining audience, their adroitness in sapping prejudice, or assailing pre-established belief, was equal to their assiduity. The address of the missionary Gumilla in the case of the Betoyan Indian, was admirable. That chief had declared that "the sun was God." No, answered the padre, "It is a fire created by God, to light and warm us." Seeing the Betoyan still incredulous, Gumilla placed a lens between his arm and the sun's rays: feeling the smart, and seeing that the "burning glass" had raised a blister, the Indian exclaimed, - It is true - It is true; the sun is but fire. On one truth thus attested by the senses, a wily priest might engraft twenty fables - the grossest things being readily swallowed, when confidence has the asephagus is once distended. It is not wonderful then, that a body of subtile casuists, who believed that the

end justified the means, should abuse an unsuspecting credulity to instil some baneful tenets, and "propagate a loose and pleasant morality." This conduct detracts as greatly from their fame, as it did from their usefulness. But notwithstanding the subduction to be made on this score, the idea then imprinted and still entertained in South America, of the abilities and benevolence of this order of missionaries, is pointedly proved by the last of eleven articles proposed to the Cortes in 1811, as the basis of a pacification:-

"11th Considering the great advantages resulting from the cultivation of "science, and the benefits derivable from "instructing the Indians... the order of "Jesuits to be re-established by the Cortes"

A competent number of proselytes being made, a village /pueblo/ was laid out with great regularity; streets straight and parallel, crossing each other at right angles, formed so many little squares; a public one being left vacant in front of the Church and parsonage house, like the plaza in a Spanish city. A spacious garden was cultivated for the use of the padre, which with an orchard, afforded fruits, medicinal herbs, and roots for the people. They worked alternately a certain number of days in the Labranzas, or public grounds of the Cabecheria community, and so many on their private conucos or little fields. Regidors of their own were allowed to choose Indian Alcaldes, for their local sub-government; but the priest was, in his mission, "lord paramount" The little municipality

resembled that of a city. Extreme vigilance was employed to prevent intercourse between the other Spaniards and mission-ary Indians, to shut out contaminating examples, and hold the ductile mind in a happy inexperience, constituted half their policy, and travellers have given it their decided approbation. At the beginning it was evidently salutary; but the free intercourse of society is indispensable to information and improvement. A glimpse of neither seems to have been the purpose of these pastors. Content with enthralling the mind, most of them brought it to the threshold of civilized life and there left it stationary. Few are the instances where it was allowed to go beyond the vestibule. A cultivator who should inexorably clip the taller stalks in a luxurient field of wheat, making the more stunted plants a standard, a ne plus ultra of the rest, would give a just emblematic representation of the dwarfish level of mind in an Indian parish. None could safely aspire to overlop his neighbor - the merciless shears of fate seemed ready to lop him. Trim, even, dull and useless, the pueblo appeared to the priest the height of symmetry, beauty & perfection. But, without general and individual liberty, neither reason nor morality can attain their proper natural growth. It is to be regretted, therefore, that missionaries did not perform more than teaching the poor proselites to make the sign of the cross, or repeat a few dogmas

by rote, and sit demurely at church.
Moral culture was not merely neglect-
ed; to any rational extent it was pro-
scribed. They are not blamable, cer-
tainly, but merit praise, for avoiding
abstractions; † infantine judgments can-
not generalize ideas, nor comprehend
general truths, but soon learn to pur-
sue all the distinctions between right
and wrong. We reckon it a good sym-
tom that the Venezuelans patriots had
almost unanimously denounced the
missionary plans of the Capuchins,
fatal alike to religion, morality &
civil liberty. They not only censu-
the deception... they execrate it. As

† Sterne truly says "Religion was too abstracts before
the coming of our Saviour. But the clothing the Divinity with
matter hath presented us with a sensible object of our ado-
ration — which was absolutely necessary to attract the d-
votion of the many. For a philosophical religion is a reli-
gion — for a philosopher only."

This theologian saw through the whole matter. T
earliest rational religions of the east were founded on p
losophical truths; the symbolizing of which by emblema-
ic figures, led the ignorant in after times to idolatry. Thi-
ing men among the ancient Bramins, Persians, Egyptian
understood what was implied by the doctrine of a creative, a
preservative and a destroying principle. This triplicity was
true, intelligible and perfect: but when the same truth was co-
ed in hieroglyphical figures, which every where preceded the art
writing, the vulgar mistook it. Nor is that the only case (would
to heaven it were!) wherein the sign has been mistaken for the
signified. But even anciently, it was necessary to personify prin-
ples, and to preach personalities (so to speak) to those who could
derstand nothing else... and so it will be to the day of judgment
Many of the primitive christians, however, for leaning towards a
stractions, were accused of atheism — by the heathen: and the sa
thing happens in our day.

It is curious, also, that the number of idolaters, is far
than we have supposed. When Cortes fanatically overturned the
of the Tempsealans, he feared to repeat the outrage in Tlaxcala,
monished and rebuked by the remonstrance of the Senate, dilig
ered to him by his adherent Maxicatzin: — "You allege that wo
ships sticks & stones, and we know that they are so as to figure
we do not worship in them aught but the immortal beings of the
whom they represent, & to whom we have always considered ours
as debtors for the prosperity of this republic. To convince us that
are bad, in spite of the testimony & experience of ages, is not the w
of a day. Allow the people time to be enlightened and informed as
your creed, and if they discover theirs to be wrong, will cast do
their images of their own accord. Meantime this in no wise
ders our union in arms, which would be endangered by your
adoption of untimely measures." Thus as Dr. Muiry Guerra
claims, is not the discourse of barbarians! Still a sanguina
worship had been adopted by the Muyscans, & a more sa
guinary one by the Mexicans — their priests sacrificing h
man victims to their Gods — & immolating more and more
times of distress. Take them all in all, they must have bee
nearly on a par with — in some things, superior to their conquer

Baron Humboldt has very accurately described, the tendency of the discipline we reprehend - to isolate mankind and retard civilization at its commencement, we cannot refrain from copying some of the reflections of that impartial examiner:-

"Institutions thus useful in stopping the effusion of blood, and in laying the first basis of society, have become, in their result hostile to its progress. The effects of this insulated system, have been such, that the Indians have remained in a state little different from that in which they existed, when their scattered dwellings were not yet collected round the habitation of a missionary. Their number has considerably augmented- but the sphere of their ideas is not enlarged. They have progressively lost that vigor of character and that natural vivacity which in every state of society are the noble fruits of independence. By subjecting to invariable rules, even the slightest actions of their domestic life, they have been rendered stupid by the effort to render them obedient. Their subsistence, is in general more certain, and their habits more pacific; but subject to the constraint & dull monotony of the missions, they discover by their gloomy and reserved looks that they have not sacrificed their liberty to their repose without regret. The monastic system, confined to the Cloister, while it deprives the State of useful Citizens, may however, sometimes contribute to calm the passions, to soothe incurable sorrows, & fit the mind for meditation;

but transplanted into the forests of the new world, applied to the numerous relations of civil society, it has consequences so much the more fatal as its duration is prolonged: it enchains, from generation to generation, the intellectual faculties; interrupts the intercourse of nations, and is hostile to whatever elevates the mind or enlarges the conceptions. From these united causes, the natives who inhabit the missions are kept in a state remote from all improvement, and which we should call stationary, if society did not follow the course of the human mind, and must therefore be said to retrograde whenever they cease to go forward. [Personal Narrative, vol. iii. 4. 5.] —

Juster reflections were never uttered. The mechanical religion and morality of the Indians, were mere effects of slavish fear and restraint. Consequences being homogeneous with causes, the tuition of the monks produced a sort of automata, moved without will, or motive of their own, and "dull as the lake that slumbers in the storm". For what they did achieve in favor of humanity, the first missionaries will ever receive the applause of the humane - regardless of creeds or sects. Their fortitude was equal to their Zeal. In Guayana they were almost continually disturbed by the Caribs, instigated by the Dutch, of Surrinam, who (according to contract) bought all the captives made in those incursions. Catholic writers bitterly censure the Dutch Jews of Curazao and Surrinam, as the leading smugg-

and slave-dealers; but there was pro-
bably some religious prejudice in this.
[Oronoco Illustrado tom. ii 73. &c.] while the
mamalukes of San Pablo,* in Brazils
were committing ravages of the same sort
in the missions of Uruguay, the Portuguese
made inroads in quest of slaves, as far as
the Oronoco, and carried off all the re-
duced Indians they could seize. The mis-
sionaries and their escorts were often
besieged in their stations by the Caribes
&c. and on the brink of perishing with
hunger - the enemy burning their maize
and obliging them to subsist on ma-
nates and fishes of the lagoons, with-
in the bounds of their rude enclosures. Re-
lations of some of those blockades, and
the accounts of the besieged continuing to
support themselves with thousands of
bafses morocotes, &c. &c. appear like fairy
tales to persons unacquainted with the lo-

* Contrary to the later and better conclussions of Azara, who bears witness in the case of the Mestizos and Mulatos, to the melioration of race by commixture, Muratori had assigned these outrages of the mamalukes to their mixed descent from Portuguese cavaliers and Indian women! - as if blood were every thing and education nothing. In a like spirit, but with some better reason, a representative in the Cortes pronouncing a just eulogium on the bravery and virtues of the hardy inhabitants of the internal provinces of Mexico, who never murmured nor deserted under any privations, even "when, as has often occurred they have been forced to eat the leather of their saddles and moccasins for food" - nay says he, "they lived on rats and rattle snakes without any instance of desertion except the Cook of the second in command, who, most assuredly was not a native of those provinces." Thus prejudice seems to impart its hue to all objects be intents charitable or illiberal. - The Jews probably had only their share of commercial vice. - Persecution had done every thing to embitter their feelings, poison their dispositions, and degrade their character. If a tincture of depravity still remain, it is not peculiar to them. The Abbe Raynals eloquent apostrophe reflects justice on the liberality of the Dutch, and of course to the United States, in admitting the Jews to a participation of civil rights. He attacks prejudice at the roots.

"What, says he, are those ideal, nominal distinctions of religion or country? miserable inhabitants of a spot which ye cultivate with so much toil and [redacted] sorrow! Are ye not all men? Why then do you drive each other from a world where you live but for an instant? And what a life too, is it the enjoyment of [redacted] which ye have the folly and cruelty to dispute with each other!? Is it not sufficient that the elements, the heavens & even the earth fight against you - but ye must add to those scourges of nature the abuse of that little strength which she has left you to resist them? Raynal Phil. Pol. &c. lib. XII.

calities of Guayana, and Casanare - particularly with situations on the margins of rivers and swarming with innumerable fishy tribes, which migrate from the river to the lagoons and from these to the river at stated seasons. The privations suffered, and the hazzards encountered by those friars, to improve the condition of the paysan, declare the purity and piety of their motives. As the revolution is undertaken to meliorate the moral and political situation of the same classes, with that of the nation of which they compose a considerable part, this retrospect may not be misplaced.

It is time to take a glance at the nature of Spanish commercial arrangements. If the ancient system is destined to crumble into dust, and give place to new regulations, we cannot duly weigh the advantage or disadvantage of the change, without knowing what was changed. It is evident that countries so well adapted to agriculture as Venezuela and New Granada — their table lands and fertile vallies, producing in perfection the most precious plants of the tropics, must have quickly advanced to opulence if cultivation had not languished under restrictions that withered their commerce. Several important branches of agriculture were directly prohibited; and obstacles placed in the way of emigration. None, we believe, has more concisely & minutely described the mercantile, maritime and colonial policy of Spain than Don Rafael Antunez y Acevedo, a conspicuous member of the Council of the Indies, in his Historicas memorias, &c. A few leading notices of each class may serve to give us sufficient insight into the govern-

ing principle of the code. We may further illustrate it by other authorities. — Dry as the subject apparently is, it is not barren of wholesome lessons.

1st Authorized ports. — Trade with the colonies was confined for about a century to the ports of Seville, San Lucar, and Cadiz. Traders in Bayonne, and Corunna, had to despatch their vessels from Seville. In 1666, the India Board of Cadiz was abolished; but, on the remonstrance of that city, seconded by a donation of 80.250 crowns, which gave greater weight to expostulation, it was reinstated with privileges in 1679; and in 1680 it was ordered that the fleets should sail from and return to that port, on account of the risks and difficulties of the bar of St. Lucar. On certain conditions the Canarians might trade with Caracas; as the people of Aragon enjoyed that right from the first.

From 1497 to 1543 exports from Spain to the colonies were exempt from imposts. Then, in 1543, the duty on merchandize, called almoxarifazgo, took effect on exports, for it existed in America from the beginning. At this time the national industry of Spain was at its height; but in 1573, had declined so much that the duty of almoxarifazgo de Indias was doubled.x But twice two it has

x Spain formerly excelled all Europe in manufacturing skill and labor. Her leather, linen, cutlery, woolen, and silk manufactures, were the source of employment, commerce and plenty. "Thus says Colorde was a brilliant period for Spain." When her manufactures declined she declined. Seville, at one time, employed above 4000 looms, and 130,000 persons in silk manufactures; and in all branches upwards of a million of persons throughout the Kingdom. Spain then exported more manufactured article than raw materials, besides supplying the inhabitants.

By this we see, that the banishment of the Jews, under edict of march 30, 1492, - abominable as it was, did not so materially affect Spanish industry, though 800,000 left the country. Those who remained 100,000, on pretence of abjuring their religion, were murdered by the inquisition. — The decree of 1610, which drove the arts and the Arabians (2,000,000 of them) out of Spain, wounded her interests as vitally as deservedly. From that memorable expulsion

been shrewdly said, are not always equal to four in custom-house arithmetic. Some statesmen are fond of nostrums. [illegible] It was not long after this period [Sir Adams' Hist. Spain, vol. ii -192-] that the Duke of Lerma resorted to another odd expedient to retain a circulating medium. As all the specie imported from America immediately vanished, to pay for the manufactures of more industrious nations, the Duke in order to supply the deficiency of precious metals, endeavored to raise the value of copper-coin nearly to a par with that of silver! The consequence was (as might have been foreseen,) that counterfeit copper-money was poured into Spain from neighboring nations, who received greater value in return. The evil grew worse; and distress increased from one end of the kingdom to the other.

In 1728, the company of Guipuscoa was established with exclusive privilege to traffick with Caracas, &c. A Caracanian historian speaks of this mo-

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she became dependent on France, England and Germany for their manufactures. She taxed woolen manufactures and silk - next exported wool and raw silk! What infatuation, while she pretended to supply her colonies exclusively!

x Even where the intrinsic value of money is out of the question, a nation may be undone by a bare increase of paper-circulation. Thus England greatly multiplied the embarrassments of France at a critical period of the revolutionary war, by sending over great quantities of assignats. The savage Chief of the Pelew islands who upbraided his warriors for destroying the enemy's plantains or cocoa trees, would have hesitated at this. They replied. "The English do so." [See Beland's Voyages.] But to return, if a hostile nation can burst circulation, [illegible] I may use the phrase, a company of monopolists may do so likewise, for their interests clash with those of the public. The real welfare of nations is incompatible with monopolies or privileges of any kind. Spain has tried them all. ought we not to be much obliged to those who try sad experiments for our instruction? Such may save other nations from a woful repetition.

nopoly with indignation. He complains that the Company fixed prices and tariffs at will, prescribing what prices should be paid for their merchandize and for colonial produce, the former extremely high, the latter unreasonably low. They would sell only in bulk, or by wholesale, in inconvenient, ill-assorted lots. The right of buying and selling was reserved for the Biscayans, [factors.] Tillage was, at the same time the inheritance of a handfull of haughty Spaniards, and agriculture drooped nearly as it had done under the Welsers. [Mss. His. of the Revolution of Caracas, J.] It is highly probable that a native of Caracas knew the operation of this monopoly as well as M. Depons!

About 1765, there was a variation of the practice pursued for two hundred years, nine or ten ports being then allowed to trade with America, and the number was farther augmented in 1778-1783. Could the government have extricated itself from all prepossession in favor of a circumscribed traffick, and have completely enfranchised it, in all probability we should not witness a revolution to day. For all history is evidence of the passive, [illegible] disposition of mankind, ever inclined to submission, and fearful of political change, they bear a thousand hardships before they think of resistance. They give governments credit, [as Rousseau observes] not solely for the positive good they do, but for the mischief they refrain from doing, and continue to adore their rulers if they have not absolute cause to hate

them. Ideas of monopoly still held the ascendant. It was a relaxation in favor of Spain; but a step towards liberality. Campeachy and other dye woods were already exempted from import-duty in the mother country, together with cotton destined for their manufactories: pimento, salt fish, wax, tortoise-shell, annato, coffee and sugar were added to the exemption list. Catching a faint view of right economy, in which Philip V and Ferdinand VI had set useful examples, in reviewing manufactures and commerce, she exonerated from export duty in Spain and import duty in America, for ten years, all fabrics of Spain, of Majorca or Minorca.

[By the 24th article of the ordinance (1778) a long catalogue of cutlery, and other articles of Spanish fabric cathe are freed from all duties except those of alcavala, which were levied on all merchandize imported into the Indies (i.e. American colonies.]

The 43d article exonerated from contributions on importation into Spain a numerous class of South American products; but raising it to exorbitancy (in some cases) on their re-exportation to foreign countries. Among these were, the medicinal oils or balsams of Maria or Tolu, liquidambar, abele (or silver tree) anotto, raw and spun cotton, indigo, dressed skins, canchelague (a sort of Gentian root in Peru) bucaros (odoriferous earthen ware, in great esteem) coffee, fish, guinquina (genuine cinchona, or Jesuits bark,) wax, unclaried mother of pearl, contra yerba, divi-divi,

calaguala, (another foreign root,) hemp, salt meat, and IN

* The divi divi is a pretty, large, branchy tree which

tin, horns, hair, wool of the vicuña, alpaca, guanaco, sheep, ceyba [silk cotton tree] flax, cochineal, woods of all sorts [nine species are specified in the ordinance] skins of the stag, deer, bison, seal, tiger and vicuña, pita,* macuquina silver, tallow, wild and fine raw silk, tea, herb of Paraguay, and all other productions of the Indies and Philippines, which had not as yet been imported into those [Spanish kingdoms.]

From this short extract we perceive how rich in articles of commerce are the colonies of Spain. Apparently liberal as this edict of free commerce is, it requires but little penetration to see, that it is avaricious monopoly in disguise. All products were exportable to Spain, who gathered or sought to gather enormous revenues from taxing the reexportation. While she resolved to enrich herself on colonial labour, she aimed at "deceiving the people in relation to the heavy burthen imposed upon them." [See Toms Exposition of the Commerce of Spanish America, &c p 19.]

great quantities of small fruit or singular nut, very useful in tanning hides. Those nuts are usually boiled or steeped in water until the essential principle [or tanning] is extracted, when the liquor is poured on the skins in the vats previously prepared by lime or alkali. I have seen this tree in every part of Guayana that I visited, and observed the process in the village of Pastora on the yurguari, &c. &c. This tree is a gift from nature the more precious, in a country that affords so little bark besides, suitable for tanning. — Indeed timber is very scarce in almost all the plains. Mr Wafer relates in his description of the Isthmus of Darien [p. 77] that the bark of the mangroves, which grow in the salt water, of a red color, is used for tanning leather. Though this briny marshy growth, is but too common in the West Indies and South American shores, I never saw it put to so useful a purpose.

*Pita is a small species of afave or aloe whose fibres are converted into light, strong and elegant cords. The filaments of the aloe generally may be twisted or plaited into ropes or cables of the most beautiful and durable texture.

a most estimable little tract, comprising much information in small compass. Multum in parvis would be a true motto for it. Spanish merchants, from their influence with the government, were not only the regrators of American products, absorbing all the profits, but exclusive regulators of imports and exports.

The second branch of governmental regulation, was the vessels in which commerce with the Indies should be prosecuted. It was conducted by fleets and convoys from 1541, more especially from 1542. Persons trading in contravention of this rule incurred the forfeiture of vessel and cargo. Two fleets were despatched annually, for Terra Firma - one in January, another in August. The equipments of the armada prescribed in 1543 and 1552, in several parts of the armament, as the quantity of stone balls for cannon, great variety of swivels and small guns, &c. would sound extremely odd in the present day - if we could forget for a moment the march of the arts, revolutions of custom, difference in gunnery naval architecture and seamanship. Even the quotient of washerwomen allowed for the general service of the armada is ordained by instructions of 1572. At that time the general & admiral of the fleet were empowered to inflict prompt and vigorous punishment on corsairs met on the high seas, whom they might try, condemn, sentence and hang up without delay. - This severity was levelled at English & and Scotch adventurers, who used to smuggle with the fleet with the design of pe-

lage, contrary to treaty and to the will of their natural lords and masters. In 1740, the fleets were superseded by free registers (when goods were entered and permitted to be exported at private risque in swift sailing vessels) and utterly extinguished in 1778.

In the spirit of that age, which seems to have been transfused to England about a century after,* the generals were to order an adequate number of clergymen to embark with the armada, (if those should not voluntarily offer themselves) to administer the sacrament of confession, &c. to the sailors who might stand in need of it. In 1632, we meet with sundry contrivances for remedying the injury, scandal, and baneful example arising from the neglect of sailors and soldiers in the fleet, to shrive to communicate (comulgar) and lead a Christian life. The prelates of the orders of St Augustine, St Dominick, &c. &c. were to furnish priests & preachers: without a certificate under their hands of having made shrift and fulfilled other religious duties, sailors and mariners could not receive their wages from the house ~~and their masters~~ of out-fit and contraction. (casa de contratacion) and their patents were stopped until they complied with

* Spain by her intercourse with the more enlightened Arabs, stood foremost in civilization among the European nations; and her light and darkness were successively reflected on them — or else, like causes engendered like effects, without morals, contagion or transmutation. — Among the soldiers of Cromwell, we find the same cant and fervor or piety run mad, that we observed in the veterans of Vasco Nuñez de Bilboa or of Cortes, &c. &c. so long before. Had other nations contemporaneously colonized North America, scenes no less sanguinary of massacre and rapine would have been displayed as in the South, unless lack of gold mines should have afforded fewer incentives to avarice, then so ready to veil itself in the cloak of religion.

the law. The measures devised for preserving their health are very laudable. But unluckily the mania for issuing prescriptions, transcended the conscientious bounds of confession and eucharist, to interlope with the business of the cultivator as to intermeddle in the profession of the seaman. For about this time certain branches of agriculture began to be jealously discouraged in America: it was forbidden to detail Indians under the mita, for several kinds of cultivation - more of which in its proper place.

The third division legislation regulates commercial intercourse. Cargoes and persons to be shipped. Wrought gold and plate, enchased stones and pearls, were in 1530, forbidden to be exported under a heavy fine. By various cedulas certain negroes, Barbary slaves reckoned refractory, insolent and incorrigible - any brought up by a Morisco converted moor or his descendant, moor or mulato, were interdicted from embarking. If any of the sect of Jews, Arabs or mulatos, were shipped without royal licence, they were returned to Spain at the expense of the exporter. Illegal exportations generally, were liable to confiscation for the benefit of the revenue.

A cedula of 1543, forbade the exportation of "books of romance, which treat of matters profane and fabulous and fictitious histories:" that of 1566 prohibited exporting arms offensive or defensive without express and special licence; and a more important decree of 1621 interdicted the exporta-

tion of iron in bars, spikes, spades, horse shoes, and some other implements of iron, to the Indies. Contracts for supplying the colonies with negro slaves, concluded first with individuals, afterwards with the Courts of France and England, are too notorious to require repetition. The latter stipulation gave great dissatisfaction - it ceased entirely about 1748.* Turks, moors, mulatos, were carefully excluded.

Contributions on commerce with the Indies, are the objects of the fourth part of this code. A tax, called averia, or average was originally exacted, to defray the cost of fleets and convoys to protect trade from depredation. This commenced in 1521; was levied on merchandize in proportion to the expense, † being founded on the same aforo or valuation made by the almoxarifes assessor or tax-gatherer, for collecting the duty almoxarifazgo. The idea of

* If the Portuguese were the first slave dealers, England quickly eclipsed all competitors in this unjustifiable, infernal traffick. When Mr Wafer besought his government to take possession of the Isthmus, he represents that "beside the peculiar value of such a settlement, England would derive by their [the settlers] vicinity to Porto Bello and Carthagena, a ready sale for their Slaves brought from the coast of Africa."

A sensible heart is wrung with sorrow whenever this mournful subject occurs to its reflections. All nations appear guilty.

In 10 years ending in 1744, the British parliament for relief of a company, voted £100,000 in support of the slave trade.

From 1680 to 1700, no less than 300,000 Africans were kidnapped and enslaved by British merchants. All their imports of slaves from 1680 to 1786 are estimated at 2,130,000! and those were destined for the continent of America or the islands.

In 1771 no fewer than 192 ships sailed from England for the African coast, to bring 47,146 slaves. - of these vessels 107 sailed from the port of Liverpool alone. See Edwards his West Indies.

It is not wonderful, then, that England soured some of her colonies surcharged with Africans. But we feel a sensation of shame in thinking that our own nation is also eminently guilty and reproachable on this head.

† With its usual concern for piety, the Spanish Government exempted

this tax, as of the alcavala, was of moorish origin; and proves how little was then known of Political Economy, which disallows industry to be harrassed.

Administrators who framed the tax of averia, stipulated with the Council of the Indies, in 1598, that it should not receive the name of renting or farming [arrendamiento] as, in verity it was not, and consequently that the contract should not disparage the parties concerned, nor derogate from their nobility. - Such was the erroneous notion of chivalry, that idleness, or a false contempt for industry, was an adjunct, if not a distinctive badge of noblesse. - How heartily ought intelligent Spaniards to reverence Cervantes for writing such foibles and hobby horses out of countenance! In 1734, the Company of Guipuzcoa, among other supplementary additaments to their privileges, obtained the important concession of trafficking directly or indirectly, without forfeiting honor, estate or reputation! or tarnishing their nobility!

Almoxarifazgo, or royal duty, is a contribution paid on merchandize imported or exported by sea or land, or shipped from port to port. It formerly embraced three items, of toll, for carriage duties and shop-taxes. In 1568 the government collected 5 per cent. instead of 7½ as before, on exports from Seville, and 10 per cent. on the same articles arriving in America. This aggregate of 15 per

from this duty all bales and parcels destined for the holy places of Jerusalem, and articles remitted for the canonization of V.P. Francisco Solano.

cent. then included the alcavala on first sale whether effected or not. Exorbitant duties were levied on wine, brandy, and oil, &c. Sometimes 30 to 40 per centum, before the tariff of 1720. But we are less interested in the history of remote impositions, than in the recent or present state of them. Spain, at times, felt the impolitic operation of excess and exclusion, and occasionally relaxed in both... but still left too many roots of the cancer unextracted.

The multiform duty of alcavala is so vexatious, as to defeat its purpose; being evaded wherever it is possible; and frequently paid three or four times on the same article, in its different states, before it reaches the consumer. Oil, as instanced by tourists, first pays the tax as oil; secondly as soap, & thirdly as paint; grapes are taxable, first as fruit, 2dly as wine; 3dly in form of vinagre; wool and silk pay it twice; tallow thrice; 1st with the animal sold, 2d as tallow, 3d as candles, &c.; pigs, sheep, &c. pay it twice. Laborde remarks, that it is the more oppressive, as it falls on articles of prime necessity, that enter most into barter and consumption. Foreign articles pay it ten or twelve times before the last retailer hands it to his customer. Its unproductiveness is manifest from the fact, that though it accounts in Spain to 1/14th part of real property, and shoulds clos sales and re-sales, it yields only a paltry pittance, inadequate to cover the cost of collection.*

* me is startled with surprise, that the wants

Since 1784 dutiable articles are divided into three classes; the first consisting of products the growth or manufacture of Spain, are called, relatively, free effects, but pay 9 ½ per cent. The 2d comprises manufactures from foreign materials which pay 12 ½ per cent. The 3 class is composed of foreign comodities imported into America, through the medium of Spain; paying, on importation into Spain, 15 per cent: on exportation 7 do; on arriving in the Indies, 7; which with other imposts, as the duty of consulado, &c. exceed 43 per cent. [See Depons Voyage à Caracas, Ch. VIII & IX. In tables of the duties general & local, and the nature of them.] See also Vol. Poinsett's Report, &c. on South America

In addition to the alcavala, there are payable the duties of armada, armadilla, consulado, licence on cock fights, grocery stores, for pulperias; an excise on tafia, guarapo; venal offices, stamped paper, the quinta for fifth of mines, &c. salt works, — the corso, Indian tribute, the monopoly of tobacco, papal bulls, or indulgences of various sorts, which seem to be drafts on some spiritual bank or sinking fund, the result of excessive merits in Saints or others, applicable for money, to supply moral delinquency of

the government should oblige it to resort to such desperate shifts. Since the king has several productive monopolies to replenish his exchequer — the sale of tobacco, salt, lead, playing cards, quicksilver, stamped paper, sealing wax, gunpowder and sulphur, all sold on his account. [See Descriptive Itinerary &c. 515.] Salt mines produce great revenue from the copious salt mines in Valencia and Murcia — and in some years the tobacco monopoly amounts to $7,000,000. But we must make a great deduction on account of privileges in the nobles & clergy. These to be sure are only tax gatherers for the king as regards the mesada and tercias rates levied on their salaries — yet they have great absorbant powers: and revenue disappears in their fathomless chest as a stone sinks in an abyss. Nobles are exempt from most imposts or from imprisonment for debt, except for dues or militia service. Their house, horse, arms or mule cannot be distrained, and they all are admissible into the four military orders of Santiago Alcantara, Calatrava and Montesa.

any amount or enormity.* This stock has been depreciated of late; and threatens to be at a discount equal to the fall below par. — Tithes in Guayana and Cumaña are receivable by the King. These, with some minor items compose the revenue of Venezuela. — In this Captain Generalship the sale of bulls produced, it is believed, about $80,000; one third of which accrued to the Government, and two thirds to the Clergy; in America and the Philippine islands $600,000. — The tobacco monopoly yielded $800,000; and Custom house receipts of all sorts about $1.500000; making, (inclusive of tithes) a total of $2,500,000. The Intendant was obliged to borrow $1,200,000 annually from Mexico and new Granada to defray the expenses of government.

The fifth class of regulations and the most scrupulous, related specially to emigrants and traffickers. Instructions of 1501 and 1510 preclude foreigners from passing to the Indies. Spaniards were even debarred, under severest penalties, from selling ships to strangers. — For a season, the great decay of Spanish shipping, from the disastrous wars of Philip II. III. & IV. rendered these precautions completely nugatory. The system was not changed but interrupted. None except natives of Castile, Leon, and Arragon, were permitted, from the discovery, to traffick with or settle in America. In 1553, the people of Navarre were formally

*Hence the inimitable Swift (see Tale of a Tub,) speaks of this demoralizing institution as an "insurance office" where offenders of the darkest dye could have their crimes underwritten against all risks and consequences for an adequate premium. — The Confessionary, almost equally demoralizing, he styles the "whispering office" — yet the latter is not always hurtful. Wise men in [illegible] Countries, [illegible] and Catholic writers too] begin to look askance at these "offices." See Dr. Moreno's memoirs for some piquant reflections on this subject, p. 51. 52.

The yearly revenue from Cruzada-bulls, which amounted to $180,000 in some provinces before the revolution, has fallen to $25,000 since that epoch. For this important fact, I am indebted to a manuscript work by D. M. Moreno.

admitted to that privilege, as they had partially enjoyed it by licence from 1512.† This permission was subsequently extended to several provinces of Spain. But foreigners were incapacitated from trading with America, mediately, or immediately, & Herrera's assertion notwithstanding. [See Acevedo 271] Ingress was long withheld from Spaniards themselves, who were ranked as foreigners, except natives of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Valencia Catalonia and Navarre, with those of Majorca and Minorca. But to resume the subject; the exception caused by necessity in 1722, was momentary, and ceased with the exigency. Cedulas from 1592 'till 1808 debarred foreigners from the trade, under the confiscation of goods, and natives attempting to screen such commerce, incurred the like penalty.— A decree of October 3d. 1814, ordained, that no intercourse with strangers be tolerated in any port of the West Indies or Tierra Firma [continent] on the north or South seas, not so much as ransom or exchange, or any other trade whatsoever, under pain of death, and forfeiture of merchandize to the transgressors of whatsoever state or condition they might be.

As in Spain, only a prescribed number of ports [puertos habilitados]

† Finally, all the provinces shared in it except Biscay who kept up the semblance of representation or general assembly and fortified by her mountains, refused to surrender the fueros which Charles V. recognised, & Ferdinand and Isabella swore to respect. This solemn ceremony was performed under the famous oak of Guernica, where the gallant Basques used, assembled, and debated, and their judges held trials of felons, &c. Touches of character we applaud the Biscayans, and should accord them the civic oaken crown! They all claim to be nobles and this is right—since self respect determines both morals and politics. or the want of it,

were capacitated for intercourse with the Indies, so in America the ports were classed into greater and lesser - in these the municipal duties were exacted; in those both species were ~~exacted~~ paid. On making shipments from the superior ports to the minor, the duties were refunded... as in our provision of drawbacks; but on embarking merchandize from minor to greater ports, it was necessary to advance the general imposts. It seems a reasonable regulation. Venezuela had for superior ports: Maracaybo, Coro, Porto-Cabello, La Guayra, Barcelona, Cumana, with three of Margarita and Guayana.

About 1806, the clandestine exports of colonial produce from Venezuela, were rated at $2.500.000, and 600,000 in Specie: regular exports to Spain and Mexico, equalled 2,000,000 more; forming the gross sum of 5,100,000. Importation for the same period was estimated to exceed $4,000,000; but on a series of years one must equal the other, as production governs consumption, and a people cannot long continue to trade beyond their means.

When Spain was incapable of supplying her colonies with manufactures, her prohibitions were frustrated by necessity - but continued nominally in force, only to nourish a contraband trade, highly injurious to the treasury and to the morals of mercantile men. The chance of gain exceeding the risk of detection, served as a bounty to illicit traffick. The endeavors to establish woolen man-

ufactories after 1783, were openly thwarted by the English cabinet, who gave a premium of 20 per cent. on the exports of woolen fabrics to Spain. M. Lavaysse does not hesitate to censure the ministers as venal who beheld this undisguised infraction of the Spanish laws without emotion. The British manufacturer undersold the Spanish, who was compelled to relinquish an unequal competition without protection. [Voyage to the Isles, &c. in Venezuela, tom. ii 105]

Though American industry has certainly made rapid advances since restraints were relaxed, the colonists had much reason to murmur, that it was so long the object of jealousy instead of meeting encouragement. To oblige the Americans to purchase her oil, the Spanish Government prohibited plantation of olive trees. The colonists then substituted the use of tallow, butter and lard, when it was practicable—when the monopolists seeing their precaution eluded, hit upon the expedient of drawing away their money by means of bulls & lacticinios; taxing them in this manner for indulgencies in the fasts of Lent. Usage however, had adjudged the case, and it was by this time settled law, that the clergy only were obliged to purchase the bull of milk* of the bishops; the layman using all its appurtenances with a clear conscience. [See Letter II of a S. American to the Spaniard in London, 1809.]

With what reason the Americans

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* Every one understands that this licence "means more than" meets the ear." A dispensation for milk might imply as much as Peter's brown loaf: all depending like law on interpretation.

murmured at the discouragements of rural pursuits, the laws bear witness. Though it was acknowledged that agricultural industry was the bases of national prosperity; though Spanish writers themselves borrow largely from encomiests in Greece and Rome, whose most illustrious generals disdained ~~not~~ but delighted to follow the plough, as if to keep their laurels more fresh and verdant amidst the flowers and fruits and arbours of the country; yet, unluckily it was not deemed by the government of the metropolis, the fittest occupation for its colonists. The mellifluous strains of the Mantuan bard and the lessons of economists were alike incapable of altering counsels drawn from monopolists. One of the happiest, sweetest employments of man, in whose walks a patriot virtue fans her quenchless vestal fires; where philosophic contemplation over^at the plough dilates and disturbed through empyrean and boundless regions; where Poesy mures her wing to loftier flights, "exhausts known worlds and then imagines new;" where Hospitality has her altars & her chosen worshippers; where Tranquility reigns; where Bravery steels his Herculean nerves;^ and where civilization had birth;"

Where Justice left, when she forsook mankind,
The last impressions of her steps behind.[X]

Such an occupation was doomed to feel a thousand impediments, lest a Spanish

[X] Justitia excedens terris vestigia fecit. extrema per illos

But the rythmus, the musical flow of the divine passage - does not surpass its rapid truth; as to the happiness of a rural life.

O fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint,
Agricolas! procul discordibus armis,

/over/

exporter. Should meet competition in the sale of his almonds, oil, nuts, spirits & wine; lest a rustic should raise an extra plant of tobacco, or whiff away his cares without licence. Labor was encumbered when it ought to have been discumbered and left free. But examples of this left handed policy abound in the annals of England and Holland, towards their colonies. In Amboyna and Banda only, would the Dutch tolerate plantations of nutmeg and clove trees. In all the other molucca islands those fruits were destroyed by order of the government. But odious abuses are opening the eyes of mankind in all countries to the real rights and interests of society. When governments are obliged to spend less, the enjoyments of the people will be increased; and when privileged "parasite institutions" cease, ungratefully, to strangle that industry on which they batten (as ivy chokes the oak) then shall labor reap its honest rewards, in a frugal, cheerful & contented life. For a moment we must take a short & hasty retrospect of

Fundit humo facilem victum justissima tellus.
× × × × × × × × × × × × × ×
At secura quies, et nescia fallere vita
Dives opum variarum; et latis otia fundis
Speluncæ, vivique lacus; at frigida Tempe,
mugitusque boum mollesque sub arbore somni
non absunt. . . . . Virg. Georgica, lib: II v. 458 et seq.]

The translation hobbles miserably, compared with the original

O happy swains, did they their bless but know!
To whom the earth releas'd from all the woe
of civil broils, gives with a liberal hand
An easy plenty at their just demand.

It was hardly necessary to heighten Scotia effect in this case by contrasting the costly luxuries of the town with the living charms of the country. The rustics know not the former

yet fearless innocence, and peaceful rest,
Unbounded plains with endless riches blest
Wet caves and living lakes, and any shades,
And the soft low of kine and sleepy shades
Are never wanting.

contrary maxims and conditions.

Where the advantages of fair emulation were unknown or feared, hindrances were multiplied on one side of the Atlantic, as if to foster sloth and and forestalling on the other. When Don Luis de Velasco was appointed Viceroy of Peru, the first chapter of his instructions was of this tenor:- "In the directions and confidential dispatches given to D. Francisco de Toledo, on his setting out to govern those Kingdoms, it was ordered, That he shall take special heed not to suffer the fabrication of cloth or plantation of vines, for several weighty considerations; and principally, because having there a sufficient supply of those things, the trade and intercourse with those kingdoms should not be injured & diminished." Notwithstanding this order vines and wine are permitted in Peru, with limitations - not to export them by the Pacific, to the coast of Guatemala. Pol. Indiana, lib. II chap IX. From its conquest, the planting of the vine on the plain or table-land of New-Granada, though soil and climate are admirably fitted for its growth, was prohibited, on pretence of allowing greater space to grain & pasture.

Injunctions were strictly laid on the Viceroy of Mexico, in 1596, to enquire and ascertain whether the people were planting mulberries or sowing flax seed in that country, and to discountenance any further progress in either.

By a cedula of 1609 it is expressly forbidden to appropriate the personal service of the vassal-Indians towards

vineyards and olive-groves, &c. though their labor was allowed for the ordinary business of a farm. Repartimientos of Indians were often denied for the cultivation of indigo, and for attending sugar works, on behalf why some exception was made in favour of Chile and Peru, is of universal notoriety. A like reason ought to have removed the prohibitions from Quito, if not from all the inland regions of New Granada.

Neither could the labor of the Indians be lawfully required for the cultivation of the coca, or betel, a shrub indigenous in Peru and Popayan, &c. whose leaves, with a chalky earth, called mambi were chewed as a tonic or narcotic.* It was one of the highest luxuries known to the natives, to masticate this plant and swallow the juice. They could not be dragged to the mines without it; as it exhilerated the spirits or allayed irritation of mind, it gave tone to the stomach. Superstitious ideas exaggerated its virtues, however extraordinary they might have been, and religious casuistry disputed its qualities with as much subtility as it contested the good and bad properties, the holy and impious uses of wine.† The coca had be-

* It is the leaf of a plant says Ulloa, which like the vine twines around another for support. The Indians prefer to money, guns, or any species of provisions, &c &c. — is tonic and restorative; the Indians cannot be allured to the mines, nor are they able to endure their labor without it. — [1. 344-5]

† Don Sabastian de Sandoval a judge of the audiencia of Panama, wrote and published a learned vindication of the vineyards in his jurisdiction and in Potosi. Solorzano confesses, in spite of the pernicious influence of the "blood of the grape," that it must be esteemed a most excellent liquor, since it is worthy to be converted into the blood of Christ, by virtue of the words of consecration pronounced by the priest in celebrating mass." Superstition sometimes favored, sometimes thwarted the precepts of a narrow policy.

for the purpose of relieving them from the taxes, and impugning the arguments of Fr. Bartolomé Peñalosa.

extravagantly prized by the Incas, who had [redacted] its consumption to the plebeians [quite in consonance with the spirit of a despotic theocracy] but using it themselves and burning it as incence to their idols. Embargoes notwithstanding, the appetite of the Indians for this "forbidden fruit," was, as usual, rather whetted & inflamed by prohibition. They venerated it more than Hollander ever did tulips in the height of the mania - and extracted its succulence by chewing, burning, and tormenting it in their profane jaws. They imputed some mysterious & divine principles to it, beyond allaying hunger & imparting vigor to the constitution. If then, it served for food, - to break the fast [que-brantar el ayuno] and was an ingredient in heathen rites, there confessedly existed two reasons for quashing the uncanonical use of such an article. - Moreover, its tendance was thought more deleterious to the natives than the labors of the mines, though its commerce produced half a million of dollars in dual Potosi alone. These objections, whether humane or superstitious, dictated the cedula of 1569, whose preamble recites the information received concerning the purposes to which the coca was perverted by the aborigines - "for their idolatries, ceremonies and witchcrafts - how they pretend that by holding it in their mouths, it infuses energy, which is a deception of the devil, as experience demonstrates." As it flourished most luxuriently in humid sultry vallies, numbers of the Indian moun-

tainers were said to perish in tending it, which was a sufficient reason for the interference of the Court. The vice roys were ordered to prevent the waste of life; for all hands seemed demanded in the mines - but the coca was not absolutely prohibited. Divines, doctors, casuists continued the disputation; a few philosophers raised their voice to defend the excommunicated coca as a bounteous present of nature, which like the Nepenthe of the Scythians, and the lotos of the Ethiopians assuaged human thirst. The Council of Lima decided that it was promotive of superstition & hurtful to the health of the natives, &c. and that governors ought not coerce them to work on its plantations. By the casuists who had now discussed, dissected scanned and revolved the subject that it presented new aspects and opened new vistas to the sophister's eye - it was determined that its sale was permissible: because the vender was not obliged to know why should he? / the use the buyer might make of it: human depravity would abuse the best things, as St Augustin had elegantly expressed; and if it were to be suppressed because it was offered to idols; for the same cause gold, silver, pepper and maize, must be precluded likewise, as the Indians employed them also, in their oblations and sacrifices. Precedents, as meet in controversies so keen, and decisions so solemn, are appositely adduced or supposed by Revalo and

Navarro:

First, of the Christian who sold a lamb to a Jew, which he [the Jew, with all imaginable ease] might employ to celebrate the passover. 2- the more disputable point, so long a bone of logical contention among clerical mootmen, whether Christians could [scilicet, with a clear conscience] cultivate myrtle gardens, with an intent of selling the boughs to Jews for the purpose of celebrating their festivals, called "Scenopegias." (^of feast of tabernacles) This was really aiming the very thorny point at the conscience of the gardener- but its effects on horticulture we cannot well calculate at this distance. However edifying it might be, 'tis vanished among the mist of ages, leaving no more trace of its existence, than the keel of a ship of its cleaving the waves. Powerful habit, or all-powerful interest [for it swelled the revenue] overcame conscientious scruples. It was finally believed, that the coca leaf did not break ecclesiastical fasts... scripturally or spiritually understood. A grand point was gained. The coca ran the Gauntlope [horresco referens] through furious ranks of the Church militant bristling in with arms and burning with zeal - it ran this hazard, and passed unmaimed, unscathed, unconquered. We leave it to repose in safety.

The more nutritive cacao like another arraigned culprit, had yet to undergo the fiery ordeal. Strong objections were urged against its alimentary qualities: but then it had

the benefit of ingenious advocates, versed in all the quillets of scholastical learning & school divinity. If it was empleaded, it passed through the furnace most triumphantly.

Tobacco was equally praised & decried, as at present, but somehow or other it escaped more equivocally than the offender last tried, coming off rather by silence or connivance, than by an acquittable verdict. It was not applauded, but just tolerated; & thrives somewhat like the rat, which as a naturalist neatly observes multiplies under malediction, and maintains its place and consequence against universal conspiracy and dislike. Don Eduardo Vesonco roundly upbraids the clergy who do not hesitate to take this acrid morsel into their mouths the very moment before celebrating the most sacred ceremonies of religion, &c.

In such [illegible] sophistries and silly perplexities, did [illegible] influential orders of men then involve themselves. As we rehearse their fooleries and quiddities, [illegible] we may be both amused and instructed, for he who chuses, may [like Democritus] philosophize while he laughs. one may guage as he runs, the capacity of mind that prescribed the Colonial policy for the Indies. necessity sometimes counteracted the views of monopolists, & preserved some branches of industry which it was intended to destroy. Private manufactories were spared in Quito, after positive orders had been issued in 1680, to demolish

them all. By 1684, it was proved, that from the remote and inland situation of that presidency, inaccessible for half the year, from the Pacific / via Guayaquil. / particular fabrics were indispensable. The Indians had carried them on from the earliest times known to history. These then, or a part of them, were suffered / of necessity / to exist; the government on the petition of the miners, suppressing factories in the neighborhood of mines, lest the Indians should be diverted from more useful toils. To this end, the Audience and Fiscal of Lima, received orders to close all manufactories, great and small, fulling mills and chorrillos established without the King's licence. Viceroys of Mexico, likewise for prudential reasons, were sometimes reluctant in executing vandal orders for rooting up proscribed plants, and once, at least, peremptorily refused to extirpate the vines. It appears a grievous hardship that a vineyard could not be tolerated in Mexico, because vines throve luxuriently in Spain: there was enough of air, and sun, & space; of rains, & dews of heaven to nourish both. Why should figs or mulberries be denied footing on this territory, because they happened to strike root elsewhere? Wherefore should manufactures be banished hence to accommodate not only the Establishments made in the peninsula by the Arabs! but after these were dismantled to give Spanish merchants a commission or brokerage on labour & mer-

chandize of England – of all Europe – of the East Indies? Rather than permit the natives to fabricate anything for themselves, where it was possible to prevent it, the Philippine Company would inundate the provinces with Cotton, Silk, &c. from Manilla, or the continent of Asia; or the monopolists of Cadiz would furnish them with every thing in the most circuitous manner, and at enormous prices. And with an inconsistency characteristic of absurdity, & injustice – while they cramped productive industry in the colonies, those mercantile Statesmen expected that all their exports would be bought and consumed. A rack-rent landlord once said, in justification of his extortion that heavy rent was the best manure ever laid on a farm. Those commercial rulers seemed in the same spirit to think, that the more a people's means were drained, the more would they be capable of purchasing: As if the readiest way to quicken the racer's velocity was to heap more burdens on his back, or plant obstacles in his course! It is the common malady of States, that public good is sacrificed to private lucre. But the fraud that is necessary to deceive and conciliate the abused people, is the worst evil – being fraught with so many others that it generates mischief and profligacy with the fecundity of the dragon's teeth. The one is not more prolific in fable, than the other in fact. An instance or two may illustrate the whole depth and width of this profound, intricate multicavous pit-fall policy: –

The extensive ramifications of the quicksilver mines of Guancavelica, would have supplied all America with that indispensable agent for refining silver, &c if the King had not interfered with the working of it. As soon as the government took possession of it, the principal aperture was neglected, and fifty others immediately closed. In fine it was deemed most advisable to suppress it, - and m. Ulloa was sent with secret orders to effect it. He instantly took away the experienced director, el practico intelligente: several arches and galleries tumbled in, and the mine is nearly ruined. This plot leaked out in consequence of an order from the Regency to the Viceroys to send to Spain both foreigners and natives inclined to a liberal way of thinking; and Abascal when he complied with the mandate in the case of Ulloa obliged him to deliver up the secret instructions relative to Guanacavelica. Ulloa divulged the complot in Europe [See Segunda Carta de un Americano, &c. 141-2.]

General rule: The Spanish Government, says the same author, concedes sundry orders, when it cannot refuse them without an evident shock to justice, but with a treacherous dissimulation dispatches secret private orders."

So where two patriotic gentlemen, as related by Humboldt (lib. v. ch. 12. Essay on New Spain) conceived the project of bringing over to Quito a colony of workmen and artizans from Europe, the Spanish ministry affected to smile with ap-

probation on the intended manufactories, "but they so contrived to fetter the proceedings of those two enterprising men. That they at last perceived how secret orders had been given to the Viceroy and the audience to ruin their undertakings, which they voluntarily renounced."*

From these specimens we can imagine the whole circle of prohibitions. Against so many obstructions, moral, political & economical, contrived and empleached with more intricacy than Dædalus Daedalus perplexed the Cretan labyrinth, and much for the same reason† had the colonists to wrestle.

The baneful influence of the Spanish colonial system on moral habits and intellectual faculties is but too perceptible. The prosperity of a State must suffer from the idleness of a people. There is no vice, we are told, to which it is not a prelude. Mankind are naturally so fond of ease, as to require incitements to labor, rather than prohibitions. Where the inhabitants cannot exercise themselves in the fields of science, arts or agriculture, they will resign themselves to indolence. A vicious dissipation of time that passes heavily without occupation or animating recreation, is sometimes the only alternative left. At least we must content ourselves with amusements where improvement, like tempting fruit, hangs beyond our reach. Difficulties enough arose from erroneous prejudices against manual labor, among a people who held it to be menial, servile and disgraceful. Handicrafts were confined to mestizos or mulatos; tillage was allotted to negro slaves or to

*Nor was Spain always so delicate. [illegible] use her

Norway Spain always so delicate as to [illegible] prohibitions; which were often glaring and offensive. Witness the following:

A school of navigation, drawing and sculpture, established at Buenos Ayres in 1799, at the expense of the funds of the consulado, had in a few years produced several ingenious pupils, capable of conducting ships to Europe, Lima, Havana, and other points. As soon as the Spanish ministry heard of it they suppressed the institution by a furious and insulting order (in 1799) alledging, that mathematical knowledge and fine arts were not for America!

In the same manner a public wharf begun at the city, for conveniency of landing goods, was ordered to be discontinued, and a fruitless and extravagant attempt made to erect piers and moles in midst of the estuary. - Moreno's Memoirs.

† To conceal a monster!

or to Indian serfs, until the disproportionate increase of whites in some of the provinces overthrew arbitrary distinctions; the natural progress of society gaining ground on its artificial state. So many advantages of soil, climate, and position, combined to advance population and wealth in defiance of a thousand obstacles. Though society grew, like an infant giant with a mill-stone slung round its neck, yet it grew. Under every weight that oppressed it, we see it attain a respectable national stature. If unnatural restraints have in some respects occasioned distortion and deformity, the size does not disappoint us. The antagonist powers of our moral and mental nature under extreme pressure, were spontaneously exerted for the relief of the oppressed. Where agriculture was benumbed by restrictions, the inhabitants found relief in other pursuits: - when the trade of Guayana with Cassanare was suppressed on the remonstrance of Carthagena, the Guayanese discontinued production for which there was no consumption, and covered their savanas with herds of cattle, horses and mules. They multiplied apace, even over indifferent pasturage: and became, in process of time, an inexhaustible source of subsistence and commerce.

Imperfect as were the provisions of the ordinance of 1778, in favor of trade, and better calculated, as we have seen, to raise a revenue for Spain, than to create facilities for America, yet they were productive of benefits. - Industry was put in motion by the impulse of commerce,

as stagnant water by opening an outlet.— The staple products of Venezuela, soon rose to consequence, as her gums, vanilla, indigo, cacao,- and coffee -[after 1784 -especially from 1793-5] tobacco, cotton, cocoa and maize. This last was farther enlarged by dye-wood, a little copper, hides, tasajo - & by cattle and mules, as just observed.

In 1780, the Captain-generalship is said to have contained a population of 500,000 souls; in 1807, it amounted to 975, 972; and in 1811 to 1,000,000, or thereabouts.

From the latest information I have been able to obtain, it is probable, it was then in the following proportions:-

Whites	300,000	1,000,000
Negroes	100,000	
People of color [African descent]	300,000	
Indians	200,000	
Mestizos*	100,000	

Baron Humboldt estimates the negro slaves at only 1-15th of the population; and Dn Palacio says there were 70,000 slaves in Venezuela, but others who resided and travelled more recently in the interior of that country, are of a different opinion. I adopt their estimate without positiveness. It is to be observed, that the havoc of war which has been most fatal to the whites, has partially deranged the numerical relations of

*A mestizo is the progeny of an Indian and white; and was capable by law of holding places civil and military. Zambo, is the offspring of an African and Indian. In an extensive sense, all crops whites and blacks are termed people of color. Quadroons & mestizos are reckoned as whites. The Zambo is remarkable for robustness and ferocity; the mestizo for docility and intelligence. Mulatos in that climate, possess greater energy of constitution than whites.

those classes, but to what extent is not determinable until a new census presents us with the precise numbers. Since the peace of 1783, the population of the province of Caracas, was doubled every thirty two years. In 1810 it was upwards of 450,000.

Many speculations have been ushered into light, on the new physiognomy, intellectual & moral, likely to result from the mixture of races in Venezuela, where the existence of slavery is deplored by every thinking benevolent man. The introduction of negroes from Guinea, has been unintentionally promoted by the remonstrances of the Dominicans in behalf of the wretched natives. In 1511, an order was repealed "to lessen their oppressions by ceasing to burden them, or drag above one third part to the mines;" it being commanded at the same time to adopt measures for transporting large numbers of negroes from Guinea, since the labor of one negro was more profitable than four Indians. [Mercy Guenaga.] It is superfluous, after the researches of the learned Abbe Gregoire, who unanswerably vindicates the fame of Las Casas, to assert what is notorious - that this venerable Christian champion never recommended the enslavement of any set of human beings.* His justice, like his charity, was universal. Next to the Portuguese, the Span-

* Bonnycastle however, in his tedious yet elaborate compilation, reiterates the stale calumny, with about as much foundation as he transposes Peru to the southern boundary of Venezuela. This surpasses the labor of the giants who piled pelion on ossa. [See his descriptive Account of "Spanish America" - American edition, 242-246.] If one assertion was a mistake of the press the other is not

iards had traded in human kind, and imported Slaves from Guinea before the conquest of America. Muñoz and Ortiz relates, how this accursed traffick prevailed in Seville, anterior to that æra. For sometime after, the exportation of Africans to America, was as strictly forbidden, as the emigration of gipsies or vagrants [polizones] if it was cautiously permitted under licence to patentees, on the continent or in the islands. In 1503 [four] ten years before Las Casas is alledged by his libellers to have prompted the crime of man stealing, Ovando remonstrated with the Court about sending more negro slaves to Espagnola, as they were apt to take flight among the Indians and teach them evil practices. The prospect as respects this hateful subject is more cheering than the review of it. Venesolanian independence will, most probably, I believe indubitably terminate the traffick. If the actual slaves be manumitted in mass, they will be merged in the great body of freemen, and it is hoped, shake off the brutality of their old existence in a new condition. Under milder stars and better discipline, they will exchange degeneracy for meliority. But if a different policy should postpone their emancipation the abominable trade will be suspended at any rate, & mancipation gradually disappear. Revolution will be seen [illegible] to dry up the tears of sorrow and withraldom, while the flood gates of misery

I may say I will continue to pour a Stygian current of slavery into Brazil and the Spanish colonies. The collisions of casts, in the former case, will be harmonized in an equitable system of general liberty, and the belittling epithet of Creole[x] be blended and lost in the prouder appellation of American; while in the latter, bad badges and invidious distinctions must be perpetuated in accordance with a slavish system.

Advocates of reformation in Venezuela have bewailed with unfeigned sadness, the "horrible division" of the population into casts, mutually jealous of each other, one insolent from superiority; another discontented under disabilities. It seemed to place insuperable barriers in the way of union. That alienation which was first fomented by the policy of the government, was widened by the prejudices of the people. An historian of Caracas, whom I am enabled to quote, ought to be the best judge of the subject. "If monarchies, according to Montesquieu, and other writers, cannot exist without grades of nobility who form the pedestal and bulwark of the throne, Spain

x According to Garcilazo, the Guinea negroes gave the name of Creole [i.e. small brood] to their children born in America, whom they regarded as inferior to themselves. They were in the right, says the Historian of Mexico, commenting on the passage, because being free themselves perhaps in Guinea, their descendants were slaves in America. But the European Spaniards — how could they regard themselves in a similar light, with respect to their descendants in America, who are sons of the conquerors, knights and nobles? We stand neutral... "Non nostri est tantas componere lites." As m. in. Lavaysse decides in the contested case of miracles wrought by the rival images of the madona, in a couple of towns in Venezuela, that they were alike miraculous — so we humbly think that mankind on either shore of the Atlantic are equally noble. It is government and education that make the difference.

not only remembered ~~the [illegible] carried it to the~~ extreme The maxim and followed it inviolably in America, but carried it beyond the limits designed by those writers. In the course of time a numerous noblesse was created in Venezuela, whose crest and glory being barely founded on the conquest of barbarous Americans [Indians] ought rather to tarnish the history of the possessors, than exalt them above their companions. Nobility of the first class were titularies of Castile; the second class was composed of cavaliers not descended directly from the first; & on this fantastic scale were counted four orders of nobles. The law suits sustained by the first of these, to debar the 3d and 4th orders from mingling their branches with them, furnish incontestible proof of the fact. There consequently remained in the character of plain untitled whites, a numerous population, treading in the steps of the nobles and aping their prejudices, & forming as many grades: opulent whites, Doctors of Law, and all who caught a degree of splendour from their better education, & belonged to their number. Thus we may reckon eight subdivisions of whites, quarteroons and mesteros included, in Venezuela. To these are to be added the casts of colour, Indians, mulatos, Slaves, &c. and we find thirteen distinct classes, with interests as different. Could the most subtle policy possibly devise a surer method of perpetuating the servitude of a nation? How

could these thirteen classes ever concur in the sacred purpose of casting off the yoke? It was so much the more difficult, as the nobles were always the satellites of the government the white yeomanry condemned to a fixed mediocrity, and the coloured casts reduced to the lowest and most slavish degradation [Origen de la Revolucion de Venezuela, MS. parte 1st p. 10.]

Nevertheless the nobles of rank and property were few; and the monopoly of public employments, honors, dignities and emoluments, by European Spaniards, excited the dissatisfaction of the natives. It is an insult, ever resented with scorn, to disqualify equals in merit for office, by alleging an illiberal, artificial distinction. The indignation kindled by this injustice, seconded the revolutionary flame. Yet, as we perceive that communities are more disposed to brook wrongs as long as they can be endured, than to seek redress by rebellion, Venezuela would probably have remained in quiet possession for ages, if the progress of foreign revolutions, coalitions and counter-revolutions, had not given an insurrectional notion to the provinces of Venezuela. It may be said that the revolution found them, before they had thoughts of seeking it. The Captain-generalship however, was not always calm, nor entirely quiescent; but the agitations which a foreign impulsion once occasioned, had nearly subsided. In the ardor of freedom which

spread in 1795, from France into Spain, as we recollect, the statue of Ignacio Loyola / founder of the Society of Jesuits / was put in requisition to support a French army. A conspiracy in favor of liberty was detected in Madrid; its leaders were leniently banished to La Guayra, where their harangues, plots, and management machinations, are said to have eventuated in their liberation and an abortive attempt to revolutionize Caracas, in 1797. writers have trumpeted the generosity of the Spanish government to the accomplices of the plot, while they have excited our sympathies for the fate of its leaders, to whom none has denied purity of motives. Like Brutus and Cato they struck for freedom—and like Roman patriots, had to draw consolation in adversity, from their own conscious integrity.[x] But the embarrassments of the treasury, which obliged the government (then at war with England) to open the ports of Venezuela to neutral ships, had a strong tendency towards in-

[x] Don Joseph de España, a principal revolutionist, was enticed to return from exile after more than two years absence, from a family on whose he dotted. An amnesty had been published, formally or informally, and he was induced to believe, that the process against him was relinquished. On landing in Venezuela, he was seized, tried and condemned. Guevara, the Captain general, it is affirmed, was, at heart inclinable to exercise a liberal clemency towards the victim, who indeed was insidiously trepanned into the snare—until he received anonymous letters filled with menace. If he should proceed to extremities with the prisoner, he was furiously threatened with vengeance. This atrocious bait was swallowed, and España was publickly executed. It then appeared, that this diabolical stratagem of the forged letters, was planned by D. Juan Jurado Lavnes, in order to exasperate the Captain-general, & frustrate the efforts making to procure a pardon. (See Voyage aux Iles et en Venezuela.

Don Manuel Gual, after residing many years in Trinidad, was poisoned by the contrivance of his enemies [illegible]

dependence. This novel commerce animated industry - pleased the people, and brought them into contact with strangers, from whose acquaintance and conversation they acquired new ideas. Above all, it furnished them with books in spite of the unwinking vigilance and burning zeal of the Inquisition. for though its commissaries or familiars were in every place, it is alleged, that like surly ~~Cerberus~~, they could somehow be laid asleep. Those books afforded fresh aliment to reason, confirmed a thirst for knowledge, and prepared a change in the inertia of habit, by virtue of an active force. But envy would not incline the countenance of an intercourse so agreeable to the people: it threatened to impair the interests of the monopolists of Cadiz, who still engrossed the more profitable commerce of the kingdom. They took the alarm and resisted a traffick which diffused among the many the profits claimed by a few. The ports were again closed. The interval was just sufficient to awaken new desires, and to tantalize the people with hopes that were not to be gratified - they were allowed to peep at the advantages of equal commercial rights, when the phantom was snatched from their view; leaving them, under such impressions, to form unpleasant comparisons between a free and a shackled commerce. Colonial slaves began to think like citizens; revolved ideas of country, government, right and independence. Though they dared not as yet to lisp the sounds.

Before this date, Sir Thomas Picton,

military governor of Trinidad, had issued a proclamation from Port Spain, the 2d of June 1797, by directions of secretary Dundas. It was lavish of promise to liberate the people of the continent, near the island of Trinidad, from the "oppressive and tyrannical system" of commercial monopoly. Invitation was given to the inhabitants of the continent to trade with Trinidad, "under an assurance that they would find there, an entrepot or general magazine of every sort of goods whatever." In proffering this mercantile communication to the people of the continent, every desirable assistance was offered to enable them to resist the mother country: be it with forces, or with arms and ammunition to any extent." Her subsequent conduct leaves no doubt of the motives of Great Britain; who, in a conflict with Spain, might gain much by disturbing her colonies, even if she could not revolutionize them. Their distraction would second her views and give her the vantage-ground in negociation; extort concessions from the mother country, or open a chance for commerce, alliance, or conquest. For we cannot rationally suppose, that a government would act on different principles here, from the motives that had impelled it forward as the leader of so many crusades in Europe. Let a creature have never so many hands or heads, it can have but one will.+ It is premature to enlarge on this delicate topic here; suffice it to remark, en passant, that a Cabinet which had turn-

+ were it otherwise, the seven headed water serpent (Hydra) would be yet more monstrous: the bicipital snake, called am-

ld Europe and Asia / in scripture phrase / "upside down," would not prolermit a palpable occassion of improving disturbance in America.

When the turn of events in Spain, caused Ferdinand to be proclaimed in Europe, the giddy multitude had received the proposal with an enthusiasm that distoncerted the real friends of reform. They inwardly lamented, what they durst not yet whisper to the winds. However they were mortified, the independents were not disheartened, but steadily advanced towards their object under cover of loyalty, and in the name of Ferdinand. Every one knows the compliances and sacrifices which liberality must make to prejudice, and that Intelligence itself must duck to ignorance in order to lull suspicion and insure co-operation. Policy, like this, forbids the imputation of duplicity or insincerity:- it is a good natured condescention to please crown children, who must have the toys of the nursery until their expansion of mind capacitates them to judge like men. On any other ground, dissimulation is as despicable as it is wicked. But prepossessions cannot be stormed - they must be mined by knowledge and judicious approaches. It is lawful only to deceive the dragon to undeceive its charge; but it is miserable policy to treat our friends as we would our enemies. In establishing

this hydra, though it appear to have two heads, has but one sensorium - of I may so express myself. Briareus himself, taking the fable literally, could have but one individible seat of volution. So, a crusador against universal liberty, acts uniformably from the same predominant passion. Variety of means only prove the strength of motive.

independent governments, there ought not to be the shadow of deception; and it can only be adopted to veil weakness or cloak dishonesty. In this instance, to achieve a revolution, it was necessary to accommodate their conduct to moral pre-occupation, if the Patriots would wield the physical force.

In deposing and expelling, soon after, the authorities that favored Bonapartean views, the people first tried the force of their opinion ... and had no reason to be displeased with that essay of social strength. Individual associations were formed ... The management of which taught the members the conduct of national ones ... and these hints on self government smote susceptible minds with all the force of a new discovery. The Caraccanians date the commencement of political being from this epoch. Discussion thenceforward began to sway public opinion, and judgement to prevail over habit. Men's thinking faculties were exercised and invigorated; and hability in reasoning inspired confidence to pursue investigation - A formidable enemy was rising up against prescription and habitude: for habit conspires to model our judgements on received opinions, as it transforms our actions into customs.[x] The disorganization of the Peninsula, inviting America to seize the most favorable conjuncture, precipitated her, in spite of herself to a boulversement which three centuries of depredation, rendered just, legitimate and necessary. Neither the habit of servitude, nor restless zeal of Europe-

[x] MS. Dis. Origen de Revolucion de Caracas, part i p. 29.

an agents, nor the bonds which Kindred, usage, religion, language and modes of thinking, had drown so close between masters and lords; neither the sympathy which Spain in her agonies, extorted from nations and from mankind, and which might naturally excite most compassion in the breasts of those whom She styled her brothers in America, nor any other cause whatsoever, could delay the general and sanguinary crisis that was preparing in the new world. [Ib. part 2 p. 42.]

Venezuela, as one of her writers expresses it, appeared in the vanguard of the Columbian Continent; the memorable conduct of Caracas, on the 19th April, 1810, gave an example to all the provinces. The Junta of Deputies, with the Municipality [Cabildo] deposed the Captain General and members of the audience, secured their persons, and caused them to embark for North America: a measure as laudable for its mildness as for its wisdom. It seemed the most prudent method to prevent plots, cabals and re-action, by removing from the sight of the people, the authorities whom they were accustomed to obey. There was in this procedure equal magnanimity & moderation; it manifested the generous temper that generally actuates the most cordial and genuine friends of reformation. From the expulsion of the Europeans to the present hour, every rev-

olution I I mean every national movement in favor of freedom I exhibits the same magnanimous character. It might seem strange, therefore, that Monarchical Historians should affect surprize at popular placability, if they were not constantly enlisted to vituperate the people, and blacken the lustre to which their intolerent ranks exhibit no parallel. When twelve associates from the leagued Cantons of Ury, Schwitz and Underwalden, headed by Melchstal, Straffacher and Furst, in 1308, seized and imprisoned the Austrian governors, under whose tyranny their country had been wantonly scourged, they dismissed them, after exacting an oath that they should not serve against the Helvetic nation. "An instance of moderation" says Russell, not perhaps to be equalled in the History of mankind, of a people incensed against their oppressors, & who they then had in their power." I join in the commendation, but not in the inference; On the contrary I think it it is deductible from the history of civilized nations, that it is characteristic of patriots, to war on tyranny rather than on its tyrannic agents - not with its own cruel weapons, but those of honor, humanity and courage. Wherever a vindictive temper has appeared, it is found to be the effect of barbarous provocation... The reaction of resentment on malice. If I do not misconstrue history, these symptoms are general. A tourist of expanded views and

strong judgment, intelligent as liberal, has more recently given his suffrage to the fame of the Swiss reformers. Describing the town-house of Zurich and the busts of Helvetic Patriots which decorate its windows, he exclaims, "Happy Country, which could boast "so many! I could not behold without emotion the effigies of Werner, of Stauffach, "Arnold Anderhalden, of Melchthal, and Walter Furst, who concerted the generous conspiracy which emancipated their country. They had the good "fortune to succeed. —— Joining magnanimity "to courage. they did not tarnish the glory of "their exploits by acts of revenge against "their former oppressors. Such are the heroes "on whom we can bestow unreserved applause." [I Ramble through Switzerland, by W. T. Mac Neven, 24…5.] The merciful disposition of the Swiss at such a moment, is worthy of the heroes who conquered at Morgarten and Sempach; of that "handful of mountaineers who never stopped "to count the number of the enemy that came "to rob them of independence, and who never "hesitated to stake, in defence of liberty, all "that was valuable and dear*." [ib. 141.] Certainly if the Swiss deserve the most eloquent panegyric for the virtues of self control; the Caraccanians, at the dawn of the revolution, merited decisive approbation for their

* Models like theirs, cannot be too much blazoned; and we cannot wonder that Vattel loses no chance of praising a people, of whose deeds he had reason to be proud. "much as I admire the character of the Greeks, says Mackenzie, my heart gives more approbation to a people whose valor and good fortune were equal to theirs; whose magnanimity was greater; who commanded as much respect by their heroism, and better deserved the world's esteem by their simplicity of manners, their fidelity to engagements, their moderation in prosperity. — when they had security and independence of foreign powers, they declined taking part, as a nation, in the quarrels of their neighbors. The 30 years war, and all the wars of Louis XIV. were unable to disturb their proud tranquillity."

forbearance. Could a change of dynasty be effected among hereditary princes without bloodshed? Would not the scymetar and bow string, the scaffold and gibbet be called into operation? Let the history of Europe and Asia, of Christians or Mahometans answer the questions. I am solicitous to designate principals, now, which we shall be compelled to apply hereafter.

The Supreme Junta, inexperienced in the arts of government, did not conciliate popular esteem, nor long retain confidence. They are accused of improvidence and prodigality in regard to public funds; the right administration of which would seem to be the most difficult, though it ought to be the simplest branch of modern polity. But before the people could adopt a corrective, they were roused to defend the new government against a conspiracy, fortunately detected on the very eve of execution. It was found, that a combination of royalists had preconcerted the overthrow of existing authorities, and the restoration of the old. Their plot was, to assassinate the members of the Junta, and the authors of the revolution; enfilade the streets with artillery, and massacre such Creoles as they should encounter in the tumult. This atrocious project was defeated by the zeal of the people, and / Strange to relate / the only punishments inflicted was, the imprisonment of the ringleaders, and the banishment of their accomplices - an

ill-timed clemency which encouraged farther intrigues, and eventually produced acts of blind ferocity, which a seasonable severity might have hindered. If the Policy was weak, it shows that bloody mindedness had no share in the revolution. This conspiracy, however placed the Spaniards (now dubbed Godos or Goths) in irreconcilable enmity with the Creoles, who properly repelled an epithet that implied inferiority. Mutual repulsion henceforth governed all relations between them.

Some of the earliest acts of the Junta abolished Indian tribute and slave trade; annulled the alcavala, the most odious and burdensome tax that ever was imposed, and rescinded the restrictions on commerce and agriculture. Tithes were reduced; free people of color invested with equal rights and the press declared free.

Before the election of a General Congress of Venezuela, to supersede the Junta, this assembly appointed a committee of its principal members, Miranda, Roscio, Ustariz, Paul, &c. to draw up a plan of civil constitution to be submitted to the Congress.

This body consisted of about 50 deputies, chosen on a ratio of one for twenty thousand souls, from the provinces of Caracas, Cumana, Margarita, Barcelona, Barinas, Merida and Truxillo. They assembled at the convent of San Francisco, in Caracas, on the first of March, 1811. — The Junta scrutinized the election returns,

and credentials of the members, and appointed the next day for their inauguration. The ceremony of installation was performed with a solemnity becoming the occasion. This Assembly was considered as a Convention of Delegates, and was designated as the Constituent Congress, whose principal object was, to frame a Constitution, competent to secure their freedom and maintain justice... the great ends of legitimate government and the only means of national happiness. Their convocation was hailed with enthusiasm. Necessity, I suppose, obliged them to exercise legislative functions, and to establish an executive administration.

Shortly before this time, a Patriotic Society had been instituted in Caracas, by Gen. Miranda and his coadjutors. It was a voluntary association of individuals to discuss political questions, with a view to awaken enquiries and diffuse knowledge among the people. Its debates have been extolled by writers who heard them as displaying great ability in elocution and argumentation. The people were captivated by an eloquence devoted to reason and country; and the novelty of a popular institution attracted crowds. Political information circulated through all ranks with a celerity almost electrical. Like that fluid, the flame of patriotism permeated every body within the compass of the Society's meetings; for the docility of the South American is conceded even by those who dislike their character. When they chuse to apply them-

selves to study of any kind, they are extremely teachable, because they are endowed with great quickness of perception. "They have an astonishing aptitude for the arts and sciences," x and are said to evince equal perspicacity in other pursuits whenever the incitement of a crisis overcomes the indolence of custom, and rouses them from lethargy. The Patriotic Society had the co-operation of an intelligent press, in enlightening the public mind. Its own decisions were revered among the people as oracles of wisdom and had considerable influence with the legislature. Such institutions indeed, may be extremely serviceable in nerving the patriot-arm during a national conflict. ... they instruct, exhort, excite the people. They render unequivocal benefit. But when peace arrives and the crisis is past, they ought to be discontinued; as their tendency is towards selfishness and faction. Men in health, have no occasion for bark or opium. They lack not potent medicine, but simple diet. So it is in politics; - where general freedom rests on the independent judgment and virtue of each citizen. A seminary like the Patriotic Society,

x Messrs de Pons and F Mayer, in their memoirs on the Revolution of Caracas, [Paris 1815] draw the S. American portrait with severity. "The people unite with Spanish habits a portion of those of the conquered. - their leading traits are a mixture of courage and Castilian fierceness, blended with the craftiness and dissimulation of the man of color. This strange groupe of good and bad qualities form a nation entirely peculiar, and the influence of an inquisitorial government serves to arrest their advances to moral perfection."

"Their manners are dissolute. Gaming, idleness and debauchery display themselves in hideous colors, but these defects are veiled by great affability and sweetness of disposition. They have, in general, a surprising aptitude for the arts and sciences. Amiability and sprightly wit, conceal their want of instruction; and their vivacity is in sensible contrast with religious mummeries and fondness for etiquette." [Memoirs par de Pons and F Mayer, 20-21.] The same authors say, "they are given to luxury and ostentation in public fetes, yet parsimonious in private life. - But it is just to declare, that they exercise hospitality towards strangers in the most engaging manner."

The truth is, that "physical man is every where the same. Moral

which recalls to memory the Whig Clubs and Committees of Safety, during the revolution of north America, must have been as useful as neces-sary, among a people contending on the great arena of public action, for the prize of independence. Discordant in views as deficient in knowledge, and heterogeneous in cast. The people required instruction in rights and duties – as well as a centre of union. They were blinded by ignorance and misled by design, or trifled with in matters of the highest moment. In the few colleges, for instance, which had existed in that country – and which, like the Cabildos, the government was inclined to suppress, the civil and canon law was the principal study. Degrees of Bachellor, Licentiate and Doctor, were conferred at the University – so it was called – of Caracas: The oath of every degree is to maintain the immaculate conception, of our Saviour by the Virgin, neither to teach nor practise regicide, "or tyrannicide, and to defend the doctrine "of St Thomas." Reformation was not very likely to emanate from such tenets or tuition. A debating Society promised to be a valuable nursery of political doctrines, where almost every thing was to be created.

As in grand emergencies the people are apt to select their ablest citizens for representative trust, or the most capable steps forward voluntarily to enlighten the public counsels, and serve the people, the Congress and Pat

and political causes decide character. That which is impressed by centuries of enslavement is not to be obliterated in a day. The South American inherits a good natural disposition, susceptible, under proper culture of every improvement. Let him be liberally judged, or not judged at all, until time effaces the vestiges of old practices, and allows him to develope his proper character under a new system.

riotic society then comprised the flower of Venezuela. The latter was like an advanced corps in the national march. It was they who first agitated the question of independence, and proved the necessity of severing the bands that linked their destinies to a foreign nation - a nation that had paramount interests of her own - who had twice or thrice rejected the most liberal overtures for accommodation, and who had finally manifested greater horror of South American independence than of her own subjugation.* For in truth, the articles proposed by the American deputies in the Cortes, as the ground-work of a compromise with Spain, required the most reasonable and temperate concessions - more properly speaking, the most undeniable rights - an abolition of monopoly, with an offer to bear an augmentation of taxes to an equal amount, a moiety of public appointments for native Americans; freedom of commerce with neutral or friendly nations: - but the principal demand was couched in the following article: —

"The free natives and inhabitants of Spanish America, shall be allowed to plant and to cultivate whatever their climate will produce; with licence to encourage industry & to promote manufactures and arts in their fullest extent."

Similar propositions were twice rejected, or indefinitely postponed; for the last time on the 14th of February, 1811. — We cannot but admire the justness, pith, and penetration

*See Documents on Venezuela, p. 77. for the manifesto of the government - a precious State paper, fraught with important historical facts, masterly arguments, and profound political views.

of those requisitions. The proposition to buy off monopoly at the expense of direct taxation, reflects the highest credit on the virtue and sagacity of persons who might otherwise be mistaken for unfledged politicians. One is lost in wonder at the safe offer of an infant people, when older communities, who ought to have been premonished by the dreadful experience of their predecessors, degenerately submit to monopolies, and loans, and stocks, and banks, for sake of ridding themselves of a petty direct and equitable contribution; a contribution which they ought to court rather than avoid, because it may keep their eye more steadfastly on the government, and direct their thoughts to public expenditures... Whereas if they let their own affairs escape a moment, from their sight, they are lost in the vortex of party or disappear among the crowd of events... And when they come to demand a restoration, they may hear monopolists talk of "vested rights" and charters as in the feudal ages. But thus it is; some nations will not learn, without a sort of political circumnavigation, the simple truths that lay before their eyes. Others, more heedful, perceive, like the monitor of Pyrrhus, as much beforehand, as could be expected at the end of the most arduous undertakings. Such seems to have been the perception of some South Americans in the incipient stage, or on the eve of national existence.

The Society, says our MS. history, spoke to the people with a liberty and frankness

inspired by an ardent love of country, and a solicitude for public information; they assailed, with force and efficacy, the deceptions of prejudice, the illusions of fanaticism, the silly emptiness of nobility, the antiquated staleness [enmohecimiento] of servile habits... the trammels of self interest; in short all the vices, errors and monstrous impediments that were arrayed against the rights, dignity and elevation of Venezuela. The public mind was almost ripe for the revolution and the time drew near for rending the prudential mask which had been thrown over the proceedings of the 19th of April, when necessity compelled them to act in the name of Ferdinand VII.

A declaration of independence was strenuously debated in the Congress, and ultimately adopted on the 5th of July 1811. Like the rest of the documents emanating from the first Constituent Congress, this instrument reflects lustre on its authors. It is predicated, First —

On the cessions and abdications at Bayonne, the revolutions of the Escurial and Aranjuez in violation of fundamental law, and the occupation of the Spanish throne by a Conqueror.

2d The necessity of consulting their own preservation in such a state of abandonment, and the injuries and indignities endured, without hope of redress.

"We are aware," say they, "of the difficulties that attend, and the obliga-

tions imposed upon us by the rank we are going to take in the political order of the world, as well as of the powerful influence of forms and customs, to which, unfortunately, we have been long habituated; we know, at the same time, that shameful submission to them, when we can throw them off would be still more ignominious for us, & fatal to our posterity, than our long and irksome slavery, and that it now becomes an indispensable duty to provide for our own preservation, security and happiness, by essentially varying all the forms of our former Constitution."

It is not our purpose to pursue the thread of events through the mazes of politics and war, intrigue and rivalships, farther than is necessary to trace effects to their genuine causes. It would appear, that the population of Venezuela, favored by distance, ought to have sustained their independence against Spain, in the predicament, she then was - embarrassed in Europe, and all America, like Alexander's conquests rising up at every point where positive pressure was unfelt. She had about a million of souls, a competent number, one would imagine, to supply an efficient army. If united, they had triumphed, indubitably, perhaps, without a mighty effort. But if divided, - one portion of their force counteracting another - we must deduct the sum total of the bickering factions from public service.

from feelings of rivalry. It is believed, that Miranda's career of good fortune was prematurely arrested, when, after quelling a revolt in Valencia (where the monks had formed a conspiracy and stirred up rebellion) he proposed a march against Coro. Its timely reduction might have crushed the serpent in the shell, and have saved the State from civil war. But Miranda's enemies feared, perhaps at his success, employed a sinister zeal, & exerted influence sufficient to mar his plans. His advice was rejected — his wishes frustrated — and the country, in the end, suffered greatly by the dissentions of the Chiefs. Yet the patriots had suppressed a second conspiracy against the government which extended to Valencia; — and hung over the land like a ~~black~~ cloud, black, terrific, charged with the elements of death, & threatening every moment to burst in ruin. At Valencia the insurrection was to have been simultaneous with that in Caracas, on the 11th of July. Negro slaves were engaged by the Royalists, who promised them their freedom, for the bloody part they were to act in the murderous drama. The tragic scene was closed before its time. The heads of the plot in Caracas, were Canarians, eleven of whom were tried, convicted, and publicly executed. The storm was dessipated; and nothing but concord was wanting to crown with triumph the toils of the patriots. Their disagreement, as we

country to which this sketch relates, general xxxx thinks every man a brute who cannot break a wild horse, and call a bull or an enemy's steed. To those ones quot sententia. we see the same the principle leading to different opinions, according to the profession of a refined Statesman and a llanero chieftain.

have said, together with some injudicious political movements, proved highly baneful to this common cause. This is a delicate subject... such as mankind ought to handle with great gentleness or pass over in silence. I wish I could evade it consistently with my duty; but since truth is of neither party; I and as I profess no bias or partiality; disclaiming all right to interfere in the concerns of a foreign country or people... I hope to convince you, that a friend to their happiness, need not be the apologist of their vices.

The persons who affected nobility; designated by the appellation of Mantuans, were inimical to Miranda;... They disrelished his principles and dreaded his popularity. All opportunities of mining his influence were grasped at, with eagerness ... his friends doubtless retaliated with enmity on his adversaries. The public arm was palsied in the strife. Several politicians of a different stamp, sincerely attached to freedom, became also hostile to Miranda, whose ideas of the means requisite to attain the object of the revolution, disagreed essentially from theirs. This disputations of this class being founded on the purest principles, are only free comparisons of opinion, which expand mens views and enlighten public reason. But the violent opposition of a strong party at that moment, notwithstanding the discrepency of opinion on various points, among its component sections harrassed the legislature with feuds, and

stimulated faction & frenzy. Miranda was forced to vindicate himself before the Congress, when he ought to have been employed in the field. His friends delight in descanting on his accomplishments ... and ascribe to him a promptness in argument, ingenuity in debate, and an eloquence not inferior to that of the great Pericles, when he harangued the citizens of Athens, and moved the multitude by his irresistable force of persuasion, as a tempest heaves the billows of the main. With him he might have said on this occasion; - "What! I am the man must simply stand the storm of your anger! I am indeed the man, who I am confident is not inferior to any among you in knowing what ought to be known ... and on speaking what ought to be spoken, who sincerely loves his country, and whose is superior to all the sordid views of interest. For he who thinks aright, and yet cannot communicate his own thots is just as insignificant as if he could not think at all," &c.+ It is needless to say that Gen. Miranda refuted all cavils against him, and justified his conduct completely; examining accusations with dispassion, resolving difficulties with perspicuity. But during this refutation, an important season was gliding by never to return. This body, however, committed an act of madness, which, under the circumstances of the country, was heinous as paricide. They disbanded the forces which were necessary to prosecute the war against Maracaybo and

+ All men are fond of eulogising the profession in which they excel. Oratory was a sine qua non, for a public char

Guayana, or might be needed to defend the country in case of invasion. His antagonists preferred being without an army, than having one under his immediate influence. Authors unfriendly to Miranda, observe, that if he had possessed as much firmness as ambition, he would then have seized the reins of government, & secured the happiness of his country. - [Memoirs, &c. par Messrs. Boudeax and Mayer - 53-4-I He was a patriot and did not dream of imitating the usurpation of Caesar and Bonaparte... and shuddered at involving his beloved country in civil war.

In modern warfare, money is confessedly one of its stoutest sinews; if it be contracted the public cause must go lamely. Being obliged to new-model, at this crisis, the whole plan of finance, the new government encountered real obstacles in organizing this very material branch of administration. It had been found expedient to extend immunities and encouragements to promote agriculture and commerce; - which as they required support, could not get bear impositions. Liberal and discreet measures had been adopted towards foreigners, who by a decree of the 1st July, 1811, were invited to settle in Venezuela, on a proffer of lands from the government to all those who chose to till them. Protection was promised to all industrious productive classes: Strangers were to be secured in their person and property,

acted at Athens: and Pericles thought him a useless dunce who was ignorant of the great art of declamation. In the

on condition of acknowledging the independent sovereignty of Venezuela, and of respecting the Catholic worship. When naturalized they were to enjoy all the rights of citizens. Time had not yet allowed the government to reap the reward of this just policy, in form of direct aids & had to grant a bounty, as the husbandman commits seed to the earth and waits a due time before it could receive a return.

In this pecuniary strait, the Congress agreed on the expedient of creating a paper currency to supply the diminution of metalic money. Specie was daily disappearing, and although the danger of this emission was predicted and exposed... and the law was strongly resisted in consequence, yet it was passed on the 20th August. Two millions of Dollars [$2,000,000 x] in notes of 16, 8, 4, 2 and 1 Dollars, were thrown into circulation; the exportation of Specie was prohibited, & a Copper coin was to be imposed. The experiment of a paper currency was the more hazardous in Venezuela, as nummary projects of this kind were totally unknown, and the amount too great for an essay. It was below the estimate of Specie circulation in Venezuela, which had been about three millions. "It was an unfortunate loan says our M.S. history,

x Messrs St. Foudeux et Le Mayer say this issue was $3000000.- memoire, page 55. I follow the manuscrip. Perhaps the one states the amount first sum - the other the total amount struck from beginning to end.

calculated to disaffect the public mind towards the revolution, and to exercise a malignant influence in unhinging the State. It was guaranteed by all the public securities, and particularly hypothecated on the estates of tobacco, which was to extinguish it by annual parcels. It was warmly resisted by men of more mercantile experience, who proposed banks, a copper and silver coinage, which by augmenting the signs of commerce and production, would enlarge the circulating medium, in such manner, that counterfeiting it would prove ruinous to foreigners and to our enemies.' The Patriotic Society remonstrated against the measure; but the law was regularly promulgated, in defiance of the objections of the Executive power.* It went into operation, under these ominous circumstances; and the small remnant of specie instantly vanished. The laborer who could not procure the usual quantity of provisions for his money, began inly to curse a revolution which caused, so unlucky a turn in his pittance, and which requited so badly the sweat of his brow. The merchant, who came daily in collision with the consumers and cultivators, who felt great repugnance in receiving money without representation or ~~security~~ surety, sold his merchandize at a loss of 5 to 10 per cent. for such was the discount on exchange with specie. In

* It consisted of three persons appointed in april, 1811, by the Congress. This had the title (when addressed) of Majesty, that of highness; the former to signify the superiority of the legislature over all other authorities, as representing the sovereign people - a distinction aptly drawn - but epithets are light in the scale against practical power.

short it fell into general depreciation, and Congress daily received representations against it... the edifice of public credit was shaken by its fall." [Ib. 84. 85. 86]

A new government deserves the more indulgence, as the task it undertakes of conducting a revolution, involves enormous labour and responsibility. It is destitute of experience as of capital, and apt to adopt the first plausible expedient that is suggested. Who can censure the revolutionary Congress of North America for emitting paper money? In such emergency it was unavoidable; and notwithstanding its depreciation when multiplied, (for the first emissions "were equal to gold and silver") perhaps it saved the cause from a worse dilemma. "But its fate," says the immortal Paine, "is now determined. Common consent has consigned it to rest with that kind of regard, which the long service of inanimate things insensibly obtains from mankind. Every Stone in the bridge that has carried us over, seems to have a claim upon our esteem. —— There is something in a grateful mind, which extends itself even to things that can neither be benefitted by regard, nor suffer by neglect: ^+ [But so it is; and almost every man is sensible of the effect*] See Letter to Abbe Raynal.] Depreciation happened sooner, because of greater distrust in Venezuela, than in the United States. But such critical measures cannot be justified — they can hardly be palliated — during peace; when a government or people, who understand the principles of society,

ought to foresee and obviate difficulties. Justice is the corner-stone of a community: it necessarily proscribes whatever militates against equal rights, and chiefly that monstrous traffic which barters rights for privileges. Whether bestowed on bankers, beggars, or lenders, these equally destroy the equilibrium that ought to subsist among all members of the association, and which is as necessary to the preservation of liberty, or the social compact, as the circumfusion of air, or circulation of the blood is to maintain individual life or motion. It was not to be expected that the Venezolanian government should intuitively comprehend economical precepts deducible from experience - at a time when older governments had much to learn, (and more to unlearn) on this vital subject.

About this time various schemes of a civil constitution were presented to Congress, which had been elected with a particular view to this object. A member entrusted with digesting them to form, produced the instrument, which was to control the fate, or conserve the felicity of a million of souls and their posterity. The people crowded to the debates on a proposition so momentous. From previous investigations in speech and writing, (says our M.S. history) the constitutional bases on which the fabric of public liberty should be reared, were now pretty generally agreed on, if not thoroughly known, by the more enlight-

ened portion of the inhabitants: The unalienable sovereignty of the people; the sacred, inviolable rights of liberty, security and property, were maxims which bore the decisive sanction of general opinion. The project was discussed with a zeal and ability proportionable to a question of such magnitude. It was adopted against earnest opposition, and received by the public with transports of joy.

This scheme of Constitution was federal, and resembled that of the United States in all essential particulars, excepting the provision of a plural Executive of three members, and an exclusive religion. But, in fact, all religions were practically tolerated; nor is their a country under the sun where more indifference is shown towards dogmas. No enquiries are made about a stranger's creed, though he traverse a whole province. Religion, seems there a matter of routine.

Unmeasurable censure has been pronounced against the framers of this constitution; which was considered by many as too complicate and expensive; unfit for a people just emerging from despotism, whose views were still rather narrow, & incapable of distinguishing properly between two governments, one local, the other federative and national. It was feared that this "imperium in imperio" would be productive of collision between the provincial authorities and those of the con-

federacy. Whatever weight these allega-
tions have, it is probable that a previous
question would educe a weightier objection,
viz. Whether it was not premature to frame
any permanent Constitution at that peri-
od? A temporary, provisionary one, seem-
ed most expedient as it might easily be
varied with circumstances, just as a tent
may be struck, shifted and pitched again
without trouble, where an immovable house
must be abandoned with loss or occupied with
imminent risk. However capable a people
might be of administering such a Consti-
tution, after ten years discipline, it is not
reasonable to believe that they could direct
it all at once. If some probation is neces-
sary in the most ordinary occupation, a lit-
tle previous tuition is requisite in the Steer-
age ~~of the~~ ~~administration~~ of governments. Admit-
ting that the most simple are the most
perfect, extreme transitions are ~~impracticable~~ unfeasible
~~also~~. The majority of Congress perhaps were
persuaded, the people were enlightened as them-
selves; or being tractable, would soon be-
come as intelligent as those of Caracas, who
enjoyed the rare advantage of perusing po-
litical essays and of listening to oratori-
cal debates. Virtuous men are most prone
to think, they cannot effect too much at
once; while the general mass advance but
tardily. A people weighed down with preju-
dice, are like a large army impeded with
baggage and bad roads. Congress had just-
ly believed, that it was necessary "to vary

essentially, all the forms of their former constitution;" but erroneously imagined, they could not alter it too speedily. They aimed at removing the people beyond the reach of re-action, and almost brought extremes in contact. Thus he who performs too much, discovers, to his sorrow, that he has achieved nothing. Great men commit great errors.

A simple organization, that would have nourished the representative system, would have sufficed for the moment of revolution. A triple Executive is a political solecism, fraught with discord and imbecility; leading to dictature in the end.— A duality of will in the consular magistracy of Rome, mainly, but not wholly, produced the necessity of arming a sole chief with excess of power. Fear of executive encroachment has sometimes hurried governments into its jaws. Its subtile influence may be likened to the sickening effluvia of the constrictor, which attracts while it stuns the victim who happens to loiter within the fatal sphere of its activity. Executive usurpation is most restrained by abridging patronage and preventing continuous re-elections. They are liable to terminate in monarchy, where a people become degenerate; or to harrass society with a continual canvass; to foment perpetual intrigues; to exert undue interference to engender subserviency; to bias suffrage; to taint individual morality by fettering private

opsion; and finally, to dig the grave of the commonwealth.

"In all questions of political change," says Antepara,[x] "there are two dangers of an opposite description to be considered. The first is, the danger of doing too little; the second, that of doing too much. The first is by far the most common error, as timidity is a much more universal and powerful source of human misery than rashness; although the evils produced by the second, are more simultaneous, and for the moment much more formidable."

These observations, worthy of the profoundest sage, will be duly estimated by readers who have witnessed bloody revolutions effected, to exchange one set of errors for another. The misspenditure of life and treasure, by a nation setting down without radical amendment, when it was not only practicable but facile.- Having marched halfway towards the object, people have sat down to rest, & there remained - as if content to have the prize in view, but never in possession; advancing the grandeur of a few, and abandoning the felicity of the many. I do not cite the comments of Antepara as applicable to the position of Venezuela, at that epoch. Antepara alludes particularly to the creation of governments with-

[x] See Introduction to Historical and Explanatory Documents respecting Miranda, p. 32 a tractate of too much interest to be overlooked by any one desirous of forming correct opinions of South American politics and foreign intrigues.

out completely securing responsibility; and without erecting their jurisprudence on a just foundation. His opinions seem to coincide with those of the authors of the Venezuelan Constitution, bating the nice discrimination of time or season.

The Constitution was signed on the 21st. of December, 1811, by some with reservations – especially a caveat against the 180th article, which abolished personal privileges and subjected all citizens alike to the ordinary magistrates and tribunals, excepting cases touching their profession. This was right in itself, but was denounced as impolitic at that crisis to provoke clerical opposition, by levelling a blow at their immunities. Such was the resolution wrought by a lapse of ages in the pretensions of the ecclesiastical body – who passed from the lowest point of a modest humility to the very Zenith of arrogance. – Malcontents, under the civil magistracy, they would only be satisfied with mastery, and trampled rights, crowns and dominions in the dust. On this plea, however, there appear but nine dissentients, Miranda and eight others. When this general debarked at Coro, in 1806, he annexed to his address sundry articles of regulation, the 3d of which ran thus: —

III. All Cabildos and Corporations will send one or two deputies to the head-quarters of the army, for the purpose of forming a general assembly on our arrival at the capi-

tal, and of there framing a provisional government, that may lead in time, to a general and permanent one, with the approbation of the nation at large."

Doct. Mier y Guevra, before cited, says, Miranda, acted properly, in protesting against this Constitution as contrary to the usages and habits of the country. If, instead of jealousies, animosities and debates, they had followed his advice, "Ivo-ja mure staret." "This was the true cause that overthrew Venezuela," Stom. ii. 570. It is easy to affect wisdom after events have spoken.

The citizens of Caracas were incensed against Congress about this time, for their resolution to transfer the government to Valencia, as its permanent federal seat. This measure was branded as absurd and inexcusable. However, the legislature pursued a steady course, and ordered the removal of the public offices - closed its sessions at Caracas, and addressed a flattering proclamation to its inhabitants - according to them the credit of hoisting ~~universally~~ the banner of insurrection against tyranny. It appears probable that the Congress secretly espying a propensity in the people of Caracas to plume themselves on a casual superiority, and to domineer over her sister States, resorted to this preventative step.

We have pictures of Caracas and the Commonwealth at this epoch by several

hands, all of which concur in exhibiting an uncommon melioration in the condition of the Community. As this improvement was unequivocally the work of the revolution, it is worthy of being particularly noted. We translate another sketch from the manuscript history, / part II. / the author of which irritated at the desertion of his city, had just finished a philippic against Congress.

"Nevertheless the revolution had now assumed a grand, brilliant and imposing aspect. People every where discoursed about their rights with the same familiarity that they used to converse about God and the King / que antes trataban de Dios y del rey. / They were content and tranquil, vieing with each other in learning and improvement. Religious toleration, tacitly conceded by the admittance of useful foreigners, had attracted hundreds of them who were engaged in various branches of industry. Caracas, above all, presented the idea of an immense workshop, her population already 50,000, announced what she was to be in the course of a few revolving years. A numerous and sprightly youth, assiduously imbibing knowledge by education, gave hopeful promise of furnishing future pillars to the State. Four or five periodical works issued from the press, two of which were living proofs of the liberty enjoyed. The armed force had been so augmented, that exclusive of three regiments of the line at Caracas, La Guayra,

and Porto Cabello, there were 22.000 effective men, consisting of national militia distributed in different parts of the province of Caracas, armed, uniformed and disciplined, as well as circumstances permitted. Commerce took a surprising spring by the fostering encouragement held out to strangers under the new system; and by the profits they realized. Agriculture was enlivened; the perfection of cultivation by the general diffusion of information was about to become the foundation of public happiness. Industry revived: manufactories of paper, muskets and several other articles were already in operation: the New Coinage gave life to exchange and circulation: the arts received a new stimulus: the police had traced the limits of streets, squares, houses, and thus improved the interior economy of the city, &c. &c. &c. Public walks were laid out; bridges and sewers constructed; roads were repaired; and the lighting of the streets was to be accomplished in a few days. — Public instruction made rapid progress. Schools of anatomy, mathamatics, and public law were opened.* Civil culture acquired that degree of lustare and dis-

* Poudons and Mayer give if possible, a higher coloring to the portraits; but agree in all the essentials with the MS. history of D. J. M. P. "we saw established a school of anatomy, and a school of mathematics and navigation; sciences which had not hitherto been taught in those countries. Anatomy, especially, encountered great difficulties, on account of the climate but were entirely vanquished. [Memoirs, &c p. 57.] The printing offices were exceedingly active; which is accounted for by the severity with which the former government had embarrassed the communication of ideas through the medium of the press. A great number of political pamphlets appeared, written with purity and elegance. Among the foreigners, Lord William Barke, [Irlandois] from

nity which it naturally derives from the protection of liberal institutions. Liberty, in fine, was the universal promoter and mainspring of this wonderful transformation. Two years only, sufficed to give to Venezuela, the enchanting aspect I have just delineated. Despotism, sad & gloomy, beheld the astonishing change with dismay: he trembled; his empire had perished."

"Such was the admirable order of things in the beginning of 1812 – nothing but an extraordinary event could unhinge it: but in a few fleeting moments every thing was overthrown. On the 26th. of March / Holy Thursday / at 7 m. past 4 h. P.m. an earthquake was felt and repeated in two violent shocks: an awful subterraneous noise seemed to portend the destruction of the continent; a cloud of reddish dust which filled the atmosphere at the same instant, spread horrid darkness around and redoubled the terror which had seized the public mind. The hapless inhabitants are buried in the centre of their houses; some in the midst of repose; – many of those who endeavored to escape into the streets found their graves under ponderous walls as they tumbled to the ground. A multitude perished in the churches, whither they had gone on this festival, to adore the Supreme Being. No pen can paint the dread disaster in half its multiformity of Shapes. Men

[illegible] was distinguished by his political labors. His works were generally admired. They related chiefly to the crisis of South America, and were so much the more interesting. He published two treatises, remarkable for elegance of style and solidity of argument. The first expounds the rights of South America; the second treats of the best form of Government. He framed by the political chart of the united states of North America. [26. 38.]

were maimed and bruised; our finest youth crushed to death; streets, temples, houses, bridges, public edifices, all destroyed. Every form of wretchedness passed in trafic review. The doleful groans and lamentations of the dying, and of persons piteously imploring succour from beneath the ruins; horror depicted on every countenance; people abandoning their homes, their interests, and dearest objects of their care: flying in crowds to the neighboring mountains. All these scenes of affliction and sorrow formed an assemblage so lamentable, as has no parallel in the annals of Venezuela ——— In twenty seconds all was overturned. About 8000 souls perished in Caracas, La Guayra, and many cabo suffered in proportion, with Merida, Truxillo, Barquisimeto,* and Tocuyo, Caroni San Carlos, San Felipe; and other districts were either damaged or laid in ruins. At Caracas the members of the government assembled at the Cathedral, performing all that Zeal and watchfulness could in such moments of confusion, to relieve the distressed, save the residue of the inhabitants and assure the public safety. There was, unfortunately, great scarcity of medicines and provisions at the time.

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* This earthquake was propagated from the westward: it was felt at Monpox, a city on the bank of the Magdalena at half past 2 p. m. and the first shock ran in an hour and thirty five minutes over a space of near 250 leagues, which intervenes between that and Caracas, where it was felt at 5 or 7 min. past 4 p.m. the same day. It terminated the next day at the island of St. Vincents, by a volcanic eruption, which projected cinders, &c. for twelve hours over the islands of Barbadoes, situate above ten leagues to windward. [Memoire Pondent et Mayer — 13-4-]

"on the 1st of April, at 4 p.m. the tremor was renewed with vibrations of greater violence, but shorter than the former; destroying the edifices which the first had left standing. A constant concussion was observed, concluding in motions more or less forcible, so often repeated, that at the end of some days, their number could not be reckoned.

"The quantity of combustible matter heaped for a series of years, and now inflamed, must have produced the catastrophy, at a critical moment. The explosion of a volcano at St. Vincents, one of the Antilles, was the vent /respiradero/ of this subterraneous fire, which would have caused greater desolation in Venezuela had it burst again on this continent.

In a plight so deplorable, our enemy was not unmindful to fan the embers of discord. Fanaticism! that horrid monster,* then vomited her infectious poison to surprise and confound weak minds already staggering under calamity. On the same evening, 26th March, shortly after the earthquake, was perceived, several deluded priests exhorting the people to penitence, assailed the doctrine of civil liberty, ascribing our misfortunes to the wrath of heaven, for having disowned the authority of the king, which was /they said/ an emanation from God! In the streets and public squares, these padres surrounded by an immense crowd, implored

+ Like virgil's blind Cyclop, - "monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum."

pardon of the Supreme Being for this transgression – sounds of disaffection were heard ... Viva Ferdinand VII.! The government was scarcely apprized of this, when they caused to be published by their Secretary, with beat of drum and military escort, a decree, inflicting the penalty of death irremissibly on all persons uttering suspicious, seditious or anti revolutionary expressions. This energetic precaution saved the country from being reduced to ashes by anarchy – a foe more formidable than Ferdinand. – But a gross and fatal error, into which the most enlightened were betrayed, was the source of incalculable evils. Fanaticism rebuked by public authority, changed its tactics, and spreading fear in exaggerated exclamations, with the aid of repeated earthquakes, succeeded in abasing the public spirit. The sacred cause of freedom was neglected, for a blind, puerile, fearful and extravagant devotion. Multitudes thronged the churches day and night: public prayers and penetences were the occupation of the people;* agriculture, commerce, and the

+ The narrative of messrs. Poudeux and Mayer. corresponds with our Caracas-man: The priests say they, adroitly availed themselves of the consternation to make converts to their political system. They remarked that the event happened on the anniversary of the Royal Captain-general's deposition, prepossessing a credulous people against the new government. Yet the 26th of March was surely not the anniversary of the 19th April.

Several persons in their disordered fancy, imagined they beheld the Virgin [Mary] on the summit of the Avilla mountain, although it was but Clouds.

We must relate a singular occurrence, which happened after the earthquake, as it reveals the sway of the clergy over peoples minds, in those countries. Various priests having preached public repentance, individuals who had lived in a State of concubinage, now made all possible haste to get married in form: and it is said, that five hundred marriages were celebrated within two months after this event. [Memoire supra cit. 115.]

arts stood still; he who did not surrender himself to the ridiculous mania of living in penance, was regarded as a dissolute libertine who provoked the anger of heaven. This dismal contagion extended to the people of the interior; so that Venezuela was suddenly converted into a vast camp, presenting to the eye of the philosopher, nothing but caravans of pilgrims trooping to mecca, or hordes of inhabitants in religious frenzy. To attribute to supernatural causes, the tremendous effects of electricity, or the rarefaction and inflammation of compressed air, of caloric and other principles of the physical world, is deplorable [and contemptible] stupidity. To ascribe an earthquake to political and revolutionary events, is either barbarity the most savage, or malignity the most refined; but to impute the catastrophy of Caracas to the chastising hand of a God of beneficence and love, is the climax of perversity - blasphemy the most atrocious against the Supreme Being. Could ever the sovereign author of good, pulverize entire cities, and cripple a whole generation for the sins of the patriots on the 19th of April.[2] Were God to act thus, atheism would be a virtue. Yet such was the doctrine of those who style themselves his ministers and dispensers of his grace. People of Venezuela, you yourselves have heard it from their lips; they exhibited in their hands a Jesus on the cross, but in their hearts were chains of slavery. You believed them, and the reward of your credulity was servitude."

As it is of more consequence in our enquiry, to penetrate the causes that brought on a crisis, than to follow the windings of political and military incidents, I have translated this account of the earthquake, written by the same intelligent native of Caracas, so often cited - and a resident on the spot. The honest freedom and indignant severity with which he lashes the impostures of the clergy of his own church, is decisive evidence of the progress of liberal ideas during the revolution. It does not magnify the influence of superstition. This tribe of clergymen being professed terrorists, are a terrible nuisance among a credulous people. As they always pretend to be in the cabinet secrets of heaven, and find their account in attributing to particular interposition, the unvarying effects of natural causes, a season of calamity is their harvest, & misery makes their fortune. If a grave-digger is enriched by pestilence, the Charletan-parson enhances his gains by it also. I speak of such impostors — not of the enlightened and liberal, who shrink from libelling God to terrify man. They know that the eternal laws of nature, are unalterable, and that the Deity has no necessity for changing his first and universal plan. The clerical jugglers, on the contrary, insinuate that every thing is unsettled and depends on whim! The abject fears of mankind, are to them, a most fruitful estate, but fertile as it is, they cultivate it very sedulously. If cacao trees suffer blight, they declare it is owing to the non-payment of tithes, [Oronoco Illustrado tom i. 42]; if earthquakes happen, it is at the

nod of an angry Jove, According to them, the universe is ruled capriciously, not governed steadily. Like the voracious vultures, described by Ulloa, they pounce on the weakest animals, and begin to peck them ere they are dead. Such inhumanity proceeds from vocation - a spirit of the corps - vehemently anxious to confirm tenure & ascendancy, by riveting chains on the degenerate mind. Their elevation depends on the degradation of others. But so it has been in all ages, and with all superstitions. Therefore the interests of such men must be in perpetual variance with those of the community. Their estate is like a Shower-mill, built on the mountain's side, which turns only in tempests; the owner is cheered as heaven is darkened, and delights in the torrents that drown the plains.

The prevalance of that ignorant devotion which originates in fear and ends in complaint, does not heighten our opinion of mankind; - but it inspires commiseration for the weakness of humanity, and should enlist the service of the enlightened, to remove a terrific scourge, which has heretofore devastated nations, and battered down public liberty by the force of epidemic terror. Superstition, in its two-fold character of subject and agent, undergoes a signal transformation: in the first case, timed, inactive and harmless, like poison in a vial; in the second, buoyed by confidence, and winged with activity, it flies with the fury of fanaticism, ready to seize the torch, or brandish the poignard, to set the world in a blaze, or crimson it with the blood of its inhabitants. This has been the fellest enemy of human happi-

ness, the strongest champion of despotism. Intolerence, blindness, presumption, malice and ignorance, distinguish this counterfeit; as certainly as modesty, liberality, placableness, charity and intelligence characterize genuine Christianity. Where the false is set up as an infallible standard, demanding the same homage that was required for nebuchadnezzars image, silence and ~~dissimulation~~ simulation are necessarily the shield of the more intelligent and incredulous, who are forced to pass under the yoke. It is hence, that the detested powers which compelled Galileo, on his knees to abjure a physical, mathematical truth; can never cross the path of the liberal without a few lashes. But the public operation of this moral force, however directed or misdirected, is all that a political enquirer has to examine in such a case as the present.

In addition to the decay of public spirit, on this occasion, the patriots had suffered irreparable losses in the destruction of arms, munitions and the flower of their troops, involved in the overthrow of barracks, stone houses, &c. At San Carlos, a batallion of the line and a brigade of artillery and sappers, were buried under ruins, At Barquisimeto, a division of 1200 men, under command of Col. Ralon, were annihilated. He had been destined to subdue Varyas and attack Coro; his troops were in complete readiness for the expedition when overtaken by the earthquake. This officer was, almost marvellously rescued from under the rubbish, and covered with bruises: the ruin of his division left the frontier defenceless, exposed to the incursions of the enemy.

In spite of these discouragements, another division was raised in San Carlos, while the executive authority* in Valencia, strove to levy forces and inspire them with ardor. The Spanish general, Monteverde, was prompt to take advantage of this state of perturbation, and marched from Maracaybo; recruiting his scanty detachment with deserters from the patriot-ranks, whose republican fervor had been changed into flaming loyalty; or as our M.S. expresses it: "They believed they should appease the anger of heaven by taking up arms against their country." He occupied Barquisimeto, where he was joined by numbers of the inhabitants; next possessed Araure, and soon attacked San Carlos, where Col. Carabaños' cavalry deserted to the enemy during the engagement. This victory gave the royalists the command of the plains and their cattle, and opened the way to Valencia.

On receiving tidings of these disastrous events, the Executive authority nominated Brigadier General D. Fidel Toro generalissimo, transmitting him ample powers to defend the country. Congress empowered the executive to provide for the public safety and adjourned.- The Executive evacuated Valencia and removed to Victoria. General Toro disinterestedly declined a station so high and responsible, but endeavoured to rouse the people to rise en mass-and General Miranda was named as Commander in Chief- the reliance of Government on his abilities, and the necessity of employing him at a crisis, having overcome the repugnance of the

* Messrs. Ustariz, Roscio and Espejo chosen by the Constitutional Congress, had now replaced Messrs. Padron, Escalona, and Mendoza, appointed in the preceding year.

Mantuanos. This officer hastened to Caracas, proclaimed martial law, and laboured, successfully to recruit an army – natives and foreigners flying to arms. They repaired to Maracay, where Miranda established his head-quarters. The Strangers chose for their Chiefs, the French Col. Ducayala with Lieut. Col. Chatillon under his orders; he was destined to command the infantry, Col. M'Gregor the cavalry; Cortes Campomanes the artillery. Col. Arovalo with 1500 men was ordered to the plains to cover Caracas on the south; and a corps was posted at San Sabastian to guard the defiles. Col. Simon Bolivar was entrusted with the important Command of Puerto Cabello.

Miranda's first care was, to occupy the advanced posts of Cabrera and Guayaba; defiles on the North and South of the lake of Valencia; the first defended by the marshy coast of the lake, the other by the mountains. Entrenchments were thrown up, and batteries erected, the lake being protected by two armed Shallops.

Not only the Command of the army, but the administration of the finances and direction of foreign relations, devolved on General Miranda; a meeting of Deputies at San Mateo, unanimously commending to him these civil functions. He placed one of his political antagonists at the head of the money department; & nominated as Chaplain General of the army, father Hernandez, who was one of the priests convicted of exciting a counter revolution in Valencia. This appointment showed more conciliation than prudence; for it was enough to pardon a traitor,

without promotion him." "Hernandez went
"over to the enemy immediately after his ap-
"pointment. Armed with a wooden crucifix, he mar-
"ched at the head of Monteverde's troops, encour-
"aging and exhorting them to massacre the men,
"who had just pardoned him. It is deplorable, to
"see a minister of the God of Peace, forgetting his cha-
"acter and yielding himself up to such atrocities."
[Memoire, supra, cit. 71-2.] A man of his cast was
not to be won or softened by kindness; The clerical
trade he viewed as an engine to enthral and bewil-
der the human mind; and could by no means co-
operate in emancipating it. - 'Exalt a mean fellow
and you will see him in his true colours.' was the ex-
clamation of the conqueror of Mexico, in an instance
of treacherous revolt.*

Monteverde was resolutely repulsed in two
attacks on Guayca; indeed throughout the campaign
the Patriots fought heroically, though they had to con-
tend against a superior force. Unfortunately the troops
detached to invade Guayana, were too distant to
reinforce the main army in case of reverse. A junc-
tion would evidently have decided the contest in favor
of the independents. Arevalo was forced to abandon
Villa de Cura, and the enemy obtained entire
command of the plains. It is confidently affirmed,
by credible persons, that Monteverde was reduced
to the greatest strait; that he was apprehensive
of being under the necessity of surrendering to the
Patriots: and that an intercepted letter to the Gov-
ernor of Guayana, represented his condition as
hopeless: that if not relieved within three days
he must capitulate. - He was suddenly extri-
cated from the dilemma by a successful intrigue,

* Al ruin pondle en manos i veremos quien es.

which put him in possession of the all-important post of Porto Cabello. Some Spanish prisoners in the garrison had seduced the officers of the guard; and the cannon of the fort now turned upon the town, first apprized the Commandant (Col Bolivar) of the enemy's triumphant stratagem, and the perfidy of his officer. He made his escape in a brig of War to La Guayra. Miranda was exceedingly depressed by the shock of such an explosion in a quarter deemed impregnable, and on which he had relied for support. Thinking affairs were irretrievable, he, with the advice of the executive, proposed to capitulate. The colonels, it is said, were adverse to the measure, & had some thoughts of choosing another chief, with the intention of continuing the war. But it is admitted on all hands, that miranda had acted skilfully in this campaign; that disaffection had pervaded the patriot-ranks in various parts of the country, and desertion was frequent. He saw no hope from a petite guerre.

It has been objected to miranda, by his adversaries, that his firmness was not equal to his talents; that he was not under an absolute necessity of capitulating, as the flour sent to La Guayra, by the government of the United States, would have enabled him to prolong the war. We may estimate the weight of this censure, by recollecting, that "all the resources of the plains were in possession of the royalists"; that Porto Cabello had fallen, "in evil hour;" and that if the flour spoken of had arrived in port, it was inadequate to supply an army for a week. His appointment had been deferred to the eleventh hour; &

the expedition against Guayana, had greatly diminished the effective force at Miranda's disposition. The contagion of terror and infidelity, under the unholy influence of the clergy, had been spread over the country. Perhaps, under circumstances so appalling, Miranda might with justice have exclaimed, like Hector's shade, Si Pergama dextrâ defendi possent, - etiam hac defensa fuissent. It is remarkable, but not unprecedented, that two parties, or the majority of them, had united in opposition to this commander: the Mantuanos thought him dangerous, as too democratic; the democratical were distrustful of his politics, as leaning towards aristocracy. - These founded their opinion on his plan of a provisional constitution. An intelligent tourist has hazarded the strange conjecture, that the Venezuelans might be gradually, but most surely qualified for free government under a feudal one! Miranda did not go so far, but believed that the introduction of the representative system would afford the best tuition. It is not our design to comment here on either position.

The capitulation was signed and ratified: It stipulated, among other things

That none was to suffer for former opinions:

That private property should be respected; &

that three months should be allowed to all persons who chose to emigrate.

It was Miranda's belief that the Venezuelanians would be admitted to the benefits /if it offered any/ of the Constitution adopted by the Cortes of Spain, and he is said to have expressed the opinion, that a people so contentious could not rise or flourish, until /like Antæus/ they were

brought to the ground, and made to feel the mortification of the Spanish yoke. As he might have believed, that men ungrateful and refractory, could only be reclaimed by the adversity: to which their conduct led.

Monteverde entered Caracas, the 29th of July, and was in quiet possession of Venezuela by the end of August.

Relying on the articles of capitulation, Miranda repaired to La Guayra to embark in a British Corvette. In the night he was roused from sleep at the house of Casas, the Commandant, by Don Simon Bolivar, Lino Clamente, and Thomas Montilla, who arrested him, & had him imprisoned in the fortress. Here he was confined until the entry of the Spaniards, when he was transferred to a dungeon; from thence he was removed to Porto Cavello.. then to Porto Rico, and lastly immured in the prison of Caraca, or the island of Leon, near Cadiz, where he since died- whether of grief, by poison, or by secret executions, is not certain. About a thousand patriots had been originally imprisoned at the same time on La Guayara.

It Lastly belongs to this report to reiterate a known fact, if it did not in great part account for the terrible consequences, and explain the vengeance it awakened: The Spaniards violated every article of the capitulation. Prisons were filled with the most conspicuous patriots, who suffered inhuman torments in cells that were crammed to suffocation, accelerated under a most torrid climate. Numbers perished in those loathsome receptacles: it was with difficulty, and not without much entreaty, that

the half stifled survivors could obtain from their embittered keepers and jailors, the removal of the dead bodies. [See Poudens & Mayer, p. 89 Outlines of Revolution, 85 et seq.] Pontoons and private houses were turned into prisons when the ordinary jail and casemates for bovedas could contain no more. The unfortunates who fled for refuge to Curaçoa were harshly treated and cruelly repelled by the British Governor, Gen. Hodgson; regardless of the claims of wretchedness: & this man afterwards interceded for the royalists! The historian of the Mexican revolution, resents the unfeeling behaviour of Hodgson, with lively sensibility. "Will the day of reckoning never break upon those contemptible islets which have always been a rallying point for the tyrants of the American Continent!" [p. 765.] It then seemed as if the world had conspired against the wretched. Don Jose Cortes Madariaga, a quondam canon of Chile, a distinguished promoter of the revolution was seized on board a ship in the roads of La Guayra, and dragged to prison. He, with Roscio, Ayala, and Castello, South Americans, and Ysnardi, Ruiz, Miers, and Barrosa, native Spaniards in the service of the Republic, were all sent to Spain, and condemned by the Cortes "representing Ferdinand VII," to indefinite imprisonment in Ceuta, a fortress on the coast of Africa,* Such misfortune closed the first period of Venezuelan independence.

Following the hearse of an infant republic, and pausing as at the untimely grave of a rising nation; though feeling should even so much exceed re-

* The four Americans escaped to Gibraltar, in 1814, but were given up again to the Spaniards by Governor Campbell. They were

flection, it cannot escape observation, that what-
ever writers assert / the confederate system nei-
ther caused nor hastened her extinction. The consti-
tution was practically a dead letter; for there
was not time to establish it. A hundred object
ions, therefore to federal government, are impugned
here by their inapplicability. The crime of
the independents was, their feuds, yet we are
doubtful if these, unaided by an event that over-
turned mountains and cities, and raised the ominous
clamor of harpy-priests, would have overthrown the
government.

General Miranda has played a part in the
political drama, too conspicuous to be forgotten.
His biography is a clew to the policy of some for-
eign cabinets towards South America. He was
the first to propose the emancipation of his coun-
try to Mr Pitt, in 1790. The terms, considering the
circumstances of the world at that time, were not
dishonorable to the proposer, who offered certain
commercial advantages to England, so far as he
should have influence. He cautiously refrained
from assuming, even tacitly, a power over his fel-
low citizens — disclaiming any shadow of right to
pledge their interests or control their wills. —
The British premier received his proposal with
coldness. "It met from the minister the most
cordial" reception; and as the dispute respecting
"Nootka Sound was then pending, it was resolved,
"if Spain did not prevent hostilities by submis-
"sion, to carry the plan into immediate execu-
"tion. When an accommodation was effected, &
"peace at last decreed, Mr Pitt assured the Gen-
"eral, that the scheme of emancipating South

released in 1810, on the interference of the British Government. Coe Miner effected his escape subsequently.

America, was a measure that would not be lost sight of, but would infallibly engage the attention of every minister of this country. [Documents, &c by Antepara, p 13.] By Miranda's advice, several of the ex-Jesuits of Peru and Mexico, an order greatly revered among the South Americans for their humane and prudent labors, were invited from Italy and elsewhere to London. They were destined to accompany him in the first expedition. Viscardo was among the foremost, in embracing the glad summons. His letter to the people of Spanish America, reflects lustre on his name. Copies of this persuasive document were subsequently circulated by Miranda, at Coro.

Disinterested patriotism appears to have governed all Miranda's public actions; we must approve his motives even when we discard his opinions; he would not deign to accept the command of an expedition to be dispatched from France, under patronage he had reason to suspect. He, in like manner refused to be associated with the intended expedition of Sir Arthur Wellesley, destined for Venezuela, in 1808 — before events diverted it to Portugal and Spain: for he had previously warned the British Government against any attempt at conquest, in South America. "Yet the first British army, thus [the Buenos Ayreans] behold, comes both for conquest and plunder." No doubt but he was jealous of having for neighbors a people so restless and ambitious, who had in sundry parts of the world, contrived to improve a mere footing, a fort, or factory on a coast, into vast conquests & dominion. Their acquisition of Trinidad, and

Demerara and Essequibo, and their hold in Campeachy, brought them near enough. Possibly, then Miranda might have supposed, that, as with Spain, so with England, the provinces most distant from her were the most fortunate. If a man even errs by excess of caution, in questions of country, it is an error on the right side. Amor patriæ excuses all his suspicions.

By General Picton's proclamation, as we have seen, the British Government assured the South Americans, "That the views of his Britannic Majesty went no farther than to secure to them their independence, without pretending to any sovereignty over their country, nor even to interfere in the privileges of the people; nor in their political, civil or religious rights."

Whether the British Cabinet believed and hoped, that an overture, seemingly so devoid of selfishness, would be reciprocated by a grateful people, who to requite such unusual generosity, would invoke English protection; or whether at the moment their words did possibly convey their meaning - I need not positively assert. Circumstances induce us to incline to the former supposition, that the tender was to be interpreted by Polonius' idea,* and was a lure to entrap the unsuspecting: for finding that the South Americans did not swallow the bait, it was impatiently resolved to take what was not given. Hence the attempt to conquer the vast territories of La Plata and Chile. Europe was too narrow a field for English intrigue; - Asia too small for her ambition! Aggrandisement alone, not liberation, was the ob-

* Tenders! - mere springes to catch woodcocks. [See Shakespeare's Hamlet.]

ject of England. General Whitelocke was ordered to reduce the provinces of Buenos Ayres, under the authority of his Britannic Majesty, but "not to introduce into the government any other change than that which must necessarily arise from the substitution of his Majesty's authority for that of the King of Spain." Instructions to General Crawford, should he conquer Chile, commanded him, "to effect no other alteration than that of placing the country under his Majesty's protection and government," and studiously ~~expressing~~ on him "that the Spanish form of Government was to be preserved, subject only to the changes which the substitution of his Majesty's authority for that of the King of Spain may render inevitable." [Historical and Explanatory Documents, p 25.]

The British public were then firmly persuaded, that those conquests were practicable & certain. Stockdale dedicates "To Commodore Sir Home Popham, a new edition of Ulloa's voyages, in this manner: "With a pride which I venture to assert, I feel, in common with every British subject, I take the liberty to dedicate to you, this republication. It contains, with other interesting matter, a slight sketch of Buenos Ayres, that territory ~~which~~ which now is, and will most probably remain, from your foresight, ability, and personal bravery, one of the richest jewels in the United crown."

J. Bonaparte's instructions to his agents betrayed a similar contempt of principle with his neighbors across the channel. "My agents will refrain from declaiming against the Inquisition, & the Church, and in their conversations rather insist upon

the necessity of that holy tribunal, and on the usefulness of the clergy."

Both dynasties wished to avail themselves of existing prejudices, or any means to attain their ambitious ends not to meliorate the condition of an oppressed people. Such cares were confined to the bosom of Miranda and his abettors. The proclamation of that general to his army, on landing at Coro, in 1806, breathes the same elevated patriotism that distinguished him throughout. A representative system appeared to him indispensable. In that simple school he thought to train his unpracticed countrymen; for simple it is, as the dispatching a messenger on an errand, with directions how to execute it. On this principle, Doct. Gxxx used to maintain, that republican government was as easy of administration as any other,* among an honest people. To that enterprise Miranda had been pressed by innumerable solicitations from his countrymen. It failed through want of a competent rallying force. One abortion disheartened the people. They were averse from joining his standard, when he again appeared on their shores from Trinidad. Finding their minds depressed and indisposed towards revolutionary movements, and "seeing himself abandoned by the English admiral, who had promised him ample succours, he resolved on reembarking, and returning to Trinidad, where he became the butt of bitter taunts and cruel railleries." During the autumn of that year, "the English ministry caused the insertion of a pretended official letter from Admiral Cochrane, announcing the capture of Caracas, by General Miranda. None knew better than they that this General had not approached nearer to the capital than

* He was accustomed to say, "It is much easier to teach a person to write a chosen name on a scrap of paper and fling it into a ballot-box, than to sophisticate him into the belief that an old woman can fly over a church - in one case you awaken reason - in the other you prostrate it." When we subject reason to authority we [illegible]

50 leagues. Negociations for peace were then pending ... and they believed, no doubt, that this honest ruse would have its influence on Spanish relations." [Voyage aux iles, &c et en Venezuela, tom. ii. 121-123.]

It was then supposed, that the British government hoped to embroil the United States with Spain, and to execute diplomatic manoeuvres through Miranda's first expedition. They sighed for commerce & territory in South America ... not for its freedom. — This government had tried the experiment of governing arbitrarily her conquered colonies; civil liberty had become the object of its abhorrence, and incompatible with all its policy. To be convinced of this truth, we have only to read the remonstrances of the inhabitants of Trinidad, the facts there developed, & an account of the collisions produced. [See also Counsellor S.....'s Address [1 vol. 8vo.] to his Grace the Duke of Portland.] With these acts towards our own people, compare the various coalitions against France, of which England was the soul and centre.

Addressing the people of Aruba, in August 1806, Miranda points severe animadversions against the proposers of the tariff of prices for the heads of himself and officers. Vasconcellos, governor of Caracas, and the magistrates had graduated this scale of rewards, $30,000 for the head of Miranda, and so in proportion for the rest. He upbraids them for carrying on war by assasination, as Alva and Philip had done in Holland,* and that against a citizen struggling, by honorable means, for the rights of his countrymen, and the glory of his country ... like Washington, in America, and like Pelopidas and Dion in Greece." [Documents, &c 213.] But we must admit that the usuage here complained of

* He alludes to employment of Jauregui and Balthazar Gerard by the spanish royalists for a great sum, &c. to assasinate the Prince of Orange — the former made the attempt: the latter completed it. Jime[illegible]rman, a priest, assured Jauregui "that he should merit heaven by the deed." Such men and principles praised Clement to assasinate Henry III's and Ravaillac to butcher Henry IV. The history of the armed is often a mere catalogue of murders.

is common: the right assumed by royalists of imbruing their hands in the blood of persons dissenting from their political creed, seems to have passed from the church to the state. It was the reaction of those intolerent principles, which at a later day, produced the war of extermination in Venezuela.

Before this persecuted man sunk into the chasm of that dungeon which closed forever the career of his chequered life, he had bequeathed a saving example to his countrymen. His conduct taught them how they might avoid foreign influence, though they should need foreign aid. Whilst he covenanted for an English annuity until he should recover his own estates, he unhesitatingly spurned every overture that favored a foreign domination. All the arts of tentation were played in vain. "Tented to the quick" he resisted like adamant. A forensic orator, as eminent for his virtues as abilities, a man who had the best opportunity of accurate information on this subject, corroborates all we have said. In his eloquent speech on the trial of Ogden and Smith, counsellor Emmet represents General Miranda "like Hannibal, wandering from Court to Court, supplicating assistance for his country – a noble country, highly favored by nature, but desolated by man – a wretched country, in which the blessings of heaven wither before the touch of tyranny." – –

– – "In England, had General Miranda consented to a transfer of dominion over his country, and to its being subjected to the British crown, he might have arrived at the highest military honors and fortune." He would not comply with this, and was abandoned to his destiny. The British cabinet interceded with the Spanish government for the release of the Canon of Chile, &c. in a case

where their pride was wounded by the behaviour of Campbell; but they turned a deaf ear to the solicitations of Miranda from his prison - though he was equally a martyr to the faithless infraction of the articles of capitulation. He found, but too late, that when he was aiming at a revolution, William Pitt was seeking how to produce confusion, by which his government might profit. A nation that could manufacture for the world, seemed desirous of ruling it. Defeated in his attempt "to give happiness to the wretched, and liberty to the slave" his sun went down in lurid darkness; but the "glorious enterprize" of liberating his country, will flash light to irradiate his tomb, snatch his memory from oblivion, and give immortality to his name. In search, however, of impartial truth, I neither wish to eulogize or despraise any individual in the spirit of a partizan. Its bias is ever to be deprecated, especially by one whose duty it is to form his judgment by the evidence of facts. To speak of that which history now records, is not indulging in an unworthy party feeling.

It is not very material to recollect, that while there existed hopes of an amicable composition, the Junta of Venezuela, in 1810, had instructed their agents in London, Don L. Lopez Mendez and Simon Bolivar to prevent the return of Miranda, the declared foe of Spain, to Caracas. Moderation, not hostility to him, dictated this advice; but it was unregarded. It was at the same time that Messrs. Orea and Bolivar were deputed by the Junta to the United States.

Knowing that the necessities of the feeble oblige them to sue for aid to the strong, or sometimes to seek a mediator, where they cannot find a helper, I am far from censuring the Venezue-

tians for leaning on England, or rather on liberal individuals there... notwithstanding the experience of Miranda. Every honorable sacrifice is to be made for independence.- The Hollanders, in their distress, went farther; successively beseaching England and France to accept their sovereignty, & protect them from the blood hounds let loose upon them. England piqued at her miscarriage in Buenos Ayres, and doubtless disappointed of direct dominion in Venezuela, adopted the oblique policy so natural to disappointed ambition, viz. saps after assault. She secretly joyed at a conflict between Spain and her colonies which was exhausting them mutually; holding intercourse with both, she seemed to watch all movements with an anxious eye, and as scenting distant events stood ready, like a grey-hound in the slip, to dart upon the game. Both, dreading her power, courted her help, or craved her forbearance-her smile or frown carrying hope or despair! Coalition wars, had in the mean time, brought England into alliance with Spain - and on Spanish soil she was fighting her battles against France - French independence... French arms French power... French commerce. Venezuela, with other provinces, then tried methods of reconciliation; & submitted the adjustment to English mediation. In October, 1811, Messrs. Monier, Stuart, and Admiral Cockburn were appointed commissioners for the purpose. I extract two of eleven articles laid before the Cortes as a foundation for compromise.

4th Ly That Spanish America shall be permitted perfect freedom of commerce, though some

degree of preference may be allowed to Spain."

"8thly That Spanish America shall acknowledge the sovereignty possessed by the Cortes, as representing Ferdinand seventh."

It were childish to marvel at this inversion of principle - a leading object of so many leagues & bloody wars: the Cortes deriving their legitimate authority from the people of Spain, are deemed lawful or sovereign only by virtue of representing Ferdinand VII. Perchance this was done (was it) that it might be fulfilled in the fullness of time, which was spoken by James I. king of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. &c. &c. the heterodoxy of the Stuarts having become orthodox in the times of their successors:

---"The mystery of the king's power is not lawful to be disputed." —— "It is atheism to dispute what God can do; his revealed will ought to content us: so it is contempt in a subject to dispute what a King can or cannot do. The law is his revealed will." x

As these reflections either necessarily arise from the subject, or tend to its elucidation, I trust I have not followed the digression too far.

The struggle seemed at an end; and the Venezuelians, Trojan-like, were studious of personal safety, when Troy had fallen. Don Pedro Gual, a gentleman as distinguished for his private worth, as his talents and public services, with other respectable citizens, in all above 300 persons, eluded the vengeance of the enemy. Though the treaty ought to have protected them, they embarked in various merchant vessels at La Guayra, and owed their safety to flight. All

x Conformably to this dogma, the legitimate fountain of Power is overlooked in Blackstone's definition of law, viz. - a rule of action prescribed by a superior. An erudite and profound professor of law, the late Judge Wilson has in his works, refuted the sophistry of the English law-books, with invincible force of reasoning. [illegible]

15

Frenchmen were ordered to quit the country within twenty four hours. Bolivar, J. F. Rivas and N. Rivas, both of these cousins of Monteverde, with a few more obtained pass-ports, sailed for Curaçao, and some of them from thence for Carthagena.

The Spanish Captain-general, or his adherents, lost a golden opportunity of dispelling distrust & quieting the country; and revived resistance by acts of cruelty to the vanquished. Insatiable vengeance appears to have governed the conduct of his subordinate officers. War was rekindled in Cumana, and in Barcelona by the treacherous massacres of Zuazola, who commanded in the former place. Shocking as is the detail, we must give some specimens of that atrocity, which spurred the patriots into a retaliation, known by the title of the war of death, where no quarter was given. On this point some information is contained in the Memoire of Pondeau, and Mayor, p. 87. 93. 94, &c. A later essay on European Mediation, by Dr Lea, now Vice-President of Venezuela, has an appendix of documentary and other proofs. Such scenes soon became too familiar to excite wonder. I translate an account of some instances from the Caracas Gazette, of the 15th September 1813, et. seq.

"With the intention of aiding the Spanish army operating against Maturin, a corps of 300 men, under the orders of Zuazola, were detached by the government of Cumana, to take post at the village of Aragua, in that province, sixteen leagues from Maturin.

"The troops had scarcely arrived, when he beat an assemblée to collect the citizens, who were dispersed on their farms. Fearing some

treachery, in the call, and terrified at the tyrannies of Zerberry and his gang, they did not convene at the signal. Zuazola repeated the call by means of proclamations which he ordered to be posted up not only in the village, but in every house and conuco of the inhabitants; assuring them of his friendship and protection — that he came in peace to embrace them in his paternal arms, and be the herald of their happiness.

"At sight of these affiances the citizens were emboldened to return, and proceeded to Aragua, as fast as distance allowed. In proportion as they reached the place, they were consigned to death... first enduring unheard of cruelties, which nothing but the most brutal and unbridled barbarity could suggest.

"They were ordered to be seated on a low bench [banquillo] and after an interval employed in sneers, jests, sarcasms and scorn, their ears were cut off and placed in the hands of the sufferers for their contemplation; they were then dragged by the heels to the bank of a neighboring lake, beheaded, and thrown in. x

"From a person who strove against this terrible operation with his hands, they flayed a piece of skin [off his breast and stomach] and having nailed it to the wall before his face, conducted him to the Lake where he suffered the fate of the rest.

"Others they coupled by the shoulders two and two, pricking them in the shoulders, hams, limbs, and sewing them together with a rein or thong of hide, carried them to the lagoon where they found sepulture after being cropped and beheaded.

x Some refinements are introduced into the department of the horrid arts! — it is common to trace the figure of a cross in the sand, and make the victim stoop to kiss it, when his head is severed from his body by blows with a machete, a long sword-like knife used to cut cane and brush, &c. In other cases causing them to lean over the gunwale of a boat, greatly facilitates cutting throats or decapitation!

"Some, while fixed in the stocks by the head or feet, were maimed and disfigured. A youth of nine years old, son of one of the persons, waiting his turn of sacrifice in the cepos /stocks/ presented himself to the impious Zuazola, generously offering his life for that of his aged father, who was the support of a wife /habitually infirm/ and eight little brothers, smaller than the supplicants. This magnanimous offer only provoked the fury of Zuazola, and leading the child to his father's presence, beheaded him in his sight, and hastened the death of the venerable old man.

"He amused himself with another lad by a bargain to spare him, provided he should suffer certain torments without the least sign of flinching which he did bear without emotion. Zuazola then put him to death, because one who could suffer with so much fortitude, might become dangerous! He spared neither sex nor age. Those who fled again in terror to the woods, perished of hunger & exposure, or were massacred as they drew near their houses and fields. Araya was sacked and desolated. "This event was celebrated in Caracas, & Cumana with salutes of artillery, ringing of bells, Te Deum, &c."

An occurrence near Ocumare, is thus related by a person who describes, in the Caracas Gazette, the heaps of dead bodies that infected the air, and other horrible sights in that place... A youth of fourteen years, pallid, emaciated and lean, happened to appear before me. I asked, who are you, my poor fellow? I have escaped death, he answered; have lived in the trunks of trees concealed in the woods. My father delivered me to Rosete that he

might put me to death for my attachment to the cause of my country? The monster was astounded at the demand, and gave me my life: I have saved it in the midst of the woods.

Comment on deeds s daemonical were lost. Human language cannot express a tythe of one's sensibility at the acts of fiends.

When Monteverde summoned Maturin to surrender, [May 25] he allows the garrison but two hours to decide - or be abandoned to the fury of his soldiers. General Mariño, on the part of the patriots, summoned Cumana, in the same terms, on the 31st. July. The Bishop of Cuença, [a royalist] who there headed the Army of Death; and padre or priest, since Col. Mariño, [a patriot,] were the first, [so far as I can learn] to proclaim extermination in the name of heaven. The bishop thought it lawful against enemies of the altar and throne. Mariño said it was a holy war, justified by provocation and by scripture. It was not then stamped with the sanction of government.

It was dread of extirpation that drove the patriots to arms. - While General Mariño and the people of Cumana were the first to rehoist the standard in the East, General Bolivar and Col. Rivas suddenly appeared from the west, and defeated the enemy in every combat. This expedition is the most memorable in the annals of that country, no less for its political than its military consequences. Having retired to Carthagena, Bolivar contrived to levy the nucleus of an army at Mempox, and in the service of the Carthaginian Government, overcame the royalists in

× Bartolome Tortillo gave up his own son to Rosete that he might assasinate him. Gen. Rivas has employed the unfortunate son of that monster, in the carabineers. [Caracas Gazette, n° 45.] A branding iron was afterwards taken with Rosete, & with this he was marked on the forehead, like the first Christians, those whom he spared. So it was then assumed in this Gazette.

various battles, until he liberated the province of Santa martha. He next took Ocaña; and marching thence, by paths almost impracticable, Cucuta fell into his hands before the Spaniards had the least inkling of his approach. Important stores and much booty were taken here.... Struck with this brilliant achievment, the Congress of New Grenada, then in session at Tunja, conferred on Bolivar the title of Brigadier General. A small division of 800 men, officered by Urdaneta, Castillo, Ricaurte, and Girardot, was committed to him: with which Col. Rivas afterwards united. In spite of difficulties almost inconceivable, this enthusiastic band, passed defiles and clambered over mountains at which veterans might have hesitated. They attacked Genl. Correa, near La Grita, which after a sharp rencontre, became the prize of the patriots. Castillo is noticed as displaying great intrepidity in this affair. Correa paralyzed by this blow, neglected to dispute the passage of the patriots over an adjacent river, which in that mountainous region rushed with the force of a torrent from the Andes. They were obliged to pass it almost one by one, in a sort of panniers sliding from side to side along a cable of pita or agave, which was stretched by a windless at one of the banks. Augmenting his force by volunteers at Merida and Truxillo, he was soon debouched into the plains of Caracas, and formed a corps of cavalry. Barquisimeto, San Felipe, and Nirgua fell successively into his power! He routed the joint forces of Monteverde and Correa at Lastaguanes, where the cavalry went over to the patriots, as they had formerly de-

serted b the royalists at San Carlos. Valencia and Victoria surrendered b the conquerors. The enemy now requested a capitulation, embracing Caracas, &c. which was signed at Valencia 14th August. 1813, "third year of independence, and first of the war of Death-guerra à muerte. Col. Briceño who had been detached against Barinas, was beaten by the royalists and taken prisoner with seven of his officers.— Governor Tiscar had them barbarously executed. This was said b be the immediate, but not the sole cause which exasperated Bolivar b retort the enemy's acts by extermination.

War with its most civilized restraints is calamitous enough: without them it degenerates into cold savage assassination. The parties then surpass hyænas and tigers, and make us blush for our species. For a moment it had been doubted, which of the belligerents provoked this barbarity. It is now apparent, from a review of events, that the royalists tacitly commenced it.../ perhaps under their plea of divine right;/ and that the independents thereupon openly declared the lex talionis. When it became a matter of correspondence both attempt b exculpate themselves; each claiming the shield of sacred justice. Antoñanzas had massacred three hundred Americans at San Juan de los Morros, whose skeletons were suspended from the trees until the entrance of the patriots. Throughout the year, says the Editor of the Caracas Gazette, nothing was seen but victims, led in violation of the faith of treaties from the remotest nooks of the province b the dungeons of Puerto Cabello and La Guayra: there was heard no other sound than the clanking of chains and hand-cuffs—no music save the wailings of mothers, daughters, wives, who

vainly implored the tyrant's compassion. What wretched families were shrowded in weeds of woe!

I cannot recite the excesses of either party: those of the royalists, Salomon. Borer, Yañez, Rosette, Puy, Niblet, are notorious - those of Rivas. Elias, Ansmendi, &c &c. - &c. on the other side, seem little inferior. The ecclesiastics, as some of them had the priority in declaring it, added in practice deeper shades of horror to the havock. After the earthquake, padre Marques, a priest of Barcelona, put himself at the head of a party of Indians, made several incursions against Barcelona and places in that neighborhood - and did great mischief. He was afterwards caught and hanged. Friar Correuil always carried a dagger in the sleeve of his religious habit, averring that he kept it to kill rebel Creoles. Let us leave the sable wretches and attend to the adverse chief. If a party be not acceptable evidence in his own cause, the truth may lie between them.

Bolivar and Monteverde entered into a correspondence on a proposal of the former, to exchange prisoners, who gave a squint at reprisals, if he, [M.] should refuse it. Monteverde replies, that he, whose clemency is well known in Venezuela, is horrorized at the cruelties committed by Bolivar, against Europeans, and in retaliation would slay two for one thenceforward. Bolivar rejoins, on the same day, that he is astonished at the perfidies, treasons, severities, robberies, and all manner of crimes perpetrated by Domingo Monteverde, ex-governor of Caracas, & decrees war of death as a partial retorsion, authorized by the laws of war, when the law of nations is so shamefully infringed by the enemy.[x] If General

[x] "If retaliation was not pushed to the same extent, between Great Britain and the United States during the revolutionary war, English conduct and pretensions engendered equal acerbity: animosity was irritated to the highest pitch. Paine, the faithful organ of American indignation, as he was the zealous champion of American rights, addressed the 6th number of "The Crisis" to the British Commissioners armed with pardons at New York: "There is a difinity," says he, "in the warm passions of a whig which is never to be found in the cold prudence of a tory. In the one nature is only heated, in the other she is poisoned."

The Commissioners having sta-

Monteverde would sacrifice two for one, he /B/ was ready to imolate six thousand Spaniards and Canarians then in his power, for the first American victim. He probably exaggerated this number to enforce his appeal.

When the order of Bolivar was verbally given, for putting to death the prisoners, at La Guayra, I have been informed, by a gentleman who had a good opportunity of knowing, the fact, that the Secretary of War refused to write it, but finally consented to endorse it if the general in chief would write it! It is ridiculous to raise scruples when one can so easily evade them by a subterfuse or a superscription. It has been estimated, that three thousand persons suffered death under this proscription in four months! but we have no certain means of verifying or contradicting the assertion. The patriots stained their name and wounded their cause by the sanguinary measure, the native kinsmen of proscribed Spaniards espousing their part. As we shall not recur to this subject, and as our object is not so much to note events in a series, as to single out leading facts or principles, a few remarks on the abuse of retaliation may be tolerated.

If resentment did not overwhelm reason, a moments reflection would convince us, that we have no right to relort on a private soldier, bound to obey a superior, the enormities of that superior. To be effectual, or justifiable it must fall on the guilty, on free agents, on officers, in whom we may suppose volition, consent. I doubt whether in

The Commissioners having stated in their proclamation, that "the benevolence of Great Britain had thus far checked the extremes of war" the enraged author asks in what character Great Britain claims the attribute of benevolence? Do you consider yourselves men or devils? For until this question is settled, no determinate sense can be put upon the expression. You have already equalled, and in many cases excelled, the savages of either Indies, and if you have yet a cruelty in store, you must have imported it unmixed with every human material from the original warehouse" - below. - This number shows the quintessence of indignant bitterness, excited by Columbia's enemies.

this case, or any other of human concerns, vicarious sacrifices do not greatly aggravate, rather than expiate offences. Kings and rulers are not improved in wisdom or virtue by all the stripes laid on the people; to be useful, the lash must touch themselves. He who can count scape goats enough in his herd or horde may trespass forever. The right of retaliation is narrowly circumscribed by justice, beyond which, it is a barbarous affront to mankind. None, I presume, would venture to palliate cannibalism, because a savage enemy should have disfigured or feed upon the slain. Suppose such a foe carbonado or barbecue, or dry the flesh of those killed in battle, like as much tasajo; & that he played all the fantastic barbarities that imagination can conceive, until humanity sickens and reason recoils at the idea: do these deeds authorize us to do the like? Is not the right then limited to means restorative, not destructive of civilization? Possibly well directed vengeance at the outset, followed by a course of magnanimous forbearance, might have gagged the bloodhounds, and have plucked some bloody pages from the history of South America. But it must be confessed by prejudice itself, that if Bolivar was passionately precipitated into a grievous error, he was the first to renounce it, and endeavored to reclaim his antagonist to the usages of lawful warfare. For when, at a posterior date, he disembarked at Occumare, he solemnly declares in the proclamation then circulated: "The War of Death carried on against us by our enemies, shall cease on our side." The sanguinary experiment had been hurtful to the cause of the country. It

was not a fit weapon for reformers, whose motto should be, "parcere subjectis & debellare superbos." It let in a thousand abuses - lawless acts without number, being perpetrated by underlings, who on pretence of retaliation, would murder in ~~order~~ to rob with impunity. It was a licence without bound... the signal for general uproar and the most wanton waste. It was one of the rocks on which the patriot-hopes were dashed to atoms - requiring years of toil to recover strength from the wreck.

Some time after, General Morillo, writes with the most deliberate coolness in one of his dispatches to the Spanish government: "If the king intends again to subdue these provinces, the same measures must be taken as in the early period of the conquest." These were, burning captives alive... hanging them by dozens, or hundreds, or thousands; hunting them to death with blood-hounds; branding them as slaves; and yoking them in leashes and collars like dogs, to be sold as food for dogs. All this the time of the conquest witnessed. "In Santa Fé" said he, "much has been published during the revolution, and the learned there have ruled all with their pens." Did this intellectual influence justify, as it induced him to butcher every person there who could read and write - as he has boasted, in another despatch?

M. de St. Pierre a very theoretical writer, but a good man, considers barbarity as incident to the infancy of nations, but foreign to the nature of man; or as the reaction of evils suffered by rising nations from the hands of their enemies. Vengeance is fierce, as the cause of a party or constitution of a state is liable to subversion. Hence the ferocious cen-

duct of savage hordes to their enemies, though they live in perfect harmony among themselves. — "For a similar reason it is [he adds] that the feebler animals are much more vindictive than the powerful. The bee darts her sting into the hand of any one who comes near her hive. But, the elephant sees the arrow of the huntsman fly close to him, without turning aside out of his road."

It is most likely, an apprehension of overthrow, to which powers in equilibrio are so liable, when the smallest accession may give one of them a preponderance, ... that sharpens or helps to sharpen party feuds in free governments. It also abridges the free expression of opinion among the members of either party ... who seem like the crew of a frail boat in a stormy sea, where the slightest movement or change of position in any one may overwhelm them all. Whenever this happens, factions have corrupted each other, and the State is fast verging to slavery ... nay, is half enslaved, however her citizens may boast of freedom. But here is enough of theory, if not of satisfactory explanation. St Pierres [supposition [to give it no higher rank]] is still as worthy of the statesman's attention as of the moralist's.

But if man were not originally and individually barbarous, as remotest tradition and history attests; if barbarity were foreign to his nature, would it be incident to his social state; which is an advance from rudeness? The first society being composed of men. The nature of the whole must be homogeneous with that of the constituent parts. It is to be feared, That St. Pierre's defence of human nature is not defensible. Ge-

mara in his History of the Indies, ch. 190, remarking on the succession of plots, broils, wars, and mutual murders, among the conquerors, not one of whom (and he gives the catalogue) until his time escaped death or prison, except. Gasca adds, "The Indians and even many Spaniards attribute these deaths and wars to the climate, air, or the riches of that country. I ascribe them to the avarice and málice of man." Those instances occurred in the infancy of a new nation, though among emigrants from an old one, corrupted by fanaticism, &c. There appears to be good sense in this observation of an historian, who in other cases resorts to revelation to settle questions in astronomy! × A golden age existed only in the brain of the poets. However it would be preposterous here to attempt an enquiry into the origin of societies. Its laws and progress concern us much more. Without cavilling, we think a good lesson may be extracted from St Pierre's remarks.

If imbecility, ignorance fierceness, cruel suffering at the hands of an enemy, if all the concomitants of the "infancy of nations" denote or promote "barbarity," whatever reproduces any of those leading causes will renew their effects. A long course of misrule reconducts society, by despotic restraints and vicious examples from civilization to barbarity. As its motion is retrograde, it must return to this point: or, if it only prevent the nation from advancing, the same despotic cause which renders it stationary, keeps justice and civilization at a distance: "moral culture being the result of individual liberty." How many nations in the

× On this ground therefore, says he cap. I. the ophites heretics have erred, who not understanding the holy scripture well, concluded that there were innumerable worlds. And whosoever should believe that there exist many worlds like ours, would commit as bad a blunder as they." Such was the darkness of those times.

cast – how many in Africa and elsewhere, still remain barbarous as at first, or how many have retapsed to savageness, after a faint dawn of improvement! For these reasons, we may perhaps, without violence to truth, or a great stretch of imagination, compare nations, morally or politically considered, to globes revolving in a vast dark circle, an ark or point of which only, is illuminated! For a moment, they display a disk of splendour; then wheel their lonesome circuit round an orbit of "Cimmerian darkness." One brilliant age alternates with ages on ages of obscurity and slavery. If there be not a complete analogy to this in the physical world, whose laws preclude the long occultation we speak of; it has been thus in the moral world... and States have thus moved in the circle of time. We hope the picture may be reversed for the future; we wish that civilization may encounter less interruption, & undergo no retrocession, as in the past. It has been an easy task to suppress liberty; but a mighty labor to restore it! Spain, like old Rome, furnishes examples of both conclusions; both began by injustice to foreign States or sects, &c. and both were doomed to drain the poisoned chalice when returned to their guilty lips. – The lawless weapons used against unoffending States in the one case, or against Moors, in the other, were, in the end turned upon the aggressors... all their people mutually suffered for the crime. For the precept that inculcates faithlessness to any body, renders us faithless to every body. Justice perishes in an atmosphere so pestilential; but leaves avenging Furies

the crimes, disorder and injustice that succeed her.

Having so far overstepped the order of chronology to finish a hateful subject, I will only add, that the patriots repented of the guerra à muerte, and sought to mitigate the misery of war by a recurrence to its most civilized usages: but their propositions were rejected by the enemy. Or, in strictness, the royalists inflexibly refused to treat with the Independents on any account, or on any offer. Superciliously regarding their opponents as traitors and outlaws, in consequence of their opposition to the King, the royalists think them excluded from all courtesy. Contempt is adhered to, where mildness was a duty; and the sore that might have been healed by emollients, is enflamed by escarotics. Indepence can afford the only radical cure for such evils.

General Bolivar's entry into Caracas, Aug. 4th after his victorious expedition from new Granada, was a triumph; it called forth the most extravagant demonstrations of gladness. All was jubilation. If we were to reckon his merits, or the people's past depression by the exhilaration on that day, we could scarcely assign bounds to either. He received the homage and hozannas of 'thirty thousand souls.' Eclamations of "Long live our liberator! Viva la Nueva Granada!' rent the air. A brilliant company of young ladies, ~~remarkable for~~ the most beautiful and elegant, robed in white, bearing chaplets of laurel, rush into the midst of the tumult, seize the reins of his steed, and compel his rider to alight & load him with a weight of well earned wreaths. An interesting spec-

facle, so full of tenderness and admeration drew tears of joy from all who witnessed it... Successive salvas of artillery, the chimes of all the bells in the city, the bands of music accompanying the heroes retenue, tuning paeans to liberty and to his praise... the flowers strewed in his way, the kind embraces with which he pressed all his friends, and the interchange of similar greetings between the Caracanians and officers of new Granada... the tears shed by these,... all, all produced sensations so delicious, as it is impossible to portray. His compatriots, who had fled from the tyrant, and sought refuge in the woods among wild beasts; or who pursued by him into the recess of dungeons, loaded with fetters, seeing themselves unexpectedly free, sally from their dark dens and caverns, to respire the air of freedom with their deliverer and benefactor. The Editor of the Caracas Gazette, from which we extract this sketch, continues the description in the same strain and concludes: "We shall repeat the "names of Bolivar and New Granada to our "infant sons with the sweetest emotion; & "when we have finished the hero's statue, we "will lead them to survey it, and tell them, "Behold your liberator: to him you are indebted for the air you breathe."

The tribute of applause from the government of Carthagena, was still more deliberate and solemn. In consideration of his services, the representatives of that province [March 14th 1814] passed "An act in honor of Citizen General Simon Bolivar, declaring

him a meretorious son of the Republic, and ordaining that his name be emblazoned in Letters of gold in an archive of the Legislature, to be created by that law - the inscription in the most flattering style, viz.

"General Simon Bolivar, a native of Caracas, did not see with unconcern the Chains which Spanish barbarity a second time imposed on his country. He conceived the daring project of emancipating her, and allying himself to this State, commenced the enterprize. The republic of Carthagena perceived, with satisfaction ~~the enterprise~~ him. worthier sons, and confided to him the command of her arms. From the banks of Magdalena to the walls of La Guayra, the American hero traversed with glory. The Republic feels pride in Styling the liberator of Venezuela, her Son."

As justice is always sound policy, it is wise to cherish worth. A distribution of honors, graduated by the scale of merit, fans the martial spirit: the sensible heart is stimulated to greater exertions in the public service by expressions of gratitude. Warm applause fosters the civil and military virtues: - it was due to the gallant band who had in three months achieved an undertaking worthy of an Hannibal. There is probably some ground for believing, that provident principles was forgotten in rendering and receiving personal homage. The people omitted the restoration of the representative body: the military leaders depending on enthusiasm, neglected a favorable moment for perfecting military discipline, the force of this being more durable than the fervor of that. A dictatorship was suffered to be formed, the more

careful in a country which possessed no institutions to curb it, and to which the people might quietly resort.

Instead of reinstating the Congress, as instructed by the government of New Granada, Gen Bolivar had recourse to the opinions of some jurists and principal citizens, proposed by Don F. X. Ustariz. This gentleman seemed to think,[x] that discretionary power, vested in a single person was most suitable to the nature of the contest and circumstances of the people: and that General Bolivar was naturally called by the course of events, to the direction of one of the most important concerns that ever engaged human attention. The recommendation of an union with New Granada, then hailed as the saviour and protectress of Venezuela, and viewed too as her confederate, since 1811, was common to all the advisers. Deputies were to be sent to that Congress, to establish the union on a solid and constitutional basis. But in Venezuela the tardy gait of a Congress was thought too languid for public security.

Doct. Michael Peña accorded, generally, in the views of C. Ustariz, and took a retrospect of public measures and sentiments. All had concurred, that in time of peril, division of powers created obstacles and retarded the march of business. If the dictatorial authority conferred on Miranda, had not saved the country, perhaps it was owing to his inability, or because factions and parties were too late in renouncing their jealous pretentions when the shouts of a victorious enemy reached their ears. The measure in itself

[x] I say seemed, because his opinion is not contained in the file of Gazettes, I have with the rest; but is partially quoted in the opinions of others I have

was competent to maintain liberty, or at least was the only mean of supporting it. The appre-
hensions suggested by prejudice and passion con-
cerning Miranda's views; the prevalance of fa-
naticism, popular superstition and a variety of
causes conspired to prostrate public freedom, &
subject Venezuela to the tyrant; but all the au-
thorities who had been the organs of the general
will, agreed that a dictatorial government was
fittest for Venezuela, and therefore had given
her such an one." Now the provinces were in
a similar predicament, surrounded by enemies
on all sides, and consequently the commission
granted to the Libertador, by the Congress of New
Granada, to reinstate the government of Venezuela,
ought to be understood to imply a government
suitable to the circumstances of war. The dicta-
torial power, he thought indispensable to extri-
cate the state from the onsets of tyranny in the
delicate incidents of the war of death, which
they had declared against their enemies, and
which they ought to sustain with such energy as
to preserve themselves from extermination. He there-
fore considered General Bolivar as the natural
successor to the authority of Miranda. He com-
mended the prompt incorporation of their deputies
with the Congress of New Granada, to form one na-
tional body for mutual strength and defence; for
greater dignity and a thousand reciprocal ben-
efits. To New Granada they owed eternal gratitude,
her existence and welfare were involved with theirs.

Doct. Miguel José Sanz whose opinion is also
published at length, in the Caracas Gazette, saw
the absolute necessity of governing the state ar-

bitrarily. during the war; they could not run into a greater error than to think of popular assemblies in such a posture. Gen. Bolivar ought to possess legislative and executive powers until he should accomplish the great and glorious work that had been begun, by ridding the land of their enemies, and securing their system by the medium of a confederation with New Granada. It were but wasting time and words to discuss the danger of permitting the malignity of garrulous debaters, demagogues, praters, wranglers, [los Discurridores, Demagogos, loquaces, &c. &c.] to distract the public mind at such a crisis.

Doct Ramon Garcia Cadiz likewise gave in a formal project for uniting Venezuela and New-Granada, for mutual defence, maintenance of political existence, security and independence. General Bolivar, he agreed, should have the Chief Command, and consequently ordain and execute whatever was requisite for the salvation of their common country, without other restraints than those which might emanate from his constituent, the general Congress. [Caracas Gazette Nov. 1813.]

It appears extraordinary, that no discrimination is made by gentlemen of such discernment between deliberation and action. Contrary to the proposal of B. Ustariz, these three warmly disapprove a division of powers for the present. If a joint Congress could be useful for New Granada and Venezuela; a legislative body might be proportionably beneficial in the latter. An assembly can effect a thousand things, to which a single chief is incompetent; unites so many interests, directs so many eyes all around, as makes their vigilance

amount to a sort of ubiquity. Reliance on an individual liable to error, yet loaded with all pow-er, is monstrous. In such case a government leaves no moral force in reserve; has no point d'appui.- why should a commander have his thoughts dis-tracted by State affairs & in a war of extermina-tion a military chief ought not to be supreme; for then, his errors are irremediable. He must u-niformly be victorious, or he is lost. No provision is made against vicissitude; no spring in the machine to diminish the shocks of fortune. If her chariot roll not continually on the even plain of prosperity, rugged surfaces are imprac-ticable. If on the contrary, a chief encounters no adversity, he may enslave his country. We grant that provoking delays and wranglings, and imbecility, and worse, sometimes disgust us with legislative bodies — but, the less of two evils is a ca-nonical sort of maxim.

When the Romans resorted to a temporary Dic-tator, they wisely took care not to subvert their Sen-ate or destroy their laws, or institutions. At the ut-most he could hold the authority for six months, & was impeachable for misbehaviour at the expira-tion of the term. The tribunes held their power: and the Consuls acted in obedience to this supreme Magistrate; who was created, as every one knows, to insure the advantages of a single Executive power. He could expend none of the public treasure, with-out permission of the Senate or the people. He was under many restrictions. In fact every Chief of a nation in modern times, even in the freest governments, really wields a vaster power / from the influence of executive patronage / than Ro-

bius or Cincinnatus ever possessed. No institution is more commonly or grossly misconceived, than the Dictature of Republican Rome.

It appears then to the unbiased judgment that of the patriots erred in the first stage of the revolution, by changing, too essentially, the forms of their former constitution; they committed a much greater mistake in the second, by acquiescing in a Dictatorship, (as the term is construed now a days.) This would perpetuate servile habits; the citizen obeying the imperious mandate of a chief, not the paternal voice of the law. No protecting shelter was provided for the scions of Republicanism; the fences were torn down and the nurseries destroyed..... Yet we must admit some plausibility in the arguments against a division of power..... at a moment when all eyes were dazzled by the lustre of the expedition from New Granada. Military success captivates the heart, and intoxicates the judgment. Seeing power in action, we fancy it to be invincible, and never examine the materials of which it consists - or the foundation on which it rests. When we passively surrender ourselves to the illusion, to will and to achieve, are synonomous - distance and obstacles are annihilated. The Venezuelans fancied they had but to stretch forth the hand and pluck the mellow fruit - reckless that the sunniest scene may be the most evanescent. Perhaps too, their late Congress had exhausted the peoples patience by idle debates, when they should have curbed party spirit and gagged loquacity. Such may have been the origin of the prejudice against them; but

that is a weak prejudice. Representation being a sine qua non, we ought to amend and regulate the rules of debate; repress silly or virulent declamation, and give energy to opinion. A legislative hall is too holy a sanctuary to be converted into an arena for mooters: young lawyers ought to make their debut elsewhere— There are posadas, barns, school-rooms, and vacant courts for training them. A statesman can generally deliver his opinion in ten or fifteen minutes, and vote it in a second. It is never necessary to agitate a question above three days, or at the utmost a week— It is therefore to be regretted, that our Caracanian friends did not rather repair the edifice of representation, than pull it down.

A popular and mixed meeting was convened at Caracas, on the 2d of January, 1814. of Magistrates, officers, clergy, the municipality and landed proprietors. General Bolivar harangued them in his eloquent manner; gave an account of his operations; hoped they would relieve him from the burden of governing; saying, that he panted for the moment when he could transmit his power to representatives of their appointment. This very disinterested speech (as in appearance) it is) was accompanied by three several reports on the State of public affairs, by the Secretaries of the Departments. As soon as these were read, the Governor of the town addressed the Assembly. "Citizens, said he, the hero is before you, who without any other resources than a pass-port, without any auxil-

iary, but his sword, has given you liberty." He was alarmed, he continued, at hearing it announced, that the General was about to resign the supreme authority - he who had broken their chains, and given them a country ... even whilst enemies existed on the territories of Venezuela. Who would not have to fear falling again under the yoke if he should not direct the reins of government? He flattered himself that he, Don Hurtado de Mendoza, was the faithful interpreter of the peoples sentiments, when he affirmed on their part, ~~xxxx~~ that they wished General Bolivar should continue to guide their destinies. Other speakers followed. General Bolivar said he attributed all the glory to his companions in arms: No human force should oblige him to exercise supreme power, as soon as he should have destroyed the enemies of the State. Nay, that he would not exercise it, though the people conferred it on him.

There was only one competitor for the highest honor on this occassion, and he a citizen of distinguished ability: but no doubt General Bolivar may have been as disinterested and liberal as any other. We forbear to enquire, what degree of liberty of opinion was allowed at the time, and whether a partial assembly could choose a Chief for the nation. Touching both these points there have been various rumors and surmises - but not pertinent to our business.

This campaign was sanguinary but glorious for the arms of Venezuela, until some

royal partizans on a promise of freedom, excited numbers of negro slaves to revolt and join their standard. This body of men amounted according to Doct. Pallacio, to 70,000; by Humboldt's estimate, to 60,000; and by later reckonings, to 100,000 in Venezuela.* In 1811, when the clergy formed a conspiracy at Valencia (as we have stated) against the independent government, emancipation was tendered, for the first time in this east. Miranda followed the example in 1812; and twelve hundred of them arrived at his camp; but on revolving the subject farther in his mind, he dismissed them within a couple of days without putting arms into their hands. Their royal leaders in 1814 were less conscientious. The slaves were made to augment the force of black and colored freemen. In resisting these formidable bands, the country was sadly desolated, for their victories, as in Pyrrhus's case, were purchased with insupportable losses. Bolivar divided his forces after the battle of Carabobo, and thus gave Boves an opportunity of defeating him at La Puerta. The Llaneros or people of the plains, offended at the severity of Elias, who massacred many of their class taken prisoners in a former engagement, went over to the Royalists. These rugged freemen are chiefly of the Zambo race. Inured to the

* "Among the castes" says Humboldt "that compose the population of Venezuela, that of the blacks, which awakens at once the sympathy due to misfortune, and the dread of a violent reaction, is not important from its number, but it is so from its accumulation on a small space of territory." They are most numerous on the north and East Coasts. Since the revolution, they are courted by both parties:- "and the gradual or instantaneous abolition of slavery has been proclaimed in "different regions of Spanish America, less from motives of justice and humanity, than to secure the aid of an intrepid race of men, habituated to privation, and fighting for their own cause." [Pers. Nar. pp. 430-'2.] See Memoirs, supra vol. p. 105, and "Outline," p. 94. Doct. Pallacio, however says, that Don N. Tacon, the Spanish Governor of Popayan, gave liberty to the slaves in Pasto, after his defeat at Palacé, and that this is the first instance of the kind.

exercises and privations of horsmen in the plains, a life of luxury to them — they are the expertest horsemen and hardiest soldiers in the service. This irregular cavalry are armed with a lance; and can go either naked or half clad, with a cloak [capote], or without it; as happens to be convenient. They used to charge in masses, or hovering round an enemy, harrass him in his camp, beset him on the march, cut off his supplies — force him to retreat from famine, or advance at more imminent risk. He is at the head of these colored Cossacks, whom he has trained much better of late, that the chivalrous Paez has performed exploits that justly render him the admiration and idol of the army and the people. Were all his achievments related, they would appear fabulous — they so greatly surpass all common adventures. He has rode through the enemy's camps, and left it in an uproar; has swam rivers and captured gun-boats; — with 150 select volunteers has crossed a river, engaged an army, made a lane from front to rear & from rear to front, came off victorious, swam the same river, and rejoined the patriot army (with a loss of only 3 or 4 men!). There never lived a Chief in any part of the world who has slaughtered equal numbers of the foe with his own hand. Those troops can subsist on fresh beef alone; and are not inferior to the Moors or Mamelukes in a dextrous manage of the steed. At the period we speak of, it may be said that these puissant auxiliaries turned the scale a second time; for the patriots would have soon terminated the servile war kindled by Boves, &c. if the Llaneros had not forsaken the independent banners. The

abuse of the guerra à muerte was the cause of their defection.

In February, 1814, when Boves had gained such advantage in the plains as to inspire some alarm, General Arismendi, governor of Caracas, was extremely active in preparing for a crisis, which certain excesses must have hastened - excesses that almost wither the laurels he won in Margarita. In that season of anxiety, he issued several proclamations to dispel dejection, and rouse the people to greater efforts. To animate them with stronger confidence, he says: "The time of dissimulation is past. Venezuela has not now at her head, a Miranda to propagate fantastic illusions; the most exalted heroism guides the reins of government with skilful hand." This is not quoted, with the remotest idea of instituting odious comparisons, nor of enquiring how much of the gloria in obsequio, (in Bacon's phrase) there was in the gross compliment; - [all mankind appear to rival each other in burning incense to the "powers that be," even at the expense of powers that have been;] but it is extracted as evidence of the implicit belief they entertained of the efficacy of a Dictatorship. The idea of a representative body was exploded as a reverie, or "fantastic illusion." Within six months after its creation or renewal, notwithstanding the most devoted bravery, Venezuela was once more under the dominion of the royalists.

We are grateful that it is not for us, but a task reserved for the historian, to follow the round of military occurrence - to see capitulations signed, sealed, ratified by a sacramental oath at

solemn mass / as by Boves at Valencia / then flagrantly violated in every part: and a community abandoned to pillage and massacre. — It is not for us to re-echo the loathsome horrors which succeeded the defeat of the patriots at Urica, when thousands were butchered in the woods or on the sea-beach — unarmed men and helpless females, having been denied an asylum in Trinidad — forbidden Island, and driven back into the arms of murder — in contempt of the claims of humanity — the precepts of Christianity — and I might add, of the law of nations.'[x] Whoever undertakes the painful work, must keep his eye on the vulture and the jack-all, that fatten on the dead; must trace them over arid deserts, where carcasses putrify and bones lie bleaching in the sun; where all the senses are offended; where Humanity never appears but as a victim — and Spoil and Havock rear their throne.

It can hardly be necessary to recount the dispersion of the chiefs — the flight of some to Margarita — of Bolivar and others, to Carthagena — the collisions in New Granada, between federalists and anti-federalists — the obstinate and fatal conflict between Cundinamarca and the confederation; the civil war between Bolivar and Castillo — leaving Santa Martha unsubdued, disheartening the people, and dis-

[x] I was informed by respectable authority in Guayana, that Sir Ralph J. Woodford governor of Trinidad, was then the cause of the sacrifice of 2000 persons. They who lurked along the shores, expecting a conveyance to Trinidad, having lost the chance of escaping into the interior, fell into the hands of the enemy: when their wretched associates returned — repelled from Port of Spain, &c. Women, whose situation ought to have excited a lively interest, were not allowed to proceed, even on an offer of security, from Port Spain to Granada or other islands — but were forced back from that harbor to the Guarapiche and other points on the coast of Paria. — How ~~[illegible]~~ such inhospitable, abominable conduct can be extenuated, I cannot perceive. It is to be hoped the governors friends can.

the character then raised. Those last things heartened the people and disabling them from making head against a fresh expedition of 10,000 men, under Morillo, who first occupied Margarita; and garrisoned several towns on the coast of Venezuela; then laid siege to Carthagena, and captured it in December, 1815.—

In the course of the following year, the Spanish general overran the spacious and delightful provinces of new Grenada; inflicting death (in a summary way) not only on the heads, of the revolution, but on all persons who could read & write. In a dispatch of the 7th of march 1816, he says, "it is a war ferocious as that of blacks against whites." He had previously called on the Spanish government for missionaries. "I now add," he says, "the necessity of sending both divines and lawyers from Spain." Thus doubly reinforced for conquest, his arms would be invincible. In this extensive region, the hopes of the independents were blasted by a concatenation of occurrences very similar to those which had transpired in Venezuela;—the same prematureness of framing constitutions for wide-spread territories, and an untaught population; similar heart-burnings and like results: with more dissimilarity between the respective people, than between their leaders. In both States the revolution was begun and conducted by the most enlightened citizens; in both there was an honest anxiety to perform too much at once; but the venezuelians have comparatively, a reputation for harshness; the New Grenadians for mildness. The former are a more mixed race, and had a large proportion of slaves; the latter are a homogenous people, and hold few negroes. Of their intelligent sprightly Mestizos, Azara's testemony has already been adduced, and is, as some imagine, more vitiated by infectious example and other causes: (Venezuela has had more intercourse with the islands) New Grenada, by her position, is more secluded, and preserves more simplicity. Her population are represented as peculiarly amiable and ingenuous. Yet I pretend, not, without further experience, to draw the lines of their respective characters; for it must be acknowledged, that travellers' general descriptions are often too fallacious for particular application. One who notes the accounts of Don Antonio de Ulloa, Bouguer, &c. down to Humboldt, based on actual observation, finds a striking variation of

moral feature between the inhabitants of different cities and provinces in that country. To draw a national physiognomy from such sketches, must be a fancy picture, with all its liability to incongruity.

One of the most succinct, and probably most accurate sketches of revolutionary movements in the states of new Granada, is contained in a letter from a distinguished fellow citizen, the late Colonel Alexander Macauley, dated from Santa Fé the 2 of April, 1812. It is inserted in the Portico [a literary publication of unequivocal merit] for December, 1817. This rare and chivalrous man, who combined, in an extraordinary degree the ardent spirit of the warrior with the ripe judgment of a statesman, — a sage, while yet a youth, fell a sacrifice for new Grenadian independence, at Pasto in Popayan, in the year 1813.

"In 1810, the provinces organized juntas [assemblies] and deposed the viceroy, who was allowed to embark at Carthagena, for Spain. It was intended by many, to form a confederation without delay — a plan from which numbers dissented; some contending for a central, others for a federal government. Among the sticklers for the former, was General Antonio Nariño, a man of great mental endowments, but perhaps of equal ambition. A federal government was adopted in 1811, which was soon obliged to measure swords with the junta of Cundinamarca, of which Nariño was president. These dissensions exposed Quito and other provinces to invasions from the royalists; when a second massacre was perpetrated in the city of Quito — Montes, the Spanish general, causing every fifth man to be executed. — Threatened by common ruin, both parties dropped their strife, and united against the Spaniards. Nariño being appointed commander-in-chief defeated the enemy on the heights of Palacé and crossed the river Cauca in

Popayan. on the 13th of January, 1814, he routed the royalists once more; but made not above 20 prisoners, because his troops enraged at the barbarities committed by the Spaniards in the vally [of Cauca] could not be prevailed on to give quarter. - They took 18 or 20 women, of those called volunteers, some of them attired in men's apparel. Owing to this disguise, several were slain in the pursuit. Nariño entered the strange, "incomprehensible" city of Popayan, convened the alcaldes, and informed them that unless they furnished some provisions for his soldiers, who had eaten nothing during that and the day before, and who were fighting their battles, he would set fire to the town, &c. &c was forced notwithstanding, to detach them in squads to the houses and convents. Popayan and Pastos had been empoisoned against the revolution by the clergy, who persuaded the people that the first Junta & its adherents were inimical to religion. Nariño established a provisional Government here. In his circulas addressed to the Cabildos, who were to elect the Delegates, he remarks:- "It may be said that we have been almost four years in demolishing the Gothic edifice we formerly inhabited - we go on destroying materials, and without erecting a new building; are quarreling about the first tenant who is to occupy it." After winning a dear bought victory at Juanambu, his army was defeated in turn by means of a panic; Nariño taken prisoner, sent to Cadiz, and appeared no more. - The Congress and Executive body, among whom we find the illustrious names of Torres, Tornices, Rubia, Caldas, Lozano × made incredible efforts to save

× A gentleman of great literary and political acquirements - one of their fellow laborers, I am glad to learn, has preserved biographical sketches of those eminent men. It is a melancholy pleasure, at least for their admirers to possess portraits of worthies whose conduct is a model to their successors. [redacted] we hope that Dort. Solazar will publish his Necrologia, &c &c. &c

the commonwealth, published an eloquent, candid appeal to the people, and augmented the army: But civil broils at Carthagena, and the Spanish expedition overpowered, the force of all their patriotic endeavours. This Congress had evinced talents and acquirements, almost beyond those of the age; many of its members possessed the virtues of Camillus or Cincinnatus. Their reforms in government were numerous and vital, and were rapidly regenerating the people whom they relieved. They had abolished the monopoly of tobacco and spirituous liquors; repealed the alcavala; defaced the servile badge of Indian tribute; and invited industrious foreigners to fix themselves in the country. A manufactory of fire-arms had been established; and they had unshackled the press, that pliant, but momentous engine, which is commonly the first freed to aid a revolution, and the first subverted, seduced or overawed, to support any ruling party under a settled government.

Guerrilla-parties still maintained themselves in the interior of Venezuela, waging the petite guerre, under Piar, Monagas, Zaraza and other chiefs; Margaritta was again in arms, under active, intrepid leaders, Arismendi and Gomez, &c. Bolivar, who had retired to Jamaica before the fall of Carthagena, went to join an expedition from Aux Cayes. It touched at Margaritta, then debarked a party at Carrupana, and the remainder at Cumana. Partial success only attended this force, and Bolivar re-embarked for Buen-Ayre. The command devolved on Gen. Mc Gregor, whose retreat through the plains was crowned with such signal victories, as covered him with laurels, and acquired him a fame for prowess and stratagem - the theme of constant admiration in Venezuela. The battles of Alacran and Juncal fought after his junction with Zaraza and Monagas, are the subjects of popular songs and applause. Fame reports that this officer has not since preserved

the character then raised.] Those seats opened a communication with Guayana, where Piar & Sedeño blockaded Angostura, in April, 1817. The battle of San Felix, on the 11th of that month, in which the Spaniards were vanquished, accellerated the fall of the blockaded towns, the acquisition of the Missions, and the conquest of the province.

There had been murmurs, in the interim against the government of an individual, as inefficient in itself, and subversive of the principles of the revolution. Don J. C. Madariaga. [the same who had negociated a treaty of alliance in 1811. between New Granada & Venezuela;] General Mariño, and several other officers and citizens of distinction, had attempted to revive the federal constitution, but without effect.- Piar, who had inveighed against Dictature generally, which he said, had ruined France and would destroy Venezuela, was, himself, accused of ambitious and treasonable designs, tried and shot... just when he had won an important territory. He had also laid an economical foundation for improving its resources. There was much sympathy for his fate - and it would have been very general, had the sufferer been less invidious of the fortune of others. x

The campaign of 1818, was sanguinary but inconclusive, by the neglect of one golden moment. - Morillo was enclosed with his infantry, in Calabozo, from whence his egress and discomfiture must have been one and the same thing, if his antagonists had guarded their prey with a vigilance proportioned to its importance. The Champaign-Country around is favorable for cavalry, the principal force of Bolivar. The Spanish Chief was unaccountably allowed to escape, and cross the plains almost unmolested. Various movements followed. After a retrograde march from Victoria, the divisions that had separated on Morillo's retreat, reunited. The enemy was again forced to retire to Ortiz: when Paez and Sedeño were successively detached to different points. Their disjunction was assigned for

x Piar who had more merit as an economist, a manager, and discipliniarian, than as a General in the field, would have lost the game at

the enemy to attack them in detail. The Sapience Chief was surprised and totally routed in a night attack at Roncorde de los Toros. Paez was attacked in the plains of Cogede, where the principal part of his cavalry deserted him, and he effected his escape with difficulty: and finally, Sedeno had to retreat from the vicinity of Calabozo

Paez, some time before had reduced San Fernando, an inconsiderable work but a good position, on the right (S.) bank of the Apure. No decisive advantage was obtained though much blood had been expended: and the main object seemed more distant at the end of the campaign than at the beginning. A sensible diminution of resources increased the anxiety for foreign auxiliaries. Fortunately, the surcharged population of the British islands (to speak in the popular not the exact sense) the enterprise of the merchants & people, and the disbandment of some veteran troops proved auspicious to the independents at this gloomy juncture. Small corps of English, Irish and Scotch volunteers had already distinguished themselves in Venezuela, & were led by officers as estimable for their social worth, urbanity and cultivated minds, as for professional skill and personal bravery. As the British merchants look forward to a gainful market in South America, and with the more avidity as other channels of trade are obstructed, they supplied the means of recruiting legions for Venezuela — many accessions have since been made to their number, from the same country, together with some detachments of veteran Germans.

If this seasonable support exhilarated the drooping spirits of the independents, they had even stronger cause of felicitation in the

Juncal, but for the great intrepidity and presence of mind displayed by M'Gregor who successively rallied both wings. After this Ferdinand prohibited the peasants in Barcelona from singing some rude verses they had made in praise of the insurgents and which they were fond of playing on their guitars. Envy, it is said, is represented as a green eyed monster.

convention of a Congress of Representatives about that time. Their convocation had become necessary, & prop or restore the credit of the State. & hearten the people & perseverance, to promote free principles, and devise a better form of government. It was indispensible on every account... a necessity that proves the insanity of a dictature for a grand, protracted conflict. However proper a liberal scope of discretionary power may be & the Executive [redacted] authority in directing the forces placed at its disposure - other cares, functions, creations, and combinations, are undeniably beyond the capacity of an individual. His abilities are sufficiently tried as a Director. - The expedient of planting a tree & shelter a forest would be every whit as reasonable, as that of putting a nation under the shield of one frail, fallible man. Strength consists in the best consolodation of counsels and force; the firmest union and fittest application of the moral and physical energies of a [redacted]. The pugilist who agrees & tie up an arm, and the nation who consents & shut its eyes, in combat, may, according to calculations of human probability, be beaten even by an inferior. To cope with equals, requires equality throughout, parity of exercise, intelligence, strength and instruction. How are some of these attainable, if we dismiss our instructors? what availed the gigantic statue and ponderous might of the Cyclop, when his eye was put out? Such is the plight of a nation that bids adieu & deliberation when she most needs it. Like the temple of Janus, it may perhaps be safely shut /for a moment/ during peace, but must be open in time of war. It is no cause of wonder then, that all experiments of formal dictatorship should have failed in Venezuela... though generally tried by men of superior capacity, they as generally miscarry, and dissipate the energies of a commonwealth. The dictatorial or imperial history of France has also confirmed the truth of the principle, by a tragi-

cal lesson. It applies universally - except in those ill-fated regions, where men by long servitude, have nerely forgotten rationality, and are degraded below the brute. But the purest tribute to truth and sound policy, is that of a people who perceive their aberrations and wisely regain the right path; while the obstinate adhere to injustice, and are crushed; the tame acquiesce and are scourged, and the foolish pass on and are punished."

The instalation of the second Constituent Congress, took place in Angostura, on the 15th of February last: when I attended the august ceremony with an alacrity, prompted as much by inclination as by an official invitation from the Supreme Chief. Order and dignity, the more impressive from associate and inseparable ideas of rights, afforded a gratifying spectacle to every one susceptible of the emotions excited by great occasions: - when rites the most solemn and pageants the most splendid are but unessential trappings of the vivifying principle whose initiation constitutes an epoch, from which legitimate government dates its rise and forms a goal, from which nations, elate with the pride and buoyed by the novelty of existence, begin their impatient career. How however agreeable, however edifying, however sublime may be the study of inert matter, and its laws, the contemplation of things, is "stale, flat and unprofitable," compared with the living interest of human society - unless in the animate can emulate the inanimate - nothing can compete with the momentous magnitude of its vast concerns."

Delegates to the number of twenty six, representing the sovereignty and will of the people, appeared from Margarita, and Guayana; and from sections of Cumana, Barcelona, Caracas and Barcinas, as particularized in the official statement in your possession. A set discourse was pronounced by General Bolivar, penned in the

spirit of eloquence, and uttered with emphatic energy. Blending all his force of argument with rhetorical embellishments of style, he endeavors to impress his opinions on the assembly: and if smooth and earnest ejaculation or beauty of diction could hide occasional inconnection, or recommend paradox, this speech would be irresistably persuasive. Every one who perceives this Discourse, especially in the original, / for there are peculiarities which cannot be transfused into the best translations / will admire it as a composition. Viewing it however, as an Essay on Government, we must throw ornament aside, and look into its substance. - General Bolivar recommends to the Congress, a confirmation of certain acts; of the total enfranchisement of the slaves; the preservation of the order of Liberators;* of the distribution of national property among officers and soldiers, / it is principally bestowed on the former; / as a compensation for military services. On the subject of government, he warns them to meditate on the particular situation of their own state, the character and qualifications of the people; and to adopt the constitution of civil government to their genius. Though he points to many models in foreign countries, nations, and prefers some to others, he admonishes Congress against a servile imitation of any.

"The more I admire / he says / the excellency of the federal constitution of Venezuela, the more am I convinced of the impossibility of applying it to our situation; and according to my way of thinking, it is a miracle that its model in North America, has existed with so much prosperity, and not been thrown into confusion by the first appearance of danger or embarrassment. - notwithstanding which, that people is a

* Instituted by his decree of 22d Oct. 1813, as appears by the Caracas official / Gazette, of 27th December. The badge of the order de los Libertadores, is a star with seven rays, or points, emblematical of the provinces then in the confederacy, with an appropriate inscription. It is worn, suspended from the button hole by a knot of yellow ribband.

singular example of political virtue and moral rectitude. Liberty has been their cradle; they have grown up in liberty, and are maintained by dint of the spirit of liberty. I will add, that that people are unique in the history of the human race, and repeat, that it is a prodigy that a system so weak and complicated, as the federal, should have endured under so difficult and delicate circumstances as those which have occurred." He confesses too, "that the example of the United States, with their progressive prosperity, was too flattering not to have been followed" by the politicians of Venezuela in 1811.

"Rome as Great Britain are the nations which have most excelled amongst the ancients and moderns. Though they had no well defined Constitutions, they produced "solid establishments." "When I speak of the British constitution, I refer solely to the democratical part of it; and in truth it may be denominated a monarchy in system, in which is acknowledged the sovereignty of the people, the division and equilibrium of power, civil freedom, liberty of conscience and of the press, and every thing that is sublime in politics. A greater degree of liberty cannot be enjoyed in any Kind of Republic, and it may indeed claim a higher rank in social order. I recommend that Constitution as the best model, to those who aspire to the enjoyment of the rights of man!" [illegible]

He would make political equality the fundamental principle of their system; for all men are born with equal rights to the benefits of society. The principle of political equality must be as generally acknowledged, as that of physical and moral inequality.

If the senate, instead of being elective, were hereditary, it would in my conception, be the basis, the bond and soul of the republic, and in political storms, it would possess the functions of government, and resist popular commotions." "The Senators in Rome and the Peers in Britain, have proved themselves the firmest pillars in the glorious structure of civil and political liberty." — He recommended the formation of a code of laws. — "Ours, (says he) are the sad remains of all ancient and modern despotisms; let the monstrous pile be demolished, let it fall, and withdrawing from its ruins, let us erect a temple to Justice, and under the auspices of its sacred influence, let us dictate a Code of Venezuelian laws.

"Let us take from Athens her Areopagus and the guardians of customs and laws — let us borrow from Rome her censors and domestic tribunals, and forming a holy alliance of those moral institutions — let us renew on earth the idea of a people not contented with being free and powerful, but which desires also to be virtuous. Let us take from Sparta her austere establishments, and from these three springs a reservoir of virtue."

"In soliciting the independence of judges, the institution of juries, and a new code, the security of civil liberty is requested; the most equitable, the most necessary, and in one word, the only liberty, as without it all others are a nullity. An amendment is asked, of the lamentable abuses in our judicature, which derive their origin from the foul sewer of Spanish legislation, collected in various ages and from various sources, equally from the productions of folly and of talent, equally the

spirit of good sense and extravagance, and equally the memorials of genius and of caprice. That judicial encyclopaedia, that monster with ten thousand heads, which has hitherto been a rod of punishment to Spanish nations, is the fiercest calamity the anger of heaven ever permitted that unfortunate empire to be afflicted with."

Agreeably to these notions, General Bolivar submits the project of a constitution to the consideration of Congress. This instrument [omitting minor provisions] proposes five species of functionaries to conduct the government, insure justice, liberty and morality; - but which may be classed under legislative, - executive, (or magistratical, including the judicative) and censorial; the latter to operate on opinion, and direct education, viz. -

The legislature is to consist of two branches, a house of representatives and Senate: The representatives to be eligible for four years, and replaced in quadrennial terms. Electoral colleges, chosen by the people, in the primary assemblies are to elect them. But they are considered as Representatives in respect to the nation at large, not of a particular department, which cannot instruct them but only present petitions!

The Senate's functions last for life, and are hereditary.

An Executive power, vested in a president chosen by the electoral assemblies, for the term of four years, not re eligible to the same office, before an interval of four years.

An alta Corte, or High Court consisting of two halls of justice - a court of Cassation and Court of appeals - their members appointed for life: - & lastly,

An Areopagus - with a two fold object; one more strictly moral and censorial, the other directory of education and opinion.

In an age when experience has decided, and history recorded what is admissible or inadmissible in civil politics; and when the very peasant ought to know what is productive, what subversive of liberty and security; it appears barren labor to dole out old discarded dogmas inapplicable to new circumstances. But, to hazard assertions diametrically opposite to ascertained facts, admits of only two explanations: either that an author speaks of remote times, or is unacquainted with the present. — So many trials had been made of governing by a mysterious artifice, that the wisest statesmen have come to this conclusion, the more we attempt refinement in the art of government, the farther we wander from the mark. It is a practical subject in which experiment settles every thing. — If perfection consist in simplicity, complication must be a defect.

Yet, as nothing is more harmless, and respectful withal, than a candid comparison of opinions, a brief conference (as it were) is but a manifestation of the amicable interest we take in the welfare of our fellow men, especially our South American friends & brothers: And this licence we crave and grant by turns — (hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim) If it be the part of wisdom, as grave maxims inculcate, to draw instruction even from enemies, the more welcome communion of friends may answer the purpose quite as well. It is the duty of governments or individuals to glean information in every quarter: It is the business of all.

— — — "their faults to know —"

Make use of every friend and every foe. —

To detect the vulnerable points and fortify them, to discover foibles and correct them.

At the threshold, I confess I am not clear of perplexity, in the attempt to reconcile much apparent discrepancy in the discourse: For example: "Does not the Spirit of Laws say, that laws ought to be suited to the people making them, and that it is a very great chance if those of one nation suit another People: but this is followed by a model compounded of borrowed

parts various as mosaic-work, or as an aggregation of different pebbles we sometime
meet on the bank of a river.— "Legislators! my opinion is, that the fun
damental principle of our system, depends immediately and solely on
equality, being established and practised in Venezuela." — Equality
and a nobility is disavowed: When again he exhorts the congress
to adopt a hereditary senate, in other words, an unalterable
aristocracy or oligarchy. — For the order of Libertadores if nothing
is intended but honor, it is not objectionable, Of rivalry they
will do no harm. There are, however, such incompatibilities
as remind us of the poets expression of "Soldering close —
impossibilities," when he attempts to explain the omnipotence
of gold. Were it not for his known frankness, we should infer
from these irreconcilable passages, Mendacique vola, atque ea
sono discordia, an idea of deep and sinister disguise. But his
open character forbids any unworthy suspicion. Let us judge his
intentions by the plan. ——

In founding governments we are desirous of sparing the
happiness of the governed. Various means have been tried for this
purpose, but two things are agreed to be indespensable; the freedom
of the society itself, and its ability to secure internal tran-
quility, and repel foreign invaders. That is the best govern-
ment which confers most happiness and does least mischief.

We concur without debate in all the objections addressed
against an imperfect confederation: if not the worst,
it is the feeblest of all governments. Its precarious existence
is dependent on the forbearance of its neighbours, or on the
patriotism and bravery of its individual citizens, who may
may not ward off danger, by voluntarily facing or decli-
ning it. — If they can withhold their service or the govern-
ment (i.e. the peoples public agents) posses no compulsory
power to embody all the citizens in military array for
defence the government is powerless, the nation destitute —
and both in jeopardy. No prudent man would risk his
person or property with a community so forlorn. To
communities so miserable, which have no elements of strength
because there are no principles of cohesion, we may well
apply the reflection of Count Segur "I know of no more
humiliating or miserable condition than that of the
citizens of a feeble state." As arbitrary governments claim
the very subjects as a chattel or heads of cattle, and can

in an instant muster the active hord; freemen associated for
common defence, and liberty are unsafe unlep they can count
as many soldiers as citizens. They can rightfully allow no ex
emptions but to decrepitude, infancy and old age. — A spirited
citizen would disdain to accept eleemosynary boons of dispensation
that sort of exemption becomes disability: for no mutterary in-
dulgence under the sun should he surrender the invaluable
rights of bearing arms. A government formed for national
purposes (and of course entrusted with the sword and purse)
must therefore be armed with unquestionable, positive auth-
ority to call forth every inhabitant, enforce obedience or
repel aggression; — To wage offensive or defensive war.
Every just war is in its nature defensive; but we are
not to await an apault upon our own soil, and ought
to make our enemy's territory the theatre of hostilities
when we have made our last endeavour at peace and
the ultimo ratio becomes inevitable. In weilding the entire
national forces, the national government ought to be un-
impeded by the confederate states. — There can be properly but
one head, and one will; else the organization is lame & monstrous,
and must fall to peices. The people have a right to this se
curity, and cannot be secure with lep. Popular government
cannot be too strong; because, a people with an identity
of interests cannot be formidable to themselves. Let them
only beware of suffering their agents to control the principals
(ie the constituents,) of substituting private for public wishes,
or partial for general interests. This is the sum of safe and
free governments. "In this the task, the mighty labor lies"
No sane, discreet reasoner, I think, will vindicate different
doctrine. — The framers of our federal constitution
intended to invest the government with ample powers:
if they have not furnished means adequate to the end,
the structure is so far imperfect, and wants repairs. As
the constitution is alterable every evil is reparable, if
the people will it. A cicumstance that anticipates
all the objections to the system. — Preservation of liberty
depends lep on numerous subdivisions, than on clear demarca-
tions of power, limitations to its exercise & prompt and
certain responsibility for the abuse of it. Responsibility
is the vital principle of free government, as irresponsi
bility (under the guises of independence, prerogatives,

privilege &c) is the fulcrum of arbitrary ones. As an ingenious writer* composes a beautiful system of economy from one sole principle of labor, or costs of production, (Skill being taken into the account,) so accountability is at once the keystone preserver and touchstone of good government. But strength we repeat, is indispensable: it defies, attack, while weakness invites invasion. How many States have owed their extinction to that impuissance which tempted the ravages of a warlike neighbor. What shield has a dove against the hawk? or a lamb against the wolf? Rapacity owns no check but force; the condition of a peacable and feeble state amidst arbitrary governments is no better. It reminds us of a vivid description of the wretchedness of savage tribes during war, who are more insecure than the wild beasts. These can sleep soundly on their lair, whereas the hunted savage must light a fire in one quarter to beguile an enemy, and remove to another, during the same night, to avoid surprize. Arbitrary government realizes the effects ascribed to uncivilization, where it was said that a state of nature is a state of war. All are obliged to be on the alert. Granting to the arguments of the Supreme Chief against ill constructed governments, their due weight, we cannot overlook as he does, the advantages of a federative constitution. They are opposed by Locality, by occupying political space, (so to speak) to the contractive principle which narrows the circle of power, by little and little, from the circumference to the centre: As men are timid, venal or supine, contraction goes on from the many to the few — and from a few to a single hand. Confederations, I say, oppose to this natural tendency of power, the barrier of "local patriotism". I might also add, that there is the counterpoise of an expansive principle: a sort of centrifugal power counteracts the centripetal force. — It will be admitted, I think, that usurpation is so much the more impracticable in confederate, than in consolidated governments, as it is easier to reduce a single fortress than twenty or a hundred. Had the Roman provinces but have been free, confederate states, the freedom of the empire could not have been subverted by lavishing Cesar's bribes among tribunes and Senators, — by seducing the soldiery or town-mob. Resistance would have sprung up in every department; and the capture of a city with all its feculence and faction could not have insured the subjugation of a people and the empire

* Mr. Ricardo.

of the world. Federal government has one superiority over a central or indivisible form in its applicability to a greater territory and population. The division of powers between two ~~pluralities~~ of functionaries is capable of complete, explicit demarkation; by taking the language of definitions & enumerations in its plain import. The rage for interpretation by profesional sophisters is an evil only because we regard it as important. Interested declaimers are neither to be respected nor trusted. Where the vitious propensities not corrigible by the prep, it may be circumscribed by a wholsome amendment. — This form of government would then (when sophisters are not allowed to be legislators) combine dispatch and energy in a sufficient degree to maintain justice or political equality. By the medium of representatives. — freely chosen, it can give efficacy to the general will and concentre the strength of every individual. — What government can be stronger than that which links the feelings and interests of each with the welfare of the body politic? What government ought to be more durable and undisturbed than that which finds a defender in every voter? which enlists the love, pride, & prejudice of every citizen-soldier, to gaurd his own property, the work of his own hands? which imbibes, from the electors urn perpetual renovation and a pure "immortal youth" or indefinite Longevity?

It has been asked, - If Rome and Sparta perished, what government can hope to live forever? — when we examine the structure of those governments ought we not rather to wonder that they subsisted so long? — But Rosseau has partly answered his own question. Might we not on the other hand, as reasonably enquire if there exist imperishable principles in society, why not unite these elements to give stability to free government? — Are not self interest and love of happinep as universal as gravitation? Can their united force allied to government be overthrown? If "anti republican tendencies" are suffered to go unchecked, is it not the people's fault? However, I am not so visionary as to believe in an immortal elixir, but answer extreme cases by extremes. But, were public administrators depaived of the means of distracting, overawing, or corrupting the people and crippling the general will, I can foresee no assignable

limits to the duration of free governments. To attain this last result, the prest must be shielded from the pecuniary influence of governments; — privilege never be allowed to raise its head, — and present agents be effectually precluded from dictating the transmission of power. A people who do not destroy privilege, must be destroyed by it. There is no medium; we cannot compound purity and turpitude to any good end — Self love and public good are perfectly compatible: and the secret of good government consists in keeping them "One and indivisible." — When individual privilege is fenced in from common right, and private parties from the public inheritance, the mercenary principle hitherto subordinate, now becomes paramount — and appears in all its deformity and power — like water in a deluge, or fire in conflagration. Equal liberty is overwhelmed or consumed. The viler passions coalesce as by the laws of affinity, and the state is dissolved. What subsists is a new formation from disorganized bodies.

A feeble government is tempted, — let us even say necessitated, to prevent its official patronage to multiply adherents, there is the punctum Saliens of decline — and frightful intrigues succeed — solely, because an administration was led into temptation, by too little power or by the practice of re-election. Citizens slacken in their devotion to the commonwealth and worship at the shrine of a patron, for we cannot serve two masters. Free opinion, instead of being allowed in open channels is obstructed or drained away. The healthful air that strings the nerves of the robust, is too severe for the valetudinarian rulers. They cannot bear to be fanned by the breeze that might restore them. To support their frail existence and "keep in a little life," they would (if possible) exclude air and light, and stifle a nation. —

In sooth, I do not think the similitude extravagant. All history presents the same effect. A weak government becomes intolerant from fear of opposition; a strong one, secure in its strength, is tolerant. The storms may follow, and rains descend, and tempests beat with all their fury; the rocky citadel is unshaken and impregnable. — the functionary does his duty, and remains contents: he cannot be undermined, because he is not

to be re-elected, for an interval of two or three terms: he will not pervert his power, because he is not interested in sustaining faction or cabal, and because he is responsible. He is removed from temptation. The public welfare is his polar star. —

If General Bolivar had conceived the outline of such a government, he should have had our hearty suffrage for its establishement, as he has our best wishes for the independence and freedom of Venezuela. —

We drawes an objection against the federal constitution of Venezuela from its excellence. Now if this be well founded, and goodness be synonimous with defective nesp, (because of unfitness) the argument would bear with tenfold force against the formation of any permanent constitution at the present moment. A provisional one, ~~consistencies~~ changeable with circumstances, as people advance in knowledge would be the fittest of all.

Such would have been the wiser course. ———

"Rome and Great Britain are the nations which have most excelled amongst the ancients and moderns." ——
We shall not stretch phrases on the rack, ~~examine~~ by enquiring what kind of excellence this was; as the boa constrictor excells all serpents in size and loathsomeness; the fox surpasses most animals in craft; the tiger in fury; the bull in strength; the elephant, in sagacity, &c. —
Respecting the Romans, we need ~~only~~ say but little, because their history ought to be universally known. Their government was a misshapen pile of materials: and the foundation, an hereditary Senate, never permitted a thorough reformation. When the Tarquins were expelled, the Romans, like other reformers, stopped half way and left the endless seeds of future commotion "in not abolishing "the order of patricians. For hence an hereditary aristocracy, "the worst of all administrations, acting in opposition to the "democracy, the form of government remained indeterminate; "nothing fixed, as Machiaval observes, till the establishment "of tribunes, when, and not before, it was a real government "under the form of a true democracy". The Senate therefore was an anomaly or indeed a nuisance; there was neither liberty nor regularity until it was overpoised by the tribunes. under the emperors, it was a den of base servility as most generally it had been the head quarters of venality. —

Senate and ~~[illegible]~~ tribunes were too heterogenous to unite on the
basis; and this government paped from aristocracy to despotism.
From their turbulence the Roman people must have been unhap-
-py, and the government unjust. — Vicious, horribly vicious
must that government ~~[illegible]~~ have been, which murdered the
Gracchi, — because they asked for reform — so much for an orde
of Nobility! who were alarmed at every wind that blew, and
every leaf that rustled, lest it presaged an invasion of their
priveleges. — They often rushed into foreign wars to still
the clamor of the oppreped at home, or to pillage and conque
unoffending nations. — In 900 years, we beleive, they were
not above 4 times at peace. — Sterne had some reason
then for remarking "The Romans were a wicked people
in their public policy, though virtuous in their private
morals. They made use of the basest, ~~[illegible]~~ most oppresive,
and most cruel methods of aggrandizing their empire —
by subjecting all their neighbours to the yoke first, and
then by the help of Slaves of their own making, extend
ing extending their tyranny over the rest of the world.
— The punica fides — of the Carthaginians was never so grea
as the faithlessnes and treachery of the Romans." That in
their purer days, they have bequeathed many noble examples
of discipline and conduct, — the finest specimins of oratory
and poetry, and the most exalted traits of heroism is
indisputable: but most of their other examples are to be shud-
dered at, not imitated. — Had that celebrated Digest
of Laws, comprised in the Twelve Tables, reached us
entire, the prize might recompense us for the fatal
art and mystery she taught the moderns, of maint
taining the ambiguity of law by the lucrative privelege
of interpeting it, — and in fact, of rendering a nation
dependent on a professional order, with interests totally
distinct from the people. This trade of interpeting the
laws and giving advice was a perquisite of the patricians
~~[illegible]~~, who were the exclusive lawyers. — When their
forms of procep were divulged, they invented certain
symbols to conceal them for the future from the
people. — A tolerably perfect jurisprudence would leave
very little room for construction, and enable every in-
telligent citizen to understand the rule of action which
by which he is obliged to be guided. ——— From

From a review of the Roman story, I cannot say with General Bolivar, how "the Senators in Rome" have been pillars of liberty any more than the peers in Britain. Roman ~~liberty~~ rose and set with the democracy. From that splendid period is derived almost every thing in Roman annals entitled to admiration or renown.

Of the constitution of England, what other testimony need we adduce, than "the groans of the Britons"? — We have no occasion to cite any evidence but that of Britons themselves, who like every other independent people have an exclusive right to manage their own affairs? — The first and most notable evidence we have, — if we may except the distress and degradation of their conquered provinces in various quarters of the world — is, that of the people themselves, who declare in ceaseless petitions for redress of grievances, that their sufferings are intolerable; they speak no language but complaint: Discontented and overburdened, they supplicate parliament for relief — for reform, for annual parliaments, for free suffrage. But, the parliament consists of oligarchy, or represents it. — Four-fifths of the population are miserable, and the other fifths are occupied with exclusive interests and privileges; or in fomenting discord, waging war or weaving intrigues against foreign nations. — If we enquire with the "King of Brobdingnag, — "What business they have out of their own islands, unless upon the score of trade or treaty, or to defend the coasts with their fleets," I can only refer to their history, to prove, that their chief happiness seems to lie, in making others miserable. An hereditary Senate, irresponsible for their acts, have banished peace liberty and justice from every region of the habitable globe to which their arms, emissaries or arms have had access. This house of peers being a permanent body, by degrees, undermined the influence, changed the nature and tainted the purity of the Commons house of parliament. — After the accession of Williaam III., a regnant faction superseded annual parliaments by triennial ones; and since the Guelphs came in, the term is prolonged for seven years: But for any purpose of representation, in a body so venal, their term of office might be conveniently changed from septennial to vitalicio or hereditario like the proposed Senate of Venezuela. — Frequent ~~had~~ almost said, continual wars, increased exactions and popular oppression are sad trophies of good government.

Mr Mum[illegible], were he living, might now nearly have

his indensate preference !! — Discarding the question, whether the British gov.t inclines more to absolute monarchy, or to a republic, (in his 7th Epoch) he says, I would frankly declare, that though liberty be preferable to slavery, in almost every case; yet I should rather wish to see an absolute monarch than a republic in this island. — But it has not happened as he divined, the "middle power", the nobility, is not extinct; the despotism is a plural one, of which the nobles compose the major part: neither, have all the internal commotions yet taken place, as he predicted, because the oligarchy directed the vials of their wrath to be poured out on foreign nations. — But the reaction, however, absolute power is established or on the eve of being set up — "absolute monarchy", therefore" /said he/ "is the easiest death & the true euthanasia of the British constitution". — We do not quibble about terms, Be it through oligarchy or monarchy, — "Hume's speculations are terribly realized, his predictions almost fulfilled". How could it even turn otherwise, unless the eternal laws of causation had been reversed repealed by the miraculous interposition of an almighty power? the industrious clases were bowed down by the weight of taxation, — obliged to support paupers, clergy, nobility, army, navy, and other unproductive burdensome clases to the number of six 2703,672 !! but, latterly, about four millions: their annual taxation amounts to £ 288,000,000, exclusive of about £ 31,080,000, of tythe and poor rates (to support 2,500,000 paupers!) £ 34,632,000 !!! Every man, woman, and child, in Great Britain, excluding paupers, &c. is groped with a weight of from 40 to 50 dollars of annual contribution. Suppose eight persons in a family, their quota of the tax will equal 320 or 400 dollars. Nor are they cheered by the prospect of relief — it is impossible. The debt of Great Britain is not redeemable, could the government sell all their territories. The annual interest and expences of managing the national debt is increasing a race with the annual product of the taxes, when the former overtakes, the latter, like a spent racer, will be out of breath. This expence is no less than £ 199,808,000! (See Niles's Weekly Register vol. for various luminous views on this subject) Another important item is yet to be added to the ponderous bill £ 35,320,000 the annual rents or value of church-property of all kinds. Summing up these various items, and observe that

the ordinary taxes are under rated) the annual aggregate expence of the machinery of the British government ascends to the amazing sum of $ 389, 032, 000. — Moreover, the treasury is necapitated to borrow $ 57, 720, 000 a year, to supply deficiencies; a circumstance that will hasten the equalibrium between the product of taxation, and the increment of interest. Thus we have the grop sum of 446, 752, 000 dollars, laid on the back of Great Britain, [illegible] fabled to have been placed, on a troublesome giant to keep him from farther mischief. — These are the giant-items that have so long agitated the civilized world. This last expenditure was steadily directed against the peace, liberty and prosperity of foreign nations. —

But minuteness being necepary to afford an accurate view of this great governmental spoliation, I extract the following calculation made & published in 1807 from official sources by a gentleman of the first talents and worth: —

The national debt of England commenced with William III, in 1692, —	
In 1701, in the time of Queen Anne, during peace, it was	£16, 394, 792,
When George I. ascended the throne in 1714 (in peace)	54, 145, 363,
At the accepion of George II, in 1727, (peace)	52, 092, 235,
When George III. came to reign in 1760 (war)	146, 682, 844,
After the American war in 1784, —	257, 213, 043,
Commencement of the French or anti-Jacobin war	
D. 1793, it was — — —	265, 463, 043
At the end of the year 1794 — —	279, 189, 507,
Do. Do — — 1795 — — —	304, 749, 464,
— — — 1796 — — —	346, 953, 163,
At the end of 1797 the same year when the Bank of England stopped payment. —	413, 140, 831,
End of the first Anti-jacobin war — 1801 — —	579, 931 447
End of 1809 — — (in war) — —	811, 898, 082,
After the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814,	1000, 000, 000,
During the second American war —	

But, probably, the whole amount, funded and unfunded was considerably more than 1000 millions. During that whole period, the national expences of all

rents arose from £ 5. 610. 987. to £ 113. 668. 610 annually.' and the yearly taxes from £ 4. [illegible] 212. 355, to £ 74. 027. 583. I omit the tables of particulars. Poor rates and tythes, &c. in this gentleman's elaborate statements, do not vary essentially from the items above stated. In the time of Charles II the former were but £ 250. 000. The war waged by the British government to enslave north America, cost above 110 millions of pounds sterling; and that against France exceeded £ 42. 786. 957 pounds sterling.

In one year ending Jan. 5. 1814, the exchequer of Great Britain expended about $ 56. 000. 000, when she was barring France, in order to maintain her own dictatorial attitude and to eradicate the principles of civil liberty.

Here stands a monument of mischief, which a haughty assertion, or a complimental flourish, cannot remove. England has been a regular crusader against the liberty, industry and peace of nations. Instead then, of as was said to the Abbe Raynal, "of paying compliments to the excess of her crimes" we ought to have singled her out as the only country which has the world in disturbance and war!"

"Let us enter, &c
see next page

abused by every government:- that it was [illegible]
in the extreme to mortgage revenues forever - trust to
future generations to pay them off, and thus enable
a minister to draw bills on posterity: that elections
would be swayed by bribery and corruption, and a grie-
ous despotism ensue; and that "the nation must either
destroy public credit, or public credit must destroy the nation."
Beholding the subject in this threatening aspect, he
chides the indifference of the people: There is a strange
supineness, from long custom, creeped into all ranks
men with regard to public debts."

All the writers in favor of paper money, taxes, coalitions,
war and pillage, explode Humes reasoning as a vision-
ary, gloomy prediction.

A national bankruptcy, says Mr Arthur, as predict-
ed within the last fifty years, by W Hume, &c. - appears,
from the present financial prosperity of the country, to
be an event, more remote, than when W Hume publish-
ed his Political Essays. [171.]

Though the wars in the last century, had cost Eng-
land 592. 910. 822 pounds sterling [the American, alone
about 139. 171. 876.] she was ready for endless war to
prevent the prosperity of France. - This is an alarm-
ing assumption that repules the idea of magnanimity as-
cribed to the government: A great man neither fears nor
envies another; nor does a great and honest people mourn
at the felicity of a neighbor. I cite "Financial and
Political Facts," to prove the assumption.

"The French Republic, by joining, as intended, many
of her navigable rivers and canals, to the Rhine, Meuse,
and Scheld, will be enabled to transport, at a cheaper
rate than heretofore, the various bulky commodities
of foreign growth and manufactures, and convey them
to the centre of Germany; also from the Mediterranean
sea to the Bay of Biscay, to the British channel and
to the North sea. The consequences obviously resulting
from such boundaries would be to exclude the trade
and manufactures of Great Britain from the North-
ern parts of Europe. By joining some of the rivers
and canals to the Scheld, the French would in time

of war, be able to transport, without interruption, naval stores, ammunition and provisions of all sorts from 376 one place to another, in the ci-devant Belgic provinces, and thence into Holland.

"The river Meuse would also open an extended communication with part of Germany and Holland, and facilitate the transport of their various articles of commerce. The river Rhine would most effectually complete the interior communication with the rest of Holland and Germany.

"It appears from a developement of the views & designs of the French nation, that it has been in contemplation to open a communication from the city of Brisach, in the province of Brisgau, on the Rhine, to the head of the river Danube, which is near Sunberg, in the province of Suabia. A canal of about thirty miles only is wanting to accomplish this grand junction; by which France will obtain, from the midland departments an interior water navigation into the centre of Germany, into Hungary, to the Black sea and European Turkey, which are the Eastern extremities of Europe.

"France with three hundred navigable rivers and a number of extensive canals, some of them already opening communications between the Mediterranean sea and Atlantic ocean, would, in accomplishing her ambitious plans of securing the navigation of the three great rivers just mentioned, most essentially militate against the commercial interests of this country, and contribute to her own aggrandizement, population, wealth and prosperity." Ch. XII - 218-19.

And it was a heinous crime for France to think of internal improvement! So it was regarded in England. "In process of time [continues the ministerial writer] it may be feared, that France may eventually, by dint of numbers, even supersede Great Britain in those two grand points, Navy & Commerce; the former of which may justly be considered the palladium of the country." Anciently, a Britain who was led a prisoner to Rome, asked, in astonishment, at the grandeur and luxury he saw - how a people who possessed so much wealth could envy him a cottage in Britain? Why should modern England dread foreign rivers, looms or canals in another, and it is a vital point, Gen. Bolivar seems [illegible] the policy

on another, and it is a vital point, Gen. Bolivar seem to have misconceived his model. I mean the policy now smuggled into England, as it was long since into Spain, of prescribing a narrow round of education, fettering genius and imbuing the youthful mind with illiberal, bigotted and slavish notions. Church and State; education and government, are mutually blended, and mutually corrupted. What a systematic complication! What a triple labyrinth to entangle the free born soul.!

In short, the British Government, bent on prostrating the rights of man and of nations, raised their debt in prosecuting wanton wars against France, from about 234 millions of pounds to the tremendous height /nominally/ of 1200 millions sterling!

And these appalling burdens were thus augmented, whilst Great Britain, by her superior machinery, skill, and manufacturing labor was performing the work of a world, supplied nearly all the world, and of consequence extracted taxes from the world.* This debt, I repeat, cannot be liquidated; and the pernicious circulation it engendered cannot be absorbed: it must disperse in a revolution of ruin. As well may the old become young again - and the adult man shrink once more into the age and stature of a child. In this desperate condition Great Britain attempts to grapple herself to every nation - If she sinks, she wishes not to descend alone - If she explodes, she is likewise anxious for company.

The second course of evidence, is, if possible, more cosent: The very Directors of that government have pointedly condemned the British constitution as a useless formality, which it was unnecessary to engraft on new conquests. This was done in the case of Buenos Ayres ~~and~~ Chile, &c. &c. when, as we have seen, those States were expected to become an appendage to the British crown. Having discovered how easily they can rule 50 millions of souls by a mercantile company and a few military regulations, the British ministry had rather bring that system home to England, than be at the trouble of sending a more circuitous one abroad. The one, regulate management and pensions; the other, direct power. In

that system home to England, than we are now
sending a more circuitous one abroad. The one, requires
management and pensions; the other, direct power. In
sixty colonies, in all parts of the world, the labor-saving
plan would be signally economical — to say no more.'

* Since this letter was written, and whilst a friend was transcribing it, I have seen a notice of Mr Owen's efforts 'to save a sinking land.' In a speech delivered by this benevolent, reflecting man, in London, he asserts, that spinning machinery has been so improved, as to enable 200,000 persons to produce as much yarn or thread as twenty millions of expert spinners could produce from the single thread wheel. — And to supply this 20 million would have required a population of 60 millions! So great has been the "scientific power created!" Mr Owen gives the following view:-

"But it is not one branch of our manufactures only, in which these scientific improvements have been made; they are now to be found in almost every branch of every manufacture in Great Britain and Ireland. Every subsequent enquiry I have made on this subject since it first occurred to me, has increased my knowledge of its magnitude, and it continues to increase under prosperous or adverse times; my first and very hasty enquiry, induced me to state the aggregate amount of labor performed by machinery within the last forty years, to be equal to one hundred millions and fifty millions; and a more extensive and accurate enquiry to two hundred millions of laborers. I have good reason now to know, that I should not exceed the truth were I to state it much higher, and the new power is still in active progress, spurred on both by prosperity and adversity. But in truth is the real situation of the British empire, that it wields within itself a productive power, which exceeds the manual labor of the whole world 50 years ago. It is competent to a full and abundant supply of more than two hundred millions of people. Nor the population can be increased to that number."

Nevertheless the magnitude of this immense resource was lost in the unfathomable gulf of British debt! The chasm in the Roman, filled up by a knight and his horse, was but a gutter or a wrinkle compared with this.

w, safely be strained to a greater tension than it is pos-
ble at present to imagine without the risk of breaking
e one or the other. I may add, also, in a metaphoric sense,
hat the body politic, like the body corporate, or the mental
owers, will, in time, be subject to relaxation and decay, un-
ss called into action due activity."

He reckons up her Territories, revenue and commerce &
hows that her funds are adequate to all emergencies. "The
rritorial acquisitions in the East Indies are now immense."
63,711 square miles [since extended by vast conquests] which
n 1799–1800 produced £9.742.937. "a revenue greater
han the whole empire of Russia produces, although con-
aining [in 1801] 1.914.978 square miles." [41.2]

Lord Auckland, then Sir William Eden, had written: "War
now become a science of money. That side must first
ust the field whose exchequer first fails." Consequently
f England's exchequer was inexhaustible she was invin-
ible. And her commerce bringing the tribute of all na-
ons into her exchequer coffers, gave some color to the
xaggeration. On this ground Mr McArthur assails the
rophecies of Price and Hume.

Doct Price had once supposed, that if ever the nation-
al debt should amount to 200,000,000 l. the national
redit must topple down.

Hume had affirmed, that the endless increase of
national d[illegible] direct road to national ruin—

Let us ever speak impartially of England, as we would of the dead — prejudice only becomes the most ignoble minds, if it becomes any. Let us judge her system — her doctrine and practice, as vindicated by a ministerial writer of high credit — the author of "Financial and Political Facts of the Eighteenth Century."

After eight years war against France, he steps forth with other writers, to convince the nation that her pecuniary ability is boundless. That the people should cheerfully contribute even one fourth of their income and continue the war perpetually, rather than suffer France to cut canals, join her rivers, grow strong and wealthy, and exclude English goods. Their means he contends are inexhaustible; and taxation would be a blessing by drawing them forth.

"They" our resources, "may like the cords of a

"Thirdly, we have the unprejudiced opinions of the most eminent British Statesmen, that their motley government does not "claim a higher rank in social order" than a republic; but that it has enslaved Englishmen, and disturbed the world. — Shall we name a Fox, whose life was a zealous conflict against its abuses? a Cartwright, and his thousand colleagues, who preach nothing but reformation, because they encounter nothing but oppression? Instead of protecting, it constantly scourged the people. It is not strange then, that the Author of "Letters to a Prince" [supposed to be the late Lord Lansdowne] should have expressly said, that every deviation made in the political institutions of America, from British models, was an improvement. — We omit the private anecdote of Lord Clarendon, who declared that he had meditated for forty years on the British constitution, without being able to define what it really was; this we pass over, because, the quotation might savor of satire, than which, nothing is farther from our thoughts. — "The poison of an hereditary, irresponsible house of Lords, has not infected England alone, but thrown the world into convulsions. "The impunity with which one permanent, corrupt body can outrage justice, and create general disorder, was never more fully exemplified than in the instances of the Roman Senate and British Parliament. — How dangerous to the repose of the world must a nation become, who can by anticipation, or the operation of loans and credit, consume by military enterprizes, &c, in 10 or 20 years, the resources of two hundred years! Were there to be no reaction on herself, she might, by enormous combinations of means, afflict or conquer half the globe. Tracy has sedately examined and well described this unnatural course. History teaches us, that it is in fact since governments have

had what is called credit, — that is to say, the possibility of employing in an instant the funds of several years that they have no longer set bounds either to their prodigality, or their ambition, or their projects, that they have augmented their armies, multiplied their intrigues and adopted that intermeddling policy with which it is impossible to avoid war or enjoy peace."

[245 — b. J. Britain! "de te narratur." — Judging this government, in fine, by the unerring criterion stated at the outset — the quantum of happiness it has conferred, or mischief it has done — the evidence uncontrolably dictates the decision, that it is one of the most monstrous and pernicious ever reared in any part of the habitable globe. An hereditary Senate [i.e. house of peers] is the root of this calamity — an incurable one, as the people have no controul over it. — Surely, after this melancholy picture, — if the distressed petitioners for reform in England, were to hear General Bolivars poetic apostrophe, that the "Senators in Rome and peers in Britain, have proved themselves the firmest pillars in the glorious structure of civil and political liberty," they would infallibly conclude, that he was mocking them in their misery. — Gentlemen — unacquainted with facts ought to be cautious how they run the risk of speaking at random.

I do not mean to contend, that nations may not emprove advantageously adopt useful improvements from each other. When we borrow each others inventions, in the mechanic arts, why not imitate the fashion in politics, where it is proper to do so? All, nowadays, cannot boast with the Athenian Orator, of original institutions;* but each may select a precept or an example discreetly. No nation should set herself up as the pattern of perfection, and require beginners to imitate her.

When this absurd jealousy actuates a government the spirit of emulation between nations which is so useful in literature philosophy and the arts, is converted into malignant envy. Rancorous politics, supersede, and rooted predilections for form incline a propagandist Government to clash with its neighbours: some interested foreign writers in London, espying this propensity in a certain quarter, have strove to wrest it to their own purpose. They fancied that that government must interfere in every squabble; they believed that it beheld a new commotion with as keen solicitude, as Herod heard of the birth of a child which for aught he knew, was to accomplish a deprecated prophecy — they adopted their battery accordingly. None has more artfully beset this weakness — none has struck the vibrating chords of her sympathies with a bolder hand than the

* "We are happy in a form of government which cannot envy the prosperity of our neighbours, but is original at least, for it hath served as a model to others. And this our system, as committed not to the few, but to the whole body, is called a democracy. How different soever in a private capacity we all enjoy the same general equality under the laws are fitted to preserve; and superior honours, just as we respect. Pericles' Oration at the public funeral in honor of the slain

celebrated Spanish patriot, Estiada, exmember of the Cortes, who wrote a nervous perspicuous plamphlet in London (1818) addressed to Ferdinand VII, but really intended for the meridian of St. James. — Recurring to the disputations of Jacobins and Anti Jacobins, of the champions of account-ability and the advocates of legitimacy, he brings them on the stage to argue the cause of Spain and South America. This party demands support for the rights of the hereditary Sovereign, and denounces war against American rebels and Jacobins; that asks succour for the patriots of America. — "If the former of these opinions (as in my conception) is impious & impracticable, the second I regard as fatal to the the system of kings, that is, to the security of thrones, the influence and tranquility of Coalesced Europe, and even to the consolidation and real liberty of the new governments that may be established in America." Mr. Estiada aims at preventing the severance of the Colonies from Spain, and rouses English feelings to the policy of a mediation. He certainly rings more changes on the note of legitimacy, than the stoutest son of Vulcan ever hammered from his Anvil while forging the armour of a demigod or the thunderbolts of Jupiter. ——

"The Anglo Americans (says he) of whose power your Majesty ought to be well aware, have already given abundant proofs that they will not behold with indifference a struggle tending to destroy the fundamental principles of their government, and to establish others diametrically opposite. — From the most lively interest it is to be expected that they will make the greatest exertions to rescue the American continent from the sway of legitimacy". — Interest, on this side of the water, allied with the current of public opinion in Europe, which is setting against absolute monarchies, menace (as he thinks) old dynasties with danger, and promise the greatest revolutions: they seemed, already, to have acknowledged South American independence, and this recognition, would not be an empty diplomatic formality, like that of the European governments, who in spite of their recognizing the Cortes of Cadiz, acknowledged your Majesty even before your entry into Madrid, without any communication on the subject with it".

"From the period of the North American war to the present hour, the objects of all succeeding wars was not treaties of commerce or enlargement of territory, as previously from the abolition of feudality; — in all those wars the contest lay between the new doctrines and the old; — to preserve absolute power, as monarchs had exercised it from this epoch, or to circumscribe it by defining their authority in positive laws, and asserting the rights

of the people." - In all these (he says) the advantages have been more or less on the side of the new opinions; in the American war, the triumph was entirely on that side: by the French revolution, they have gained considerably, since France by its results has acquired a constitution of which she stood in need; enjoys toleration of opinion and religious worship; is relieved from a load of officers and pays no tithes; — advantages all of the utmost importance. — "The hatred between republican and kingly governments has been in all ages most decided and mutual." — (See Representacion, hecha à S. M. el Sr. Don Fernando VII por D. Alvarez Flores Estrada; 75 et seqr.) — This author broaches a new subject to excite alarm, viz. — that republics are ambitious, restless and warlike. — No matador at a bull fight could present the provokative scarlet cloak more dexterously to the enraged bull, than Estrada plies his arguments and alarms with the cabinet of London. Some aristocracies have been easily coaxed into war; but, such governments are more nearly allied to monarchies than to our systems. — Nor does this impeachment agree in any respect with the allegations of tourists and politicians, who argue that this government is destitute of energy to defend itself, as Dr Guerra and M. Volney *

X The latter styles it a feeble and disjointed government. — Whilst he extols the liberty of opinions and of the press by which the United States are most gloriously distinguished he imagines that our security and freedom are owing rather to popular and individual habit, than to the efficacy of laws or ability of our governors. It is difficult to decide whether he commends or discommends in this passage.

Dr Mier y Guerra's observations written in London, are too curious to be omitted. He throws out this grave warning to the people of South America. — "Abre-clavis los ojos demasiado en la constitucion de los Estados Unidos" &c. i.e.: — Do not rivet your eyes too closely on the constitution of the United States, which perhaps subsists only because there is no contiguous power to take advantage of their internal fermentation: the feebleness resulting from it is demonstrated by the war against the English posessions, at the same time that their triumphs at sea attest the advantages derived from unity of government. — All this abides, the English had been accustomed to decide in their colonial assemblies without a religion to deride them by anathemas. — But, alas for us! miserable slaves who painfully wrenching our feet from fetters, every spot of ground is a novelty; a thousand sphinxes of hell appear at every step, and we must tread with the softest circumspection. It appears to me, that where I write, and where we meet with genuine liberty, security and rights of property, it has been the admiration of sages; and the experience of centuries evinces its solidity too clearly, for us to hazard essays entirely new, too costly and bloody, and probably unreparable in case of mistake". (Hist. de la Revolucion de Mexico &c. pp 15 & 16 — 17.)

The freedom of discussion (encreased by chartered privileges) in that great and enlightened capital, — a world within itself. — the high pitch of intelligence of all kinds — the general activity, industry, wealth, and splendour must have struck a stranger like our historian with wonder. — With so much of wisability, London must have appeared more like the centre of the political and commercial world than the metropolis of England. — The head is too large for the body as somebody or another has observed. A peep at her debit, taxes and paupers, or attendance at one popular meeting in Palace yard or Spafields would have cooled his enthusiasm corrected first deception, and have convinced the dazzled visitor, that glitter was not happiness.

While we have been rigidly neutral, the creative imagination of many an anxious writer has arrayed in open warfare against European dynasties! — If they had said, that from crooked motives, of ambition, identity of ideas, or oblique policy, some South American leaders were laboring to give their governments an arbitrary bent, the truth of their apertions would be unquestionable. Unsophisticated people who lean a different way; those sanguinary intriguers are sure to divide, divert or oppress. Don Juan Martin de Puerreydon, Supreme Director of the United Provinces of South America, employs the style of an autocrat in a complimental letter to the executive head of Venezuela, and tenders the most liberal hospitality to his excellency's Subjects (Subditos,) should they have occasion to touch at the ports of his Supreme Directorship. — I ought to crave pardon for this little digression; but, having no other interest in the cruel apafsinations, intrigues, and horrible tyranny in that Southern quarter of the Continent, than that which humanity enjoins, and sympathy extorts. — Venezuela already dyed in blood, will no doubt avoid open murders and despotic proscriptions, which sent the gallant victors of Maypu [illegible] and the brave French officers Cramer &c crowned with laurels to the pale regions of the dead; which consigned the illustrious Carreras, to the hands of military executioners without trial, without crime — aye, and without accusation; barely on an order from San Martin to their jailor, the governor of Mendoza!!! How shocking and atrocious! they have taken off, exiled or incarcerated all the advocates of Chilean independence. the account of the butchery of Messieurs Roberts and Lagrefe, even as published by their apafsins, makes the blood recoil, or boil with indignation. Innocence &c. honour were high crimes in eyes of the Malignants. — And what has encouraged such relentless barbarity? A confidence of impunity to the perpetrators who have set themselves above the people. — Here is another comment on privilege, going to the same point. It is as inseparable from abuse as shadow from substance.

We cannot therefore coincide with General Bolivar that any hereditary body can ever be a bulwark of popular liberty: for private interests always gravitate against equal rights. This immovable hindrance, conveys to some an idea of stability, which they confound with perfection; to others,

(as to Lord Chesterfield) the justest notion of an incurable, malignant, scrophulous disease. — What is stability of itself? Shall we adore duration without regard to happiness or quality? When birds and beasts of prey, who enjoy a great longevity, and devour most animals for food, are supereycellent creatures! Bad governments last longest because they debase and fanaticize the wretched people below recovery. It is an important device among despots, to divert the attention of subjects entirely from the concerns of this world. Hence they abuse divine religion into a fearful superstition, as they convert government into a galling yoke.

Mr Marecano has demonstrated in the Congiep, that a hereditary senate instead of operating as a reward for service, must deprive the people of an opportunity of honoring worth, and requiting benefits. Every generation has equal rights: consequently, the present cannot lawfully oblige the future to confine its honors to the successors of modern favorites. —

Are not officiers amply doubly paid in honors & emoluments? The order of Liberators (Orden de los Libertadores) is created to pay for noble deeds in Yellow ribbons, and stars, the coin of honor: and, that is right; — if it be not made a ground for inordinate pretentions. Should it be so prevented it will have the effect of an order of nobility; which ever infects mankind with vanity, and produces a "false estimate as to the things entitled to our deference and admiration". So, it was natural enough among the Lilliputians: that "Flimnap, the treasurer", should be accounted the greatest Lord at court, because he could cut a caper on the tight rope an inch higher than any other Lord in the whole empire. Consequently, heels would be more exercised there than heads; which some may reckon "a false estimate". So a ribbon may be prized above the highest philosophical attainments — another "false estimate", perhaps. Such Lilliputian expedients are therefore injurious to mental cultivation — they banish the "simplicity of independence" and divert from their genuine purposes, the talents and intellect which ought to be cultivated for the service of mankind. — Such are the sentiments of two of the greatest men of their day. — Against honors to brave chivalry none objects: the Spaniards have justly thought them due to woman as well as men. When the brave women of Tarragona defended that town so gallantly against the Moors, Raymond Berenger, instituted in 1150, La Orden de la Hacha, — the Order of the Hatchet in honor of those warlike Amazons. — The female knights [says Labordi] wore a red hatchet, and took precedence of the men on

public occasions. "Give unto Caesar what belongs to Caesar."

With one remark more, we dismiss this part of the subject; "The laws are strictly speaking, only the conditions of civil society. The people who submit to them should therefore be the authors of them". — Talents and virtues (to repeat a truism) are not hereditary. And wherefore tolerate hereditary legislators and judges? One pre eminent cast sinks the mass of society to debasement: for privelege is formed out of privation. We cannot add one ration of prerogative to one member of society without subtracting an equal quantity from other members. In Calicut, the plebian casts were so degraded by the noble, (according to accounts of early voyagers) that on meeting or espying the latter, they used to cry aloud to signify their condition, if their badges did not distinguish them sufficiently. Casual contact was polution, that subjected the offender to death. — Asiatic or European policy of casts would not be less pernicious in America. — Who indeed shall presume to maintain, after the mournful experience of Spanish America, that a body of depraved despicable nobles would protect the people? When or where did a set of encomenderos do aught but harrass them. a permanent legislative body is a permanent opponent to the people. To entrust the latter to the former, is to appoint the wolf guardian of the the sheep ("Encomendar las ovejas al lobo.")

If I have loitered on this part of the subject, or insisted too urgently on principles, it is because they are vital and fundamental. Once establish unjust ones, by a concurrence of officers and lawyers, and variance is introduced at once; abuses will be maintained by all who are to profit by them; amendment will be impracticable, because faults in the foundation cannot be corrected without throwing down the house. Hence it is, that the administration of governments displays less prudence economy and intelligence, than the common sense management of a private family. The one shakes off absurdity and makes improvement for its advantage; whilst the other (i.e government) limps along burdened with abuses and crippled by design. It cannot be altered, because a selfish, reigning party, or coalition of professional men, whether lawyers, military, merchants or clergy, have ends to answer contrary to public good. Their ingenuity is misemployed to sophisticate and distract the people; their power is exerted to over

awe them.

With the same respectful candor, we shall accompany General Bolivar through a few of the essential provisions of the constitution.

We do not maintain, that the executive ~~pofepe~~ proper, exapine authority, relatively to other distributions of power under this project, the symmetry may perhaps be preserved: but, appealing to history, we do ~~not~~ controvert the reasons assigned for strengthening this branch. So far from every thing conspiring against a chief magistrate, the reverse is the fact. All deference is directed toward, that centre of power. It is a ~~country~~ nation ~~that~~ ought to be strong; its organ has only to execute prescribed duties, and account for his agency. The nation ought to organize means for calling out its own force; but miserable will be its fate, if it resign this power to its steward. It is the vice of government, that no limitation, hitherto devised, has restrained the executive power within its original orbit; * but overleaping ~~theoretical~~ theoretical ~~sphere~~ limits, it has so enlarged its sphere of action as to swallow the legislative departments in the vortex of its influence. Acting on society through the medium of delegated patronage, chief agents of the people become masters. They subsidize the press, direct opinions and the representatives of the people are found at length to succumb also, and represent in reality the executive will. By political institutions societies wish to reap the utmost degree of strength and freedom. A chief agent, I repeat, ought to possess authority to apply social energy for common defence:— for himself he requires none, and needs a curb instead of a rein. Venezuela is right in restrictions imposed on her president: but perhaps if the term of service were fixed at six years, and re-election forbidden for twelve years after, this check would be more perfect. In this period a president can develope his policy; which done he will have no temptation to disturb the citizens interfering in favour of a successor. He will not draw around him the supple and mercenary, but study to gain the applause of honorable men by worthy means.

* The profound author of "Common Sense" proves this point, viz. "that all provisions "have proved unequal to the object. For, as the greater weight will always carry up "the less, and as all the wheels of a machine are put in motion by one it only "remains to know which power in the constitution has the most weight, for "that will govern: and through the others, or a part of them may clog, "or as the phrase is, check the rapidity of its motion yet so long as ~~they~~ cannot "stop it their endeavours will be ineffectual; the first moving power will "at last have its way, and what it wants in speed is supplied by time."

It is a radical defect in the organization of the proposed House of Representatives, that it would give a virtual, not a real representation. To be efficient the principal of accountability must act directly: but a whole nation cannot assemble to instruct or reprimand a delegate, whilst his immediate constituents may. To whom is he to account, (practically speaking?) Why to that famed personage who blinded the giant of old — to nobody. By whom is he to be arraigned, or discarded for mal conduct of any kind? By Nobody. Representation thrown apart from the condition of responsibility, is a misnomer — it is dictation. It is not that legitimate sort familiar to the thoughts of practicable Republicans; not the genuine species present to the mind of the recondite author of a "Commentary and Review of the Spirit of Laws." Speaking of representation, he justly thinks, that "it was almost impossible to put it into practice before the invention of printing, which so much facilitates the communication between the constituents and the representative, & renders it so easy for the former to controul, and the latter to account for his conduct." De Tracy considers the principle of representation in republican governments, to be love of country and equality of rights. General B. sometimes confesses the principle, but his ideas revolve on setting up a superior to, instead of an agent for equals. His mind seems charged with the notions of exploded Commentators; and he sees in them vision, what history is a stranger to. The people at all times tame and submissive to a fault, seem to him, through this medium, the most turbulent, refractory, ungovernable creatures in existence! Alas! poor Rozinante wants no cavasons, nor martingals, nor bits doubly fortified; indeed no! but the abused animal requires nourishment and kind treatment, and fair play — galled, spavined, hacked, jaded and miserable as he is. The history of man is a vile tissue of submission — perpetual submission. If he was emancipated by a start he would relapse for ages. If you would not contemn but respect mankind, never, never read (beaten) in the story of his submissions. That

sable picture of servitude would make one almost loath his species, and wish that he belonged to another.

On the famous hereditary Senate, I could urge fifty objections, but enough has been said. If one cast is to be perpetual, the rest ought to be permanent too; and one hardy laborer or industrious mechanic, let me say, is more valuable to the state than fifty idlers, whether attorneys or generals. If each insist on his due weight, how many hereditary bodies would you have? If one assume predominancy, it is tyranny: it is dishonorable to seize an occasion when people are listless and ignorant, to put fetters on them. — "What is called the House of Peers [in England] is constituted on a ground very similar to that against which there is a law in other cases. It amounts to a combination /conspiracy/ of persons in one common interest." [See Rights of man, part II.]

Had independence[x] made judges honester or wiser, the Spanish Judiciary ought to have been excellent: but the residencia was a nominal thing, which they well knew how to evade. Venezuela felt no tyranny more galling than the injustice of the Judges. The annalist of Caracas, has said, in substance, part I. that royal decrees were useless or vague: nothing was systematic but oppression: the laws were interpreted, changed, simulated. - Gold and silver were the standard of justice, and the shield of the transgressor. As the priests formed a new religion from the gospel, directly contrary to that of its founder — so the Audiences, Judges, Governors, destroyed the beneficent intention of the laws, by assuming the privilege of expounding them. The interpreter becomes a law-giver, "the law is his revealed will." [As James I said.] Too late the people who had fancied themselves under a government of laws, discover, that they are actually under the dominion of lawyers. Laws

[x] A technical sort of phrase now-a-days for irresponsibility.

will never be wholesomely administered until judges are rendered completely responsible to the people. A nation is, relatively to others, an independent society; but this independence of the whole society, consists of dependent, cohesive parts. A globe of iron may resist any conceivable pressure; its component parts being equal in weight, cohesion, &c. But alter those properties or change the elements, and you will not have an insrangible globe any longer, because homogeneity is removed. The comparison holds with respect to society. Experience shows the futility of creating one agent merely to controul another; all agents ought to be severally and directly responsible. Vain has been every attempt, on every other plan, to establish an equi-ponderancy in the division or investing of power. — To appoint Judges for life, armed with undefined / tantamount to unlimited / powers, because there is a hereditary house of lords, venality in the commons, and enormous patronage in the executive, — is like giving away your cloak, because you had already delegated your coat; or parting with your watch to one plunderer, because another had cajoled you of your purse. To maintain a true balance of power in society, the people must hold it in their own hands — they cannot safely entrust it to others. How can liberty or power any more than property, be preserved or retained by appointing another to keep it for life. Independence, in their case, completes our ruin. Where an irresponsible judicature is too proud to be venal, their opinions may yet be equally prejudicial, from the bias or spirit of the corps. Therefore things of great moment, should not depend on the bare opinion of a bench of judges: better rely on the disinterested judgment of a common jury. These will be apt to go "right by impulse" — those are more liable to fallibility by an "artificial sys-

tem borrowed from their studies," which they are ever in danger of misapplying. It is sad weakness to lay too much stress, or give undue importance, to judicial opinions.

General Bolivar's description of Spanish colonial laws, is truly so graphical and vivid, as to form a picture. It is too probable, that the benefits of any new code, would be materially perverted, by permitting a boundless latitude of interpretation. Technical principles would still couple the living to the dead, and chain clarity itself to darkness. For this reason Mr. Madison in his reply to Mr. Bentham reckons a reform of our jurisprudence [by "codification"] a hopeless attempt.!! The habit of interpretation casts doubtfulness over perspicuity, and questions self-evident, certainty! It promotes litigation, sophistication and immorality: it propagates universal pyrrhonism, it destroys simplicity, and paves the way in private and public, to a sort of casuistry inconsistent with moral obligation & political purity. Who can reflect on this grand and all-important topic, without recollecting the lessons of the immortal Swift in the usages of his great people? — Among them, Laws, [as the will of Society] were commands; so concise, that a law must not exceed the number of letters in their alphabet; so clear, "that only one meaning was discoverable — and to write a commentary on it was a capital crime. This didactic writer sets his subject in high relief to exhibit it more precisely. No doubt but the Lilliputians, in respect to a man who would lay the axe to the root of their craft, and destroy the whole thicket, which they had entangled and interlaced so cunningly.

If the simple distinction of citizens into active and passive — under present circumstances, very proper — remove, as it does, the necessity & propriety of a hereditary Senate [since election can supply better legislators than chance of birth] the

interchange of thought by freedom of speech ~~censorship~~ and press, may supersede the necessity of a moral censorship. Public opinion, common sense, the reflections of sages, the sallies of the satirist, constitute a real Areopagus. Society ought not to employ too much machinery, nor tease itself with excessive regulation — It is no more requisite that men should ~~breathe~~ think, than that they should breathe, by rule and compass. Encroach not on the delights of freedom, but leave society to manage its proper concerns. The intention of the Areopagus is laudable: the second branch of it would be valuable as a board of education. There are many provisions, which we would unfeignedly praise if they did not speak their own panegyric.

The manly frankness with which General Bolivar has declared his "political creed" deserves still more admiration than the style of eloquence in which he has expressed it. In seeing such talents exerted to support the glittering, but long-exploded paradoxes and crude ideas of Montesquieu; one cannot but regret that avocations of war, have retarded his perspicuous genius in the rear guard of political science, where nothing better than old stage furniture is to be met with. He lags behind the knowledge of the age. Statesmen have only to draw on experience. System-making (de novo) would seem to be superfluous, where every thing has been tried. The flaws which experiment shows, experiment teaches us to mend — subject to the axioms in politics: "That responsibility must be proportioned to the power entrusted; that privilege being a robbery on industry and equality, is always pernicious: and we might add, as expressed elsewhere, "That as power is more intoxicating than opium or ether, it ought to

be given in the smallest doses possible. Power is the enchantment that transforms men into brutes.

As there are only two great classes of governments, the good and the bad, there are in governing, but two sets of means: mystery, dissimulation, and deception on one side; candor, honor and justice on the other. Disguise is never necessary but for deceit.

With respect to arguments founded on capability and incapability, my answer is brief. Half or one fourth of one generation - twenty, or twenty-five years [or less] are sufficient to teach a people their rights. The knowledge of administering a government, "lies within very narrow bounds" - common sense and reason - justice and lenity - the speedy determination of civil and criminal causes." The art of choosing agents is even more simple. "Mankind, as it appears to me, are always wise enough to understand their true interest, provided it be presented clearly to their understanding, & that in a manner not to create suspicion by any thing like self-design, nor to offend, by assuming too much. "Where we would wish to reform, we must not reproach."

Indulging in these comments on Bolivar's scheme of a government for Venezuela, we are actuated wholly by respect and friendship. The freedom of South America is the object of our earnest wishes. We have not gone aside to hunt errors - whoever traverses the world on an expedition of that sort will encounter more adventures and labours than Hercules or Don Quixotte. - This kind of game is so abundant, that a hunter, like animals, may take prey enough

by standing still. If the project be adopted, without the hereditary principle, we should have the greatest hopes of Venezuela. The revolutions of time, would perfect the political revolution. But mayorazgos or encomiendas, in any shape, would taint every thing, and banish Hope itself. we hope that Venezuela is not doomed to perpetuate a scourge.

General Bolivar asks in his project, the sanction of Congress and the people, to empower the future government of Venezuela to emit a paper currency. Though this request is but a political re-echo of Semele's prayer, which drew down glorious ruin instead of bliss, yet the request is entitled to the most liberal criticism. All nations having committed the most childish and extravagant blunders, or rushed wilfully into iniquitous schemes with respect to paper-money - none of them can, with a decent grace, fling the first stone at a paper-coiner.

Popular prejudice in Venezuella, seconded by the desolating example of England, and of other countries, will probably preserve that people from that legalized robbery, which reason and equity did not prevent elsewhere. Venezuela possesses such riches in her soil, that with the aid of a tolerable government and a connexion with New Granada, she never need resort to the fraudulency of paper-money. I believe, that when the matter is thoroughly sifted, by the ablest calculators and statists, it may be disputed, whether mankind have not received infinitely more detriment than assistance from paper currency under all forms and denominations. It may also as reasonably be contended, that there is rather a redundancy than scarcity of precious metals for a specie currency, since

so great a quantity of gold and silver, is continually wrought into plate, jewellry, &c. &c.

It was by the deceptive expedient of paper credit countenanced by the mercantile class, that the British government swelled its debt by successive loans from 16 millions of pounds to the unprecedented sum of 1000 millions and upwards. Its issues increasing the circulating medium augmented prices by multiplying representative signs. This legerdemain only added to the number of counters, without adding any thing to the productions that were to be consumed or exchanged. We may perhaps assume at least, for argument's sake, that the principle of value is immutable - because it is founded on a reciprocal and therefore an equal relation between food and labor, production and consumption, commodities and wants, that never varies. A people, however, overreached by subtilty, or blinded by the illusion of their own follies, may be persuaded to imagine, a signal advantage in an increased store of representative shells, pebbles, when, in reality it only makes the fortunes of persons or companies, bankers or brokers, privileged to emit them; and at the same rate it undoes the laborious classes, and proprietors, by depreciation of currency, and the long train of multiform disorder it brings on society. Every banking country attests the fact: the political effort to derange the settled law and standard of value by increasing artificial signs beyond the productions to be represented, has done greater mischief among deceptible people, than war, pestilence and famine.

Nor as metallic money is the received measure of value - the real representative, equivalent and regulator, by which exchanges

are effected, the standard cannot be changed without deranging all relations it was intended to regulate. If a sudden influx of specie is a temporary inconvenience, by disturbing prices, how hurtful must be the augmentation of an emisity syn? - when the wants of governments exceeds their means, they have recourse to various stratagems for obtaining present support at the expense /probably/ of future generations. The most ordinary shift is loans, and deterioration of coin... and it eventuates in the same injury whether the coin be debased, or spurious paper thrown into circulation. M Tracy and every other sound statist agree, that if a deterioration of coin be a theft, the emission of paper money must be a greater theft. As it circulates, prices rise, but value stands - where it stood before; and the ignorant who confound one with the other, are in danger of a snare. With reference to a metallic standard, the paper money begins to depreciate - "a new emission increases the calamity; for commodities rise to a price proportioned to the discredit of the paper. There is universal outcry and complaint. Then society ceases and universal brigandage begins. All is fraud or punishment for suffering of the innocent. Paper money is the most culpable and the most fatal of all fraudulent bankrupteies. It is a phrenzy of despotism run mad."

Such are the consequencies depicted by Tracy, and a crowd beside, of tolerating a privilege in companies of bankers or brokers, to issue paper - for money - whilst nations purblind to their errors and inconsistencies have laws on their statute books against false coiners, whose metal must be better than paper! The bankers soon fill the channels of circulation to overflowing:

the cumbersome sign falls into discredit; and credulous communities are involved in insufferable distress. — This was the upshot of assignats in France. It was thus that Spanish vales or certificates of national debt, sank in value between 1793 and 1799. from 60 to 70 per cent. The Austrian bills shared a like fate. /And/though last not least/ "It is thus that the Bank "of England [in London] has brought England to her pres- "ent state. It is thus all privileged companies end; "they are radically vicious; and every thing essentially "bad, always terminates badly, notwithstand its tran- "sient success. - all things hang together, and necessity "is invincible." M. Tracy is assuredly in the right, as every honest man in England or about the United States has seen and felt.

By the privileged legerdemain of giving out loans of stamped paper, the bankers or emitters or jugglers in- sensibly / (I was right writing magically) / draw solid property into their clutches: proprietors are ensnar- ed and pillaged before they are aware of a cheat. By the exercise of the paper prerogative or bank immunity, steadiness of wages is destroyed; and prices of commodities put into perpetual oscilla- tion. But what is worse than both evils it gen- erates incalculable inequality - direct inequal- ity of power is a very great evil ~~Inequality~~ Inequality of riches is no less an evil likewise: for bringing with it an inequality of instruction, of capacity and of influence, it tends to re-establish the inequality of power, and consequently to subvert society. [De Tracy's Pol. Economy. p 158.] The same judicious, hon- est writer, had observed, in other words, that soci- ety diminishes inequality of power - but augments that of riches - which carried to an extreme, re- produces the wrongs of power. Connivance at this abuse, or a timely removal of its accounts for the

different destinies of nations - so prone in general, from encroachment on one hand, and sapineness on the other, to run in a "vicious circle."

English achievement / good or bad he does not nicely distinguish / having been adduced by Gen. Bolivar, as an evidence of greatness, and English institutions lauded as the nursery of "every thing that is sublime in policies," I am unwillingly obliged to appeal again to the same authority to establish opposite conclusions. Yet there is nothing indecorous in this - since neither of us make British history - but Britons themselves. And what a history! As England is the great devisor of the modern abuse called "credit," by which ministers are authorized "to draw bills on posterity," and to mortgage revenues forever, in order to expend the resources and force / as it were / of 500 years in 25; as her funding system is co-existent with her Bank, let us briefly retrace its operations. But whatever be my opinions, as I know how tastes vary, and what is relished by one is nauseous to another, I shall not presume to brand a politician as heterodox, - even should he preserve ≠ a fac simile of the British Constitution as the most reverend relequary ever inshrined!

The Bank of England was established in 1694, in order to uphold the party who had dethroned the Stewarts and brought in William III. It was planned by a Mr Patterson, supposed to have been originally a buccaneer. Its stability was ever accounted equal or nearly equal to that of the government: for no other banking company in England can consist of more than 6 members, and their stockholders are personally and severally liable for the entire debts. "This last / says Montesquieu / is a very material consideration, and prevents any formidable rival from starting up in opposition

what may very properly be called a national bank."

Had Mr Clavière, the French Comptroller been supported in 1793, the party of Brissot had then compelled it to suspend payment; when, however, he gave it a terrible shock. So great had been the remittances from England & the continent, in payment of subsidies, &c. &c. that much commercial embarrassment was experienced. ~~in~~ Several of the country banks stopped payment, and the Bank of England had to curtail its discounts. The drain of subsidies was continued 'till the 27th of February, 1797, when this national Bank refused specie on the presentation of its notes. It had then but eight millions of them in circulation: yet so necessitous was their situation that the governor and directors waited on Mr Pitt, on a Sunday, and solicited his interference to screen them. An order of Council was passed, on the same day; and parliament subsequently enacted a protecting law for the Bank. But foreigners, /says montefiore/ could not distinguish [why should they?] between paper issued for the sole purpose of circulation, limited in its amount, and under the authority and responsibility of a corporate body absolutely independent, and that paper which government could issue ad libitum." The limits were soon broken, as the selfish interests of the stockholders and exigencies of the government required - in opposition to the welfare of the nation. It is admitted by the defenders of this arbitrary measure, that an increased currency "is liable to almost instantaneous convulsion by unforseen and even trifling circumstances." Mr Cobbett, who, well understands this subject, and has investigated it and has investigated it very ably, has proved

the impossibility of a recurrence to Specie payments. for if the Bank could not redeem its notes when they did not surpass eight millions, how can it now meet the holders of twenty eight millions? or rather of one hundred millions, the whole sum circulated through the nation? It is an impossibility which man cannot, and the Gods will not, overcome.

Nos hominies, non Dii, non concessere columnæ.

Circulation so bloated cannot shrink or contract— Prices are graduated to a new standard, and cannot come down again without an awful shock to a Specie rate. The nation seem convinced, that the malady is irremidable, and are preparing for a crisis. There are the ills of redundancy. As paper will not amalgamate with gold or silver, it displaces them. M. Rouvier long since showed what must happen, from the use of synonymous in Tracy's mind with the abuse of paper currency and bank prerogative. His prophecy is history; not all the interested sophistry of Thouvenel & his accomplices, could retard the inevitable effects. Venit-ineluctabile tempus. It is worthy of note, that this Bank did make a revolution after the accession of William; it cemented an alliance between the hereditary nobles and monied aristocracy. Their joint weight ever since has been their preponderancy against the crown. Thus is the "power behind the throne greater than the throne," which Tacitus points. The government is in fact an oligarchy - as that of Venezuela will be, if it receive this project - a project as pregnant with ruin, as was the wooden horse admitted into Troy.

Notwithstanding the mighty mechanical & scientific power applied to labor in England, the

French would undersell English manufacturers, if they were as laborious drudges as the English are— for whatever advantage England has in machinery, is compensated to France by her specie and money. The Germans too, were they less oppressed, would rival their insular neighbors. Observations made on hoarding of coin, apply to a smaller currency, if economists are not mistaken: "for in that case, what remains in circulation would possess a proportionately greater value, and represent more of merchandize and the products of industry: ~~[illegible]~~ If any inconvenience could arise from this incident, it would be in relation to foreign commerce, &c. But then it would be poised by the advantage arising to its manufactures, in enabling them to sell at a lower price than the manufactures of other countries. which is well understood to be a great principle of superiority in political economy; and this superiority, nations rich in metals cannot counterbalance but by greater skill in fabricating, &c.

When the fear of her naval power, and the impression of her diplomatic arguments shall be effaced, the rivalry of foreign industry will prove the strongest antagonist that England ever encountered. Hitherto her manufactures have thrown into her lap the tribute of half the globe; but it has made her dependent on half mankind for a market - while some nations rely on her for supplies. Either extreme is to be avoided. "~~[illegible]~~" Both extremes recommend the policy of domestic industry and commerce calm and unassailable, a source of wealth and a bond of union.

Baron Humboldt estimates the remittance from America to Europe, from 1490. to 1803, at 5445 millions of dollars, but probably they amounted to 6000 millions of dollars at least. of this gross sum 1637 millions have been supposed to circulate in Europe; and its production draws incomparably more specie thither than flows to Asia. It is supposed, that 25 millions pass to China and other parts of the East, leaving 18 millions to replenish the circulating medium of Europe, or to be wrought into Jewelry & Plate, If the latter quantity equals eight millions a year, ten would remain to circulate as specie; but the amount is no doubt considerably more.

If this be inadequate to supply the representative sign of value, or circulating money, the plate and jewelry in every country can alone furnish currency for all the purposes of commerce. To satisfy the wants, avidity or caprice of prodigal rulers - or to feed the voracity of avaricious speculators, is foreign from every purpose of a well organized nation. The cravings of vitious appetite, require medicine, not indulgence. We read of African tribes who cannot be restrained from eating earth - other tribes prefer to gattle on paper; and wish to force it down the throats of the simple; Their masters keep physicians for the one; it is for an intelligent people to cure the other. Bad habits are not necessarily inflexible! But it would be a laughable absurdity to see nations legislating on a principle of Charity to disgusting vices. Their motto should be Det veniam corvis.

It is the business of nations or of men, to accommodate themselves to the fixed canons of nature which they can neither alter nor controul. Nature offers to man a quantity of precious metals, which he cannot increase nor annihilate. Were

x The estimates of Humboldt and his predecessors, are rather conjectural than precise,

the deposit far less, it would still be sufficient for all every social purpose. While pieces of metal are susceptible of more minute subdivision, than any actual money yet thought of, paper is unnecessary. The error was in the departure hence – the difficulty is in the return to the natural state. But return we must, slowly or speedily, to the specie standard. If individuals ascend too far, they must descend by the same stairs. Governments, I fear, must retrace their errant steps with the same vulgar prudence. Some there are, who betray similar dislike to descend from the altitude of the paper kite, as Davis's adventurers did to leave the top of the mountain in Darien – though it was to invade the gold mines of Santa Cruz de Cana.[X]

The smallest sum requisite to perform the exchange, or to represent the productions of a nation, is less than we commonly imagine: but the smaller it is the more convenient. – If ten millions be a circulating medium for a state, the products of which happen to be doubled without a farther influx of money; it only follows that the same sum would be enhanced in value two fold by representing twice as much as formerly. Is there any inconvenience here? Rather the reverse. If all our productions are diminished, prices will rise / or money fall / in the degree that specie

however ingenious and valuable the principle of their calculations. They may boast of laying a good foundation: M Humboldt supposes 43,500,000 dollars received annually by Europe from America: but M Torrey estimates it at about 80 millions exclusive of Brazil, or £17,570,000 yearly. Humboldt data are exceedingly loose on this subject; the latter more accurate; they result from more intimate knowledge

X After a fatiguing march over marshes and precipices, they came to the top of a third mountain, which appeared to them seven or eight miles high: "Some of our men" says Davis, in a manner to be within a stone's cast of heaven, and would willingly have tarried there, especially being much wearied with the fatigue they underwent, and supposing they should never come after so near the blissful region!" Cross enough!

is more and commodities less abundant. But when an addition of two thirds in paper, is made by credit & specie currency, property of every kind is relatively depreciated to the amount of two thirds, though prices nominally rise. It is by this furtive hocus pocus, that the bankers / allowed to emit paper / find an opportunity of coining the unwary out of solid estates - equal to all the purchase money, i.e. paper money issued. Men swallow the shining bait - and it is only when they feel the griping hook, that they discover the deceit - their property melted in their hands by a sort of liquefaction of which they were unconscious. When governments authorise this fraud, society is indeed dissolved, though wiliness and force hold men together like patridges in the fowler's net. The land is then assimilated to the ocean, where the greater or craftier tribes prey upon the weaker. - M. Volney, who unluckily saw us in the paroxisms of party, which made his picture more sombre, nevertheless traces evils to their source, when he censures "the depravity of manners and the corruption of principles, flowing from the creation of paper money" Certain it is, that whoever treats of the Decline of Probity, in modern times, must write the history of paper-money, from the epoch of the Bank of England downwards. - This will comprise the annals of corruption & unmask the master-fraud. The banking wizards were really the Mercuries / not fabulous / who sealed the eyes of the people in delusion or sleep - who circumvented "intelligential beings," and picked the pockets of all, under disguise of accommodation - of making money plenty in every man's pocket! Their spoil was the more difficult to detect, as they dragged things backwards, and assigned deceitful reasons for every thing. What colossal depredation was here! - Nations plundered! all mankind bewildered, sophisticated, and oppressed. Some writer has observed, that

if an Indian were premonished of the frauds and inconsistencies of society, he could never be persuaded to enter it, but prefer his woods and wilds and liberty to all beside - That he would be liable to be shot for ~~plundering~~ plucking an apple which belonged to another, and be hung for stealing a beaver's or a deer's skin, though he would be cheated in the sale of them. But what is this compared with legalized spoliation, where ten, twenty, one hundred or one thousand favored persons are authorized to issue money, ad libitum, depreciate all property by the operation, and wrench two thirds or three fourths of their estates from the people! "Can such things be" - and be unrebuked

That the "middle men," or merchants, who stand between producers and consumers have been enabled to revolutionize the world since they became great proprietors, I am fully aware. Using long credit in complex transactions, and entering into fellowships with needy governments, or becoming brokers to them, their influence has been unbounded, and was almost perpetual. But adversity is teaching wisdom to mankind. People begin to see, that if merchants require peculiar conveniences, they must be furnished from among themselves - Let who will issue notes or discount bills. Constitutions framed to abridge, nay to prevent privilege, leave every man at liberty to elect his profession and enjoy his right. One citizen cannot be despoiled of his birthright to invest another with more than his quotient. The letter and spirit of all our governments go to this; and we should grieve if it be otherwise ordained in Venezuela. -

No language can fully describe the politico-mercantile monster of tyranny, let loose on mankind since 1694. Mistrustless

people did not imagine the devouring pest that rulers were dandling with such fondling affection - They knew not the hydra with which they were playing; they did not believe, till too late, that the tiger, the shark, or hyæna, was more tameable and less ravenous.

whilst brokers have preached up the continuance of ~~pre~~current habits, on a pretence of deficiency of cash, statists who have reconnoitered the subject more closely, rather deprecate the an inundation of specie. "The view which we have exhibited in this chapter," says Humboldt, "of the present state of the mines in the new world, and of those of Mexico in particular, ought to lead us to entertain a dread of the rapid increase of the sum of representative signs, when the mountaineers of north and south America shall gradually rouse from their lethargy." [Essay on New Spain, lib. v. ch IX.]

It was the effect of Count de Galvez' administration on the product of the mines, that must have suggested this consideration. The increase will be sensibly felt, when Guancavelica supplies mercury to the miners of Mexico, &c &c. and when the unequalled veins in some of the eastern internal provinces will be worked. Arispe says of Leon, in New Mexico, "It possesses many mines of salt-petre, sulphur, copperas, lead, tin and silver: the abundance of that of Iguana causes & will ever cause an epoch in the annals of mining; no other such has been seen: silver is there cut out with chissels, frequently without the necessity of melting it, except to regulate its alloy and to coin it. / p. 5 of his memorial to the Cortes./ Cohauila, and new Santander contain similar minerals, besides excellent copper.

Humboldt is of opinion, that "if the government of Santa Fé de Bogota, begin seriously to turn their attention to the population and agriculture of Choco, the extraction of gold in new Granada, will, in a very few years rival that of Brazil, which yields, as some erroneously think, about two thirds of all the gold of America."

There is no likelihood of a scarcity of bullion for the future. The mines of America will yield more than is necessary. At all events, few countries have so little to apprehend as Venezuela. Perhaps, I say, wrought plate and jewelry would furnish an ample currency for the respective nations, if it were wanted. But if people suffer the old and fashionable deception to be played over again — of loans, impalpable taxes — mortgaging the property of generations unborn, and all the tricks of credit; if they prefer the stale stratagem, to the marshalling of Society openly against danger, and appealing directly to their purse, by an equitable tax — if these shifts can be adopted again — it will prove that mankind cannot be free, because they will not be faithful to themselves nor profit by experience.

A nation who pursues the pragmatical policy of intermeddling; and the unjustifiable spirit of conquest, must be embarrassed, as she must contract debts. A just government, standing within its limits, and on its defence, must be improvident, if it be surprised or unprepared. Changes on the political horizon may be prognosticated long before they happen. The monsoons seldom shift without a storm.

I am too sensible, that I have touched

* In this table there seems an error — but put it at 30.000, as Correa states it, and the difference is very great.

these important topics without examining half their bearings - nor am I so vain as to imagine that one of my arrows can transfix the Python of putrefaction and abomination:- but if I have contributed to drain the dark fen that nourishes his poison, I am content. I thank Heaven for this opportunity of hurling a dart at the hardened monster; though sent with a hand as feeble as that of old Priam, and quiver but on the scaly corselet instead of piercing the heart. The blow will speak my intents. Had I passed the occasion by - "I could not rest in my bed" — conscience would reproach my delinquency till my dying hour. Privilege envelopes the seeds of political mortality; equality the principle of vitality. With these remarks I dismiss the constitutional projects of Venezuela, on which I have deferentially chosen to make them.

The union of New Granada and Venezuela in one great state,* would, unquestionably consummate their security and happiness under an equitable system of government, or seal their enslavement under a bad one. In this connection, we fondly hope there is no danger of that selfishness and intrigue which have been so fatal - a little farther to the south - where it was attempted to effect revolution by conquest - convert citizens into "subjects" - and support monopoly as the bulwark of an unjust authority, and an uncentral government. - I was near writing excentric; for

* In the following there is much good sense: "There is a great deal of speculation /says Zuera/ on an organization of government suitable for our America, in the event of her absolute independence. One general, federative government appears impossible and would, in the end, be weak and contemptible. Little republics with small territories, &c. would fall a prey to Europe, or the strongest neighbor, and at last we should be embroiled in civil wars. The geographical situation of America, points out the necessity of three governments that would be very respectable. One, of the whole of the ancient royalty of Santa Fé united to Venezuela: the second of Buenos Ayres, Chile and Peru, and the third, from the isthmus of Panama to California; all three allied in the strictest bonds of amity. Funiculus triplex difficile rumpitur." tom. ii. 76b-7.

ther Baron Humboldt examined for himself. his sound sense gives weight to his conclusions; but when he borrows tables from others, his comment is discredited by the text.- The whole farago of calculations on money, we believe, are rather a blot than a credit to his (otherwise) masterly essay. See ch. ii. book 4. Essay on New Spain, et passim.

M. Torres estimates the annual product of gold in New Granada, at 50.000 marks, worth $130 per mark - equal to $ 6.500.000... As stated by Humboldt, it is 20.505 marks Brazil produces only 29.900 marks - 4.360.000 dolls.*, or $2.140.000 less than New Granada yields. This increase, however, equally increases the cogency of Humboldt's argument, (though he conveys it as a suggestion) that a sudden augmentation of the precious metals might produce much inconvenience, at least. The suspension of mining has had some slight effect; but that is an atom in comparison with the deluge of paper.

it somewhat resembled the astronomical system of Tycho Brake – the primum mobile was not the centrical, but placed near the circumference – and Buenos Ayres was to domineer over states and provinces beyond the proper sphere of her physical power or political attraction. Nature I think, has removed the curse from new Granada and Venezuela – one can not tyrannize over or subdue the other: but according to the poetic simile, they seem, from mutual advantage, "~~are~~ the meant each other's aid like man and wife." Mutuality of interests may maintain a lucrative and harmonious ~~connection~~ Connection by the rivers that intersect and the seas that wash them – and by their respective products, which must give briskness to internal trade, and external commerce. For objects of military defence, their union, for the present, is still more important. I wave the question whether those spacious and diversified regions can be governed conveniently and freely, without a federative constitution or compact for the two great contracting parties. Some think that a government "one and indivisible" over both, would grow into monarchy, or a more insidious oligarchy, by whatever title it should be called: for executive power acting directly, or by means of patronage over those countries, would in the absence of local legislatures, become too gigantic for counterpoise. This is a consideration that belongs exclusively to the people there. By the inhabitants of Angostura the convention of a Congress was hailed with undissembled gladness, and demonstrated by illuminations, balls, and other festivities.* No momentary

* Among the letters of felicitation addressed to the Congress, we select the following written by the unequalled Paez, who has performed such desperate exploits as no other man ever did; who possesses more intrepidity and heroism than Cid himself – howsoever they differ in other respects, by a difference of circumstances. Paez has done more in reality than all Homer's warriors in poetic fable. ~~Manifesto intitulado circular mandado expedir [illegible]~~

Copy of a letter from Gen. Paez to the general Congress, congratulatory on its installation. The Venezuelian nation like an orphan suffering for many years through the wants of a [illegible]

scantiness of resources, nor paucity of population; no chilling calculation damped their ardor or repressed their joy. Every face brightened with hope, and every heart throbbed with kindling, pleasing anticipation. The auxiliaries who had arrived, or were expected, promised to all the speedy possession of the territory, by achieving the independence of Venezuela. In fancy they enjoyed both beforehand, and turned from present misery to prospects of prosperity. The Vice President had, as elegantly as appositely, adverted to their condition in reference to the analagous infancy of Rome - to the humble thatch hamlet under whose roof of thatch Romulus had planned the future capital of the world; "nothing shone conspicuous but his genius; there was nothing great but himself." By similar virtues Venezuela might arrive at grandeur and felicity - so the apostrophe and the lesson were pointed. There appeared only twenty-six deputies from the territory, heretofore stated: from necessity, they have legislated with a view to the future, when ten provinces are to be represented in the Venezuelan legislature, viz. Maracaybo, Coro, Caracas, Barcelona, Cumana, Margarita, Guyana, Barinas, Merida, and Truxillo. These occupy the same space included in the former Captain generalship of Caracas - the transfer and separation of Barinas and Merida being recollected. During the present war, Merida and Truxillo once seceded from the government of Maracaybo, of which they had been

established government has been exposed to afflictions which must be forever deplored; but now that the majesty of the people directs the public destinies, the hopes of the country have fallen short of what has already been done; and doubtlessly the wisdom of your laws, and the judicious policy which you will adopt, promise to Venezuela a speedy establishment of her proper rank among nations; and her sons who have been till now combatting against tyrants, without a government to guide them, will find in Congress the impulse which shall invigorate their efforts in future, and render them more competent to sustain the dignity which their representatives shall pronounce. I am at the head of a respectable army of the sons of Venezuela, by whom I am charged to present to the sovereign Congress their humble congratulations, and at the same time to signify the joy which they experience on the inauguration of the supreme congress. God preserve, &c. Jose Ant. Paez.

"General Head Quarters, at the Savana de Buron
Feb 26, 1819. - 9th year."

districts, as Mompox was formerly detached from Carthagena, and Socorro and Pamplona from Tunja. Stress of circumstances has compelled the congress to assume a sort of general direction of affairs, instead of acting the mere part of a constitutive assembly to digest a Constitution. This body confirmed the principal acts of Gen. Bolivars administration, and on the next day elected that general President of the State, pro tem. He declined this office in a respectful, expostulatory letter: "Painful experience" says he, "has "demonstrated how incompatible are the functions of the civil magistrate with the military duties which devolve on him who is charged with the defence of the republic in the "field; numerous reverses and misfortunes "have been the consequences of the union in the "same person of the civil and military functions; the same man cannot attend at the same "time to the arts of peace and tranquillity, & "conduct the concerns of war with effect; and "besides, the same man too seldom unites the "virtues and talents which are demanded to "fulfill, at the same time, the duties of the "cabinet and the camp." The Congress insisted pertinaciously on his acceptance, and signified by letter of February 19th, the nomination of Doct. Lea, to the Vice Presidency, to discharge executive duties in the absence of the President.

Congress sedulously devoted its deliberations to the better organization of a provisional government, until the adoption of a new Constitution. An ordinance was promulgated on the 27th of February. for directing

the Executive ~~government~~ authority: the administration was divided into three departments of State and Finance - of Marine and War - Interior and ~~mmmm~~ of Justice; and Secretaries have been appointed to each. Courts of Judicature were provisionally established; a Supreme Court at the seat of Government, and ~~the~~ inferior Courts in the interior. The principal places are of necessity filled by members of Congress; but the work of creation, at present, exceeds that of administration. The alta Corte decides on appeals from inferior tribunals, and examine and certify the qualification of lawyers presenting themselves for admission to practice the vocation of advocates. Until Congress otherwise ordain, judges are to comply with existing laws and ordinances; and

"All determinations of the Court shall "be founded on some specific law applicable "to the case."

Two courts of Admiralty are instituted, by an ordinance of the 21th of March last; one in Margarita, the other in Angostura. Each consists of a President, two assestants, and a fiscal [or Attorney General] and nominates a Secretary. Their guides are: a Regulation of the 4th March 1817 - Spanish ordinances of marine, not revoked or annulled; and in the deficiency of these law charts, the law of nations; in doubtful questions consulting with the Supreme Court. Appeals, if entered within three days, may be had to the High Court.

Amendments in those branches of jurisprudence and judicature, were extremely wanted. Under recent, as well as former practice, impartial justice seems to have

been unattainable. Injustice was too often aggravated by seeking redress through processes of law. Decisions were generally in favor of the offender, because he was prompted to pay the highest price for law opinions, &c. The party in the right relying on the justice of his claims, would perhaps, take no other measures; or having sustained an injury, could not afford to buy reparation. The new government, we doubt not, will no longer brook this hideous abomination, but enforce that justice which is at once the shield of rights and strongest ligament of society; which is the very index, the thermometer that marks the degree of civilization. Justice being the essence of liberty, they who dislike that, must be unfit for this.

Congress, on motion of Doct Cadiz, one of its most Zealous and enlightened members, had humanely directed its attention towards the missions of Guayana. An act of the 8th of May, will lead to an improvement in the condition of the Indians, and to a better cultivation and management of those valuable districts and villages. In lieu of the late system, a corregidor, with a board of five members, located in Upata, is charged with their administration and government. He is to appoint a deputy for each; the public plantations are to be rented out to individuals, or given to Indians who will contribute the tenth part of the fruits to the state. The aborigines are to labor for such wages as may be agreed upon; are only obliged to work gratuitously, but for a short time, in the fields of the community of their respective villages. Schools to be established for their instruction in the rudiments of religion and letters. The

may remove from one village to another, &c.
The corregidor will employ all mild and benevolent methods to entice the Indians from the woods, and re-unite them in the villages." Aborigines to cultivate what fruits and grain, or rear what animals they please. Recruits not to be enlisted in the Missions of Caroni.—natives or foreigners may settle themselves in the Missions for tillage or other occupation. and shall be aided for six months with meat from the public hatos at a reasonable price. Infirm Indians, widows, and others, destitute of the means of living, shall be supplied with necessary food, &c. In a word, this law will make the Indians free indeed."

Formerly, the Catalan Capuchin Friars, had the "undivided sway" of those missions; debarring all whites, except the Spanish governors, from intercourse with the natives,—whom they employed in such works and menial offices as they thought fit. Rearing of cattle was found to be more lucrative than a restricted cultivation; yet they had to raise sufficient fruits for their subsistence; and we meet with some flourishing fields here and there: the toils of the husbandman are no where more bounteously repaid. As in the first encomiendas, so in this "celestial empire" of the monks, the natives were ruled with such invariable strictness, that they became more like automata than rational beings: they were here accustomed to work alternately two weeks for their masters and one for themselves, but received public rations all the while. Their monotonous lives passed away in the same dull round of toil

and holiday, signs and ave-marias, like the turning of a mill wheel or other machine. Employing the Indians as vaqueros or herdsmen to ride after cattle, the shameful law that elsewhere interdicted the natives from going a-horseback (and is unrepealed till this day*) as already mentioned, was suffered of necessity to become obsolete. To show how mechanical their notions were under the late regime, let us repeat a few known facts. A missionary village, where the priest resided, taught and governed their enslaved disciples, is commonly composed of a large church and parsonage-house under the same roof; and on one side of a square (or plaza) where a great wooden cross is erected - every hill-top is also garnished with one, like repeating signal posts, as indeed they are. - At right angles with and contiguous to the range of church and convent, are the public store, prison, &c. Parallel with these two sides of the square respectively, are laid out seven or eight streets, crossing each other, and forming a number of lesser squares. ~~with these the~~ ~~principal~~ Rows of small houses, one each street, constructed uniformly of (sometimes covered with tile sometimes thatched with) palm leaves. A garden in the rear of the church, is well stocked with choice fruit-trees and medicinal herbs, with kitchen garden contiguous. The church-bell tolls the regular summons to prayer or labor. In the morning thirty or forty Indian girls, in double file, march to the spring with calabashes, and thence to the labranzas or plantation grounds: a mayordomo leads the

* See "Carta Segunda, en el Español" (London, 1812. p. 167) Even when the Spanish government encouraged it to do good it was incompetent. It could not, as we saw, suppress the mita; could not soften the mita; but it did not revoke this prohibition. The representations of the Conde, prove that the natives in Chiapa, in Peru, in Paraguay, and in portions of new Granada were used as "beasts of burden" down to the revolution, and probably [illegible] to this hour.

band, and his deputy closes the rear - their official staves giving them an air of consequence (in their own minds) like a monarchi trunchon, or baton de marechal. If their purpose is not to remain at work there, they soon return, in the same grave order, loaded with roots of the yuca, &c. and set to grating, draining, pressing, and baking the substance into bread (casave) which they roast in broad, thin, circular cakes on griddles; the action of fire causing the poisonous quality of the root to evaporate. Sometimes they are shelling rice in wooden mortars; now planting, now gathering maize; collecting cotton or cutting tobacco. the more skilfull ones weaving hammocks of cotton twist, with the most extraordinary patience, by machinery so primitive and rude, that one is led to imagine it was in use among the antediluvians. It is hardly equal to the process by which a sailor makes seinet or matting aboard a-ship. Cotton cloth is woven by the men; a great deal is not necessary to furnish all the apparel they like to wear in that quarter of the world. — Since the war, and during a malignant disease which ravaged the villages from September to February last, inclusive, the labors of the field were performed principally by women, the men having been drafted for the army, or fled to the woods, to avoid military service, or escape from fever.* This depopulating scourge

* This fever first appeared at the mission of San Miguel, [pleasantly situated] on the right bank of the Orinoco, towards the end of the rainy season, in the middle of August or beginning of September. Its origin was there attributed to an unusual slaughter of cattle for the public forces, there being more offal than the Zamuros [carrion crows] could consume, the rest was left to putrify. And this reason appeared plausible. Its ravages were promoted by a total want of medicine and medical aid. In San Miguel, and San Thomé, and Caroní, hardly 30 persons survived of those who continued in these villages. Col. Rodriguez assured me, that 1200 persons had perished in the latter village and district from August to December; which I thought an exaggeration, as about 40 small houses could not have contained so many. Six hundred may have fallen. None attacked there had recovered. In Cupapuy 400 were sick at once. San Joaquin Moreno and Alta Gracia at considerable distances from each other, were like

caused several frontier missions to be deserted, and rendered many useless. Some resources in maize, cotton, tobacco, and vice, &c. had been drawn from the missionary plantations, which were nearly dried up by this ~~misfortune~~ calamity.

A particular description not being our object here, but an explanation of the design of a Congressional act, we abstain from reviewing the missionary cultivation at present. Several Venezuelians, intimately acquainted with the Capuchin police, have developed its principles, and censured its abuses with the utmost freedom and severity. The Reverend Dr. Francisco Bianco, a gentleman of liberal education, and of great capacity, who acted for some time as Commissioner-General of the Missions, has canvassed the whole subject masterly in a memoir addressed to the Supreme Chief. This official paper is worthy of the pen of Locke or Franklin. I had predetermined to subjoin a translation of it to this letter, as well to elucidate the moral and religious treatment of the Indians, and their retrogression under Capuchin discipline, as to introduce such signal testimony of the progress of liberal ideas: but I am deterred from this purpose by the unexpected length of these notes. The ~~wonderful~~ change ~~wrought~~ wrought in the order of Franciscans [to which doc

channel houses. There, as with us, the origin was warmly disputed. Many traced it to the butchery of San miguel; but in missions without cattle, it was almost as fatal. Some who possess very disparaging ideas of the ~~true~~ Deity, and figure to themselves a set of Gods like party-men, decided it was a judgment of heaven against the people for expelling the Capuchin friars, after the victory of San Felix - [and before that time] some impious Indians had wofully manifested their disaffection by daubing the beards of the saints in the churches with brushes smeared in tar or paint: while others ascribed it to the revolution. Others of us, with more reason, to the want of flour, salt, the usual Condiments, the state of the atmosphere, and the effect of the rainy season. I have heard all these causes argued! Villages amongst the hills, ~~mmmmmmmm~~ that seemed to be the very citadels of health were equally visited by pestilence with the rest... While Africa was suffering under pestilence, the superstitious people at first made fruitless attempts to interest their gods: but whatever supplications were proffered in the temples, whatever recourse to oracles and religious rites, all were insignificant; at last expedients of this nature were totally relinquished, overpowered by calamity. Wiser than some of the "poor Indians". I suppose the Athenians ceased to accuse the Deity of producing calamity, which was produced by natural causes whose laws are never suspended nor deranged. To return: the 29 missions formerly contained about 19000 persons; but from dispersion, disease, &c. there are ~~now~~ not half the number at present. The Indian youth of Guayana, compose only one battalion in the army under the command of excellent European officers.

B. belonged] since the discovery has already been disputed with Sepulveda, they them asserted, on the authority of Scotus, &c. the lawfulness of enslaving the Indians to convert them,—in opposition to the dominicans: many of the former have since become the advocates of their emancipation, and branded the Capuchins with hallucinating and fanaticising simple minds to hold them in bonds of superstition and tyranny. While good catholic writers are flaying the priesthood for overdoing professional craft, we must remind them of the eloquent appeals of a Robles, an Arispe and a Blanco, in behalf of oppressed man. One of these ornaments of human nature - endowed with talents of the first order - fell a martyr in the cause of freedom. The annalist of Venezuela, quoted above, who accuses the Inquisition of sacrificing more victims in America, than the Attilas, in the bloodiest wars [p.5, part i] pays this respect of remembrance to the late rulers of the missions: "The long bearded monks, I "mean the Capuchins, have acquired in their "missions, the dread power of king and pon-"tiff united; every mission was a feudal can-"ton; every inhabitant a serf: every serf a "victim yoked to the car of these famous apos-"tles of terrorism. Nothing was sacred from their "greedy passions x x x x x x x x x and "two or three thousand male Indians were "condemned to the drudgery of dragging "their baggage, and to carry the fruit of their "unhallowed commerce. The most enlighten-"ed portion - I am wrong - the least barbarous "of the towns were doomed to pay the tenth of "their harvests, stipends, &c. &c. not to sus-"tain the genuine pastor, the care of souls.

"or dignity of worship, but to pamper an idle cler-
"gy, useless to God and Society - the satel-
"lites of a despot - leeches, who sucked the blood
"of America. Hallowed Religion! I profess, I
"venerate thee; thou art my Stay; and the ef-
"fulgence of thy light, the empire of thy voice,
"and the celestial intelligence of thy august
"Founder, warrant me in protesting against this
"clerical despotism, as poisonous to public
"liberty as the welfare of thy sacred institution."
[ib. 5. p.]

The untutored Indians who welcom-
ed the Spanish padres with such reverential
regard as was paid by the Mexicans to Father
Fritz, whom they would not suffer to walk
but bore like a cazique in triumph upon
their shoulders from town to town, were grate-
ful for the police and laws at first estab-
lished: but feeling ceaseless restraint in every
thing, they grew dejected - disconsolate. When
the voice of a revolution reached their ears,
many of the missionary Indians embraced
the Independent cause, and with it the ear-
liest occasion for revenge. At San Felix,
where the royalists were disconfited, the In-
dians fought against them with bows and
arrows. On learning the doleful news
some of the Capuchins escaped to Angas-
tura, where they died of grief - or some s
other malady: others endeavored to fly to
Demerara by the Yurguari, Cuyuni, &c. wh
the lowness of the waters cut off all egres
by that route. Obliged to return towards the
missions, some were robbed, and a few (as
report goes) were unmercifully killed by
the Indians, or others. At Santa Rosa as

befel apart of those who embarked on the Oronoco, who were intercepted and massacred. Let it be remembered however, that they had been active and virulent against the patriots. When we visit the seat of their dominion, we cannot award to the capuchins in Guayana, such applause as was bestowed on the Jesuits of Paraguay and California, whose haunts retain vestiges of arts and industry - if travellers do not misrepresent.

The Missions of Guayana are vacant: the niches of patron effigies alone are occupied in the churches. I cannot call the interregnum a mournful one; if it awaken reflection in the stagnant mind, habituated to implicit dependence - and break the sluggish current of habit. The overthrow of the Inquisition at Carthagena, in Nov. 1811 / since restored by the royalists/ augured well for the patriots who demolished it. Congress had then stripped its tribunals of temporal authority, and forbidden ecclesiastics to inflict other than spiritual penalties: they might anathematise, curse or excommunicate; fulminate verba et voces - sed praterea nihil - they could no longer beckon their "familiars" to incarcerate the proscribed, nor call the lictors to scourge or behead them. Commissaries of the terrific tribunal posted in every capital town, lost their terrors with their thunders. Other commissaries, appointed for the sale of bulls of crusade or indulgencies, had some reason to fear a decline of profits. Liberality was evidently marching in the train of the revolution: and though the great stake yet depends on force of arms and wisdom of councils, - Venezuela has taken the lead of more southern states in respect of toleration; a superiority she owes to her agitations, while nothing has occurred in these to ruffle the "green mantle

manate on the standing pool."

It scarcely falls within our prescribed limits, to relate an application made to the Congress of Venezuela, by an agent of certain benevolent societies in England and Ireland, for an enormous grant of territory in Guayana, to be cultivated by emigrants from those countries. Their agent, Mr Miller requested the privilege of a local government, by an assembly of their own, but subordinate to the general government of Venezuela. It was also desired in addition to some exemptions, that this tract should be conveyed in trust to Messrs. Thomas Newland, Charles Herring, Richard Jaffray and William Walton. The territory asked for settlement, is comprehended within the following limits: "The boundary on the western bank of the river Oronoco, will be the river Manamo, from its junction with the Oronoco to the junction of the river Caroni with the Oronoco; including all the islands on the Oronoco, between the rivers Manamo and Caroni, and the boundary on the river Caroni, will be from the most westerly branch of the same river to the most southerly point of the sound of Barceloneta; and thence running from the said point, due west, until it meets the Portuguese Guayana, which will form the southern boundary. The French, Dutch and English Guayana, will form the eastern boundary; and the ocean between the English Guayana and the mouth of Manamo river, or western branch of the Oronoco will be the north east boundary."

Mr. Miller returned to England, I believe, without awaiting the final decision of Congress, and in the interim six or seven Missions

have been conveyed to English purchasers, and some islands granted to others. However politic it is to stimulate industry, such lands are too valuable to be thrown prodigally away. With the exception of elevated positions, it is uncertain whether northern constitutions can endure the "skyey influence" of a torrid climate, arid or rainy for six months alternately. Bearing entire good will to these grantees, for whom I have a personal respect, it is my recollection of an oblique passage in Walton's Exposé which drew my attention to this subject. It seems as if some people build their flimsy, wretched polities on piles of envy. The foundation is oozy, slippery, & muddy, and they bolster themselves up by such uncertain props. Speaking of superabundant population, in his loose manner,x the autha of the Exposé proceeds to exhort the government how to divert emigration from a dangerous course. "The United States have hitherto been the receptacle of all those classes of persons, & it is an undoubted fact that they have there greatly helped to the increase of population. We find it impossible to hinder emigration from Ireland; and would it not be better for them to go in search of homes to a country allied to us, as would be Spanish America, under the project I propose, where their descendants ~~would~~ may be our friends, instead of our enemies? where they may be occupied in the cultivation of those articles we require for our manufactures? where they may aid to their consumption, and where, in short, if we lose them out of our our bosoms, we are at least sure that they are not gone to augment the number of those, who at one time or another, may grow to our dread, and

x Writers who have delved more abstrusely into the subject, prove that the evil complained of, is really superabundant taxation, paper money and oppression, the implements and consequences of wars against human rights.

prosper to our disadvantage?"

I shall not comment on enmity so embittered against North America. Aside from the malice, the absurdity of such motives has ensanguined the earth. In the petition to the Congress, I perceive the foregoing sentiments reiterated in different language, and recognize the name of the person, who is probably the author of both.

To defray the national expenses, the executive is authorised by a decree of the 12th of may, to raise money by a sale of 500 square leagues of territory. He may dispose of it at a convenient price, within the term of two years, but not below the rate of one dollar for 150 Castillian varas square / la medida de ciento cinquenta varas castellanas en quadro. / He is likewise authorized to negociate a loan of $3,000,000, on the credit of the State, at such interest as he can stipulate, for a term not less than six years. Negociations and contracts to be submitted to the Sovereign Congress for its approbation.

It was probably to negociate this loan and effect this sale, that the Venezuelian government has recently sent an embassy to England, consisting of Messrs. Rossio, Benalver, and Colonel Vergara.* The latter is a Granadian officer, who with his colleague, had taken his seat in Congress, from the province of Cassanare. The importance of the mission may be divined from the character of the gentlemen deputed, especially of the dignified personage at the head of it.* Rossio, the President of Congress, is a gentleman well known, and as generally esteemed in the United States, for his integrity and talents, his erudition, his patriotism and sufferings. He has earned a high reputation by the

* since the above was written, I have received several letters, gazettes, and some verbal intelligence from Angostura. The affairs of his family did not permit Rossio to embark for England; and messrs Benalver and Vergara had sailed for that destination via the island of Granada.

distinguished part he ~~took~~ acted since the commencement of the revolution. Extensive reading & habitual study have stored his mind: experience has matured his judgement; and time has corrected his enthusiasm, without impairing his energy. Few persons in South America approach nearer Rousseau's idea of the proper genius and character of a legislator... who should possess a superior intelligence, and be witness of the selfish passions of mankind without participating in them, &c. If he, like common men, was ever swollen with a turnid vanity (the supposition is injurious) solid reason has long predominated, and a modest consciousness of worth has filled the void: self respect being indispensable to dignity, rectitude and independence. Of simple, dignified republican manners, he declines ostentation; of frugal habits, he lives content with mere competence. Like most of his countrymen, he is rigorously temperate; his intellect never clouded with the fumes of debauch. Intrigue cannot taint his probity, nor flattery warp his decisions. If he be avaricious, it is of an honest fame: his ambition is to serve, to free, to save his country. It is naturally expected that such men will preserve their consistency, and reduce to practice the principles they have professed and published. If insurmountable hinderances prevent this result, we must conclude that they exist in a bodality or compenetration of military and ecclesiastics - an ominous conjunction, which at the moment, robs genius of its lustre, and keeps talent from the ascendant. Doct. Rosaio had been previously appointed Intendant of rents, &c. in place of Doct. Manuel Pallacio, a man who had given many presages of usefulness

and eminence, who died suddenly of an aneurism on the 8th of may last.

Hearing perhaps of large purchases made by English capitalists in the territory of Buenos Ayres, represented by Rumor to exceed £8.000.000, it was a reasonable conclusion that money might be diverted to Venezuela by offers equally or more profitable. None are more capable than those commissioners, of treating about matters of still greater moment, should they come to the tapis in the mazy, diplomatic game now playing between England, Spain, & South America, &c.

It seems expedient here, to anticipate some observations that ought strictly to fall under another head; because resources are, in a measure, connected with military and political affairs.

A late ordinance, in order to prevent scarcity and facilitate supplies, prohibits or regulates the exportation of cattle. That of bullocks is allowed only to the governor and graziers; that of cows and calves is rigorously forbidden. Two ports only, on the Orinoco, Angostura and Barrancas are assigned for the trade: export from the Guayaquil is disallowed. An alarming diminution of cattle, and the difficulty of supporting the troops required this prevention. A rigid police is established respecting the slaughter of animals, their preservation and multiplication &c.

By a decree of January 7. 1817, passed at Barcelona, it was ordained, That the Government alone should carry on the commerce of cattle and mules, in order to support the expenses of war; the State paying $20 per head for mules fit to be embarked,

$10 for cattle, deliverable at the ports. A severe penalty is incurred by any infraction. The tariff of duties then adopted has undergone some alteration.

Under this decree the export trade appears to have been conducted; individuals obtaining special licence from the Supreme Chief.

In 1818. There were exported for the islands, or other colonies

Mules, paying duty, $15 per head,	2065	
free of duty	57½	
		2h41
Bullocks, paying duty $8 per head	1658	
Exempt	223	
		1881

So that this exorbitant duty produced only $44.239, and it is probable that clandestine exports from places below Angostura, and from the Guarapiche, &c. equalled the lawful shipments. Receipts from other duties, I am informed, fell short of $200,000, at the port of Angostura: but this is not a true criterion of trade, as great deductions were made at the Custom House, in favor of creditors of government; or rather the debt was partly liquidated in this way.

During the year 1818, there were 42 vessels trading between Trinidad and the Spanish Maine, importing mules, oxen, some tallow, hides and tasajo, and returning dry goods, liquors, &c. The number of clearances from Angostura, during the same period, cannot have surpassed 115; which affords no index to the vast capabilities of the country. The following is an abstract of the principal duties payable on exports and imports:—

* A good, unbroken mule may be bought at the pastures in the interior for 15 or 16 dollars; on or at the port for $44. Delivered at the port a mule ordinarily sells at $45; duty included; leaving its real price at 30 dollars.

Exports. — Mules, as above, per head $15. 00
Oxen, ... do 8. 00
Cacao, coffee, & other produce on the market price . . . 14½ per cent.

Imports. — Dry Goods & provisions . . . 19½ " "
Spirits . . . . . 39½ " "
[puncheons rated at $90]
Porter, ale, &c &c. . . . 24½ " "

Duties on dry goods commonly average 30 per cent. in consequence of the extravagant price at which they are appraised in the custom house.

As a new tariff was in contemplation, and daily spoken of, I felt very little interest about more circumstantial details of an expiring system.

When government dipped its fingers in traffick, the duty of alcavala was, of course, suppressed. Vessels clearing from port to port in Venezuela, paid no duties, according to the provisions of the Barcelona decree.

We may guess at the importance of the mule and cattle trade formerly, by the number of mules shipped at three points in Venezuela. M. Humboldt assures us, that exclusive of the exportation from Barbuvata, Coro, Guarapiche and Oronoco, the Llanoes of Cumana, Barcelona and Caracas, furnished [about 1800] no fewer than 30.000 mules a year for the West India trade. Cattle can come in three days from the plains of Barcelona, while it requires eight or nine to travel from to Cumana [Pers. nar. vol. iii. p 836 et seq.]

M. Depons estimated the cattle in Venezuela, westward of Maracaybo lake, at 1, 200, 000; horses, 180. 000; mules, 90. 000 and

sheep were extremely numerous.

In 1803 the Capuchin missionaries of Guayana, reckoned their horned cattle at 150,000, and horses 'tis said, at 40,000.

It is by looking at this fund, not at the paltry crumbs of the custom house, that we are fully convinced of the ability of the independents [with due care of other matters] to support this protracted contest. Like the ancient Egyptians and some nations of the east, the Venezuelians ought to revere the ox. A gabbling goose may have saved the Roman capitol from capture and spoliation; the lowing ox has been the salvation of Venezuela. The llanero cossack and the foot soldier subsist almost exclusively on fresh beef, commonly without flour, without vegetables, and above half the year without salt, for which they substitute their very pungent pepper. By this it imparts to their palates, all the sapidness of the most savoury dish. - Strangers to luxury, those men feel no privation; they are hardy as the horses they ride, or the herds they slaughter. Few or none of them receive any pay; the officers very little, though these will be munificently paid in national property. The necessity of foreign loans and provisions is rather occasioned by the cost of munitions of war, obtained on credit, or on contract, at excessive prices; by the expense of civil administration, and the desire of accommodating foreign auxiliaries, than by the actual expenditures of present or past armies.

In Angostura, the capital of Guayana, one of the most valuable establishments, is an armory and an arsenal, conducted with skill and assiduity. Col Uxxxx, the superintendant, has

expert workmen in the various branches. In the present state of the country it is indispensable. its loss, by any accident or the chances of war, would be irreparable: being the only one in possession of the patriots in that quarter.

Another establishment scarcely less important, in the master of political and military forces, which equally supports the cause of independence, is a printing office, from which issues a weekly gazette — The Correo del Orinoco, and some other publications. This official ~~gazette~~ print is governmental in all respects; and has always been conducted by citizens as eminent in official trust as in talent. Doct Zea commenced this gazette, & the management of which Doct Roscio succeeded, soon after his return to Venezuela. The first is master of a flowing, florid, and enchanting style; of which his Essay on a European Mediation, is an irrefragable proof. Venezuela cannot boast a more elegant writer. The scope of his labors is independence and its general results — without any solicitude to establish institutions purely republican. — In the spirit of Christian or philosophical contentment, Doct. Zea would be satisfied with the very worst ~~form~~ of government, an hereditary Senate. Senatorial encomenderos would relieve Spanish plebeians from the turmoil of politics, and leave all parties, except themselves more leisure to ply the arts of husbandry, ~~may~~ follow their amusements, ~~resume their studies~~, and enjoy the sweets of life unembittered by public cares. Doct. Roscio [already spoken of] is well versed in classical learning, and profoundly acquainted with history and law — ~~his mind is better stored with positive~~ ... a chaste, nervous and eloquent writer.

well founded in facts and attached to princi-
ples, he feels what he expresses; is earnest, flu-
ent, argumentative and convincing. His energy
is the cogency of truth; his harmony the con-
sistency of reason. His writings are ornate, with-
out studious polish. He casts about for
no meretricious ornaments.

In the present condition of the country, with-
out free circulation; without many readers, the
essays of these men are of no use here, but to a
chosen few; like the redolent wild fruits
and flowers of their native forests, canela, ca-
cao, vaynilla &c. that fade where they bloom
and perfume the gales with their fragrance.
But in the islands, in Europe, in the United
States, they are perused with delight. The
author of the Exposition of mediation between
South America and Spain, exerts his stores
of imagination and logic to demonstrate its
impracticability, without making the inde-
pendence of South-America the basis of it.
According to the sublime conception of Henry
IV. the pretensions of Spain and the rights
of America are debated in a Congress of sages—
of which all Congresses ought to be composed.
They are addressed by the advocates of the
one and the genius of the other. The veil is
occasionally lifted to disclose the exclusions,
and cruelties of 300 years. It is argued, "If
there exist relations between nation and nation,
and they owe each other reciprocal duties,
as from individual to individual, why not in-
stitute one general order, a judicature, a
Constitution of Nations, instead of the wretched
rhapsody called law? Will there not come
a day, precious to humanity, when civili-

Ed States shall unite in society, for the same reason that individuals associated in corporations or States, to secure their property, industry and tranquillity, against the violence and invasions of the unruly and perverse? Another Spain - another people, restlessly disturbing the world, the enemy of human kind, would not then dare, to start up, and slaughter millions; rob and devastate one hemisphere, & afterwards assume the inconceivable audacity to warn all nations and governments from the pinnacle of her gloomy Escurial. — "Beware - beware of setting a foot on yonder "half of the globe, where nature has showered "her richest gifts, which it is my will to keep "concealed... or which she has lavished gold, "silver, all the metals - the diamond, emerald, "& fossils the most beautiful and brilliant - because I am "resolved to be their sole master. Beware "of approaching its coasts, or bearing to its "ports the productions of your industry, still "less the lights of your reason, the emana- "tions of intellect - for them, I will not tol- "erate. But labor, invent, perfect - I shall "do you the favor from a generous condescen- "tion, to pay you for whatsoever I think con- "venient to carry to those opulent countries, "and bring to you in return from thence what "I think fit." The Genius of America then points out the advantages of a free intercourse to reward the manufacturing industry of Europe with the boundless treasures of America, mineral and vegetable. But Europe is complimented somewhat at the expense of truth, for social pacts and acts of justice, which were, in fact, selfish acts

dictated by fear — they were combenations or conspiracies. The vindicator proceeds with the persuasive appeal. "Pronounce the words — American "Independence, and the spectacle of a new "creation shall burst upon your view in all "its grandeur. Pronounce them, and you will "behold the rarest, radiant day, that ever "shone on the earth. As the ages terminate & "and recommence, it is the last and the first of "history — it divides the world that was, from the "world which shall be — it causes, in fine, the ge- "nius of the morrow to be different from the "genius of yesterday. Sciences, arts, industry, ag- "riculture, commerce all are renewed: all is "quickened — every thing assumes the colossal di- "mensions of an enlarged world."

——— "If there be protection on your part, you shall find gratitude on mine. Our hearts and interests are so entwined, that one cannot advance a step without the other. Does my population rapidly multiply? Your industry which we need, is augmented as rapidly. Are new mines wrought in my territory; new fabrics spring up in yours. Are new productions, new articles of export discovered in my forests? New commercial houses are established in your populous cities, and your arts make fresh progress with fresh application. If my sons improve in civilization, which multiplies at once the comforts and wants of life; yours advance in discoveries or inventions to gratify taste and stimulate luxury with novelty. And what shall it become, when a breath of that celestial breeze which fans the Institute of Paris, the Royal Society of London, and other altars of genius is wafted to the Andes, and

sheds on that hemisphere the beneficence and light of the sciences and fine arts? In that event it will not be the world of Colon [Columbus] only; it will be the world of Jussieu of Cuvier [whom he elsewhere styles the "priest of nature."] of Geoffroy, of Lacepede - these will open other worlds and an universe of Vauquelin, which putting in circulation new commodities and riches, and infinite treasures of ideas are to multiply our relations, and extend together the empire of human talent with the domain of husbandry and trade."

——— "One world cannot continue to be the property of a mere fraction of another. All the earth, like the wide oceans, is destined for all mankind. A house may be sealed up; a city sometimes be closed; but to seclude a continent; to blockade and beleaguer half the globe, is such transcendant insolence, that I know not how it was conceived or borne. Sage and enlightened Europe, the age of social emancipation is arrived. reason. - Let us all be just that we may all be happy."

——— "Educated in the bosom of nature, I follow her precepts and example. Observe how in it preaches... Commerce and society, because all nature is relation and concert - or according to the happy idea of Pythagoras, music and harmony. It is my anxiety that the rude and dissonant voice of Spain should not disturb the concord of the world. It is not necessary for this end to employ that force or authority which indubitably resides in the association of Europe against a dissident member; bare respect suffices; your august name is enough - the solemn, bona fide acknowledgment of my independence is sufficient to impose eternal silence upon her. This declaration dictated by nature; solicited by the interest of every peo

ple; demanded by justice and humanity, is become urgent as indispensable, and the opinion of the active and reflecting part of Europe has been audibly declared in its favor," &c. &c.

Europe is made to respond with acclamations of assent, and proclaims the "absolute independence of America... peace of the world, and freedom of commerce." Though the conclusion be but "fancy's sketch," the argumentative part of the debate is not the less valid. This ingenious writer advises Spain herself to recognize American Independence, and to reform her own government, if she would avert revolution. Ferdinand ought to convoke the Cortes to give Spain a constitution; but a constitution conformable to the only model there is of this kind on earth, viz that of G. Britain."

As we have not selected these extracts for comment, we shall not animadvert on the counsel which enjoins an imitation of the deformed pile [called the British Constitution] heaped together from loosened fragments of feudality around others equally feudal, immovable and original. Perhaps, when flattery is justified by necessity, we may call it policy! "Delicious essence! how refreshing art thou to nature! how strongly and all its powers and all its weaknesses on thy side! how sweetly dost thou mix with the blood, and help it through the most difficult and tortuous passages to the heart." But in the instance before us the author has only expressed his sentiments.

Other essays expound political principles: but as we have remarked, the present state of education and society in Venezuela detracts from the potency of the press- being

now less powerful than at the commencement of the revolution. It requires mind to conduct mind. The patriots then possessed the peopled capital, the charming and populous vallies. The people had undiminished ardor and curiosity: discussion was general; and light, like electrical fire, was communicable by an unbroken chain. Adversity has severed the links and placed obstacles in the way.

Still we must admit the partial usefulness of the press in all countries [which admit, that recorder] - in spite of abuses and perversion. It may aid revolutions once begun, but does not cause them. "We shall one day learn, [says an illustrious author] that the great national commotions called revolutions, "are not so much the creatures of prudence and design, as mechanical effects produced by the impulse and collision of the passions." The revolution of Switzerland was surely not fomented by printing, not then invented. Yet that was a well concerted plot, among a few whose passions were kindled by outrage and usurpation.- From this, we repeat, that we do not reason against the press in general. If suborned by power, it will shill-prize like the orators of Greece; be now a firebrand or an agent of proscription; again a slavish, garrulous echo, or Turkish mute; it is when uninfluenced, an angel of truth and light, the champion of rights - the herald of political salvation.- It is like Demosthenes inveighing against the intrigues of Macedon and his pensioned orators.

With waning numbers and resources but unabated courage, the patriots yet prosecute the war for independence. The pres-

ent campaign was opened with promising hopes; the presence of 12 or 1500 foreign troops raised in England and Ireland was eagerly expected by the President of Venezuela. Only a smaller part of them, unfortunately, ~~separated and~~ ascended the Oronoco; the greater fell to leeward, and landed at Margaritta. This unforseen accident, it is ascertained, deranged the plan of operations, which was to have concentrated the whole patriot force in front of the enemy. It occasioned delay; and it changed offensive to defensive arrangements. General Morillo with ~~a~~ military discernment seized the moment to compel General Paez (if possible) to risk a pitched battle. This wary but daring Chief, who had the strictest orders not to hazard a decisive action until re-inforced, frustrated the designs of his antagonist; wasted the country, burned the grass behind his own army; and drove off the cattle before it; harrassing the enemy in the plains with incessant attacks of cavalry. The Spanish General, with the loss of 1000 men, had to make a retrograde movement and re-cross the Apure. Since that time the champaign country between the rivers Apurito and Apure on the North; and the Arauca, on the South, has been an interesting scene of manoeuvres and some severe actions. A brilliant victory was gained on the 2 April, by a select party of one hundred and fifty one volunteers under Gen. Paez over the adverse army, which they attacked on the left bank of the Arauca; threw them into confusion by repeated charges, ~~from position to position~~ - killed about 400 men, - and then recrossed the river with their horses, & camps. The detail of this extraordinary enterprize, with a list of

the volunteers, and honors decreed them, is given in a particular bulletin of the 9th of April - published in the Correo of April 24.

When the annual rise of the river, so overflowed the plains that they became impracticable for cavalry or infantry. Bolivar drew off his principal force towards Cassanare, and Morillo appeared to direct his march towards Caracas. Paez remained in Barinas, where he had so often signalized himself by the most desperate valor. A column, which the Spanish general had detached about that time against Angostura, had reached the little town of Pao, in Barcelona, little more than two days march from, and N.W. of the capital of Guayana. They burned Pao, the 14th of June, and pushed on to San Diego, in the vicinity of which they were intercepted and beaten by Gen. Mariño. This seasonable victory saved the seat of Government, and preserved the possession of the Orinoco - that commanding Key to the country on either bank, and to the Easterly provinces of New Granada.

Clashing of authorities, or detestable intrigues at Margarita, are reported to have retarded for months, the descent of the expedition from that island, on the adjacent coast, which was to have been effected in a couple of weeks. The chief governor conspired against the commander of the army - and an inferior officer in the marine against the admiral.x - Accounts are just received of the sailing of the

x General Arismendi, who is implicated in plots against General Urdaneta, had some time ago ordained Courts of Admiralty, making the judges answerable in their property for reclamations on account of illegal condemnations. This gave umbrage to other heads of the wave, some of whom had rather seize vessels in port than fairly fight for prizes at sea. One Polly is accused of treachery and refractoriness, and of unjust seizures, as some think, with too much reason. But such marauders as these would not be worthy of mention, if their lawless cupidity were not as injurious sometimes to the harmony of States, as to the fortunes of individuals.

expedition; consisting principally of foreign troops, with some natives, and believed to be led by excellent officers. There has not been time ~~allowed~~ for it to allow news of its operations to reach us, one of those officers, I ~~am~~ understand, had procured before leaving England, intercepted letters from the Spanish ambassador to General Morillo advising him of the forces recruiting in England and Ireland, for the service of the Independents.*

In December last, the Venezuelian army, according to an official statement, somewhat exceeded 6000 men.

Though every one remarks, the quick perception of the South Americans, their armies have often been deplorably deficient in discipline: and no courage can supply the want of elementary instruction. Knowledge of tactics are useless to the general, if he cannot command the execution of his manœuvres. A collective courage depends very much on the soldiers confidence in their skill, mechanical habits, and co-operation; armies destitute of such proficiency, are liable, every instant, to be overcome by panic; and to lose the advantage of victory for want of cohesion, which was gained by individual prowess. The Spanish infantry has been accounted superior to the Venezuelian, but the patriot cavalry is better trained, and more resolute than that of the enemy. At a late hour

* we have since seen reports of parliamentary debates on a prohibitory bill which seems to have been a legislative evolution to mask a diplomatic manœuvre, or to enforce requisitions from the Court of London on that of Spain. Madrid. The Gazettes and speeches unriddle the purpose. Notwithstanding this measure, a legion of three thousand men is reported to have been raised; and private accounts affirm, that the persons concerned in levying that division, were consulted with by the friends of the bill, that it might not go into operation before they should be prepared to send off the expedition! The act was intended to mislead the cabinet of Spain. We rejoice to see auxiliaries going from any quarter, to co-operate in the desirable work of rendering the new world independent of the old.

improvement has been begun; Col. Pxxxt, an European, having instructed a batalion of Indian youth; and latterly, an entire regiment of whites. The commander-in Chief expressed his admiration at the surprising celerity with which instruction had been communicated, under a judicious method of drill, treatment and police- and promoted this very capable officer, whom he pronounced "a model for the army." Good infantry are invincible; the heart and soul of an army. When the Romans obliged their Dictators, except on special leave, to go on foot, to testify [as it is supposed] their reliance on, and respect for foot soldiers, they were as politic in that, as in other instances of military regulation. The patriots did not apply a like principle of honor to vanquish prejudice against this essential arm, but grossly increased it. This service, never so [redacted] reputable at any time, as that of the cavalry, was sometimes an actual degradation, culprits and cashiered horsemen being doomed to carry a musket and serve on foot. Horsemanship too was formerly a privilege, confined to Spanish equites, to loyal dragoons, and courteous Knights

Todo — Todo caballero es noble — once applied only to the latter; but with the roll of the revolution, peones and jinetes have become caballeros as bone and muscle and valour obtained their weight. Paes' black cloud of Cossacks would eclipse Pompey's cavalry [or, with regular discipline] even Caesar's veterans. War is a good market for physical force; it places robustness and bravery on the ascending scale. — Though there is a change of relations, the cavalry service still enjoys a higher consideration — decided by the nature of the country. — Buk

formerly the very horses were privileged - the courser was reserved for sports or war. He could not be made a beast of burthen — whilst great troops of Indians carqueros, were literally saddled and loaded in Guatamala, in New Granada and other parts. Though some of these usages are altered by time, the false distinction is not wholly forgotten. Inveteracy of custom among an illiterate people, prints traces so deeply, as not to be obliterated for an age after its authors are extinguished. — Among the more enlightened, we find the same principle of indolence or indifference; they suspend their reason as an offering at the tombs of their barbarous ancestors, and continue their ancient customs from age to age, as a family-relic is transmitted from father to son.

The naval force of Venezuela, is more inconsiderable than one would suppose, from its list. The squadron formerly in the service of Carthagena, does not co-operate with that of Venesuela. This has been occasionally augmented by purchasing vessels from British or other foreign merchants, and occasionally reduced by desertions. It has now and then, though seldom, "done the State some service:" its utility fluctuates, not so much with its strength, as the want of skilful, professional direction. One branch of the marine, the flotilla of flecheras, is of unequivocal value — and deserves, not only to be praised, but imitated. More efficient, manageable, serviceable gun-boats were never constructed [to my knowledge] in any quarter of the world. — They vary in length, from 50 to 100 feet, according to the required armament, & sometimes bearing one gun, sometimes two — rarely more: have, generally, one mast, &

a large square sail, &c. The smaller flecheras, [flecheritas] are impelled by paddles, and move with great velocity. In short, they are light, swift and admirable – the cheapest vessels for offence or defence, ever contrived. They carry from 20, 30, to 80 men, as circumstances dictate. Flecheras are exactly adapted to the defence of the Oronoco; and commanded as these have been, by dauntless men, of uncommon enterprize, have terribly annoyed the enemy.

When the adverse parties shall sheath the sword, respire from havoc, and betake themselves to more innocent toils, it may be useless to conjecture. Should the Independents receive reinforcements, and the expedition from Cadiz be frustrated; the struggle cannot be a tedious one. Independently of these contingencies, the respective forces are more dissimilar than unequal: the patriots more habituated to wants & hard fare, the royalists possessing the most cultivated tracts, have greater plenty of good provisions. These have a denser population on a smaller space; those a spare population, or, fewer inhabitants spread thinly over a larger surface. One of the powers seems strong by compactness; the other eludes blows by expansion. Conciliation, by way of compromise, is impracticable; the difference cannot be arbitrated, and must be decided by force. Although a great majority of the people are situate within the bounds of the royal territory, yet they are not believed to be very Zealous in the royal cause. Many remain quiet, becau

there is no protecting patriot ~~force~~ army near, and because numbers who compromitted themselves heretofore, by an indiscreet zeal, on an incursion of their friends, were sacrificed at the retreat of the patriots. These miscalculated failures have been fatal to many a friend of independence, beyond the patriot ranks. But, in reality, all the independents are compromitted [to repeat a trite phrase of theirs] all are under the bann of irrevocable proscription, and may as well contend nobly - which they will do, to the last - as suffer ignominiously. The Royalists are not precisely in a similar predicament - as it suits neither with the with nor welfare of the patriots, to exterminate the inhabitants. Indeed the patriots have discontinued the guerra à muerte, in favor of a majority of the enemy [i.e. prisoners] by making a two fold distinction - first, between natives and Spaniards - 2d between volunteers and those who serve by compulsion. All parties must be tired of war, so irksome and prolonged. One of the worst consequences of a longsome contest is, that it disposes mankind in the end to sacrifice principle to tranquillity. Harrassed with toils, disquieted with alarms, perhaps ruined in their fortunes, or worn down with ~~searching~~ watching and ~~fierce~~ exertion, they cease, at peace, to stickle for the most eligible government. Peace itself brings all they crave. It is welcome to the weary, as slumber to pain and sorrow. The patriots will, indubitably gain their independence, but if surrendering themselves to mere repose, they "sleep their senses in forgetfulness" before they provide an equitable government, they may be man-

deled, Sampson-like, shorn of locks and liberty, before they awake. Some anticipate this political delinquency. Let us rather hope, that the Venezuelians will appreciate their freedom by the price at which they purchased it.

I do not dissemble my individual concern for the political felicity of Venezuela, and of all South America; and therefore have amply used [in former intercourse and conversation abroad] the licence of a friendly freedom in uttering my opinion; speaking with the more solicitude as busy spirits seemed winging their malignant flight towards this new world, as Satan did [in the poem] towards Paradise, to undo the first created pair, and in them, "to ruin all mankind." It is a governing principle with me, that disingenuousness, as "arguing a degenerate mind," always becomes dishonorable men, but is peculiarly detestable in a Republic, or any other government pretending to a solitary feature of civil liberty. Modern and future generations, on this side of the Atlantic - if no where else, will, as I hope, indignantly discard the Macedonian maxims - that mankind may be deceived, that dissimulation is the art of governing; and therefore a profound policy is, to cheat boys with promises and men with oaths! Since it is a duty to bear no false witness, it may become [at times] as culpable, to conceal the truth as to proclaim a falsehood. Hence I was accustomed, when opportunity came round, to speak my sentiments candidly, but with as much

discretion as I could command.— For if the charge feigned by the poet, as delivered by the Deity to an archangel, to forewarn man of his danger be wholesome in morals, the admonition cannot be misplaced, if repeated in politics:—

> ....." and such discourse bring on
> As may advise him of his happy state
> Happiness in his power.. left free to will
> x x x x x x x his will though free
> Yet mutable; whence warn him to beware
> He swerve not too secure: tell him withal
> His danger and from whom; what enemy.
> Late fall'n himself from heaven, is plotting now
> The fall of others from like state of bliss."

As among the intelligent, a decent frankness always corroborates friendship and esteem, well-meant counsel is not often lost; but if it should be rejected, one can complacently reflect on having discharged a moral duty.— and the recusant cannot plead "Surprisal unadmonished, unforearmed." It will be admitted, that there was much to excite alarm, and to excuse importunity, when a system of intrigue the most astute [well worthy of Italy in the 13th and 14th centuries] was combined with secret league, and open force, perhaps, to seduce or terrify each nation aiming at freedom.

I have not hastily endeavored to detail a connected chain of military occurrences, because I soon despaired [with imperfect means] of being enabled to keep up the catenation: every hour was disclosing something new; the present rumor was at variance with the past. Relating actions in progress, is like sketching an inconstant cloud that changes its figure while we gaze. I will omit the denouement, and throw together

a succinct outline of the more material incidents at the end of the campaign - should you not receive an account of them from [illegible] - [but I think you will] from the better source a person on the spot. As to the profile, it is accurate as my observation could make it. But it is time to resign the tiresome theme; and I change it for that of Productions and Commerce,

More gladly than the anxious cit who hurries in the dog days from a dusty town its fears and fevers, to the green arbors of the country, where health and quietude reign tranquilly together. Turning from the devastations of war - inseparable from the glorious attempt to renovate society, by establishing justice and freedom; how welcome the relief one experiences by a transition to the happy scenes of industry, and the thrifty arts of peace! We escape from contemplating the waste of war to the productive operations of honest labour - productive at once, of private virtue, of social good, and of public wealth. It seems justly decreed, that they who till the ground - "God's chosen people, if ever he had a chosen people," - should be requited for the hardest toils by the sweetest recreations. To contrast the unpleasing subject we have just relinquished, with the more attractive one we are commencing, would be like a retreat from thirsty deserts scorched beneath the flaming chariot of the sun, to bowers impervious to his beams, perpetually refreshed by rivulets, and fanned with breezes. It is no wonder that poets enamoured of the "sylvan scene," should have strained the rural reed to its highest note, to chaunt the beauties of nature and celebrate the charms of a country life. An Essayist has finely observed of a valley in Caracas, that its natural beauty is such, as to engage all the descriptive powers of the trav-

eller, who has nothing to fancy, where all is so perfect; that the imagination, like the eye, may repose on the picture of blended light and shade. But it is the "beauty of utility" that exercises one's ideas more intensely than rustic scenery, however enchanting it may be. Agricultural industry is the corner stone of national strength; the perennial fountain of supply to a nation, its manufacturers, merchants, and consumers or producers of every class.

Agricola incurvo terram dimovit aratro;
Hinc anni labor: hinc patriam, parvos que nepotes
Sustinet, &c . . . . . Georg. lib. II 513.

We naturally behold rural operations with pleasure; but we regard them with a keener interest, as a most important branch of reproduction; which holds the balance against idleness and luxury; or in other words, replaces their destructive consumption, and leaves a surplus for commerce and manufactures. Luxury has been well described as - the promptest consumption of utility, without producing an equivalent for what it consumes. It is hurtful, therefore, even while it affords employment to workmen; because "nothing remains of their labor." — Where luxury then appears to scatter riches, it reduces their source. To what purpose was it that Lucullus astonished his guests by the magnificence and sumptuousness of his feasts ? - that Heliogabalus revelled in luxury with Asiatic splendour ? - or that Vitellius gormandized on the dainties of whole provinces ? - What did it avail, that they paid liberally for their extravagance ? - They produced no equivalent - and surely the effect of their expensive delicacies, gluttonies, and riot was far less amiable than that of Poppæa's milky bath [requiring the milk of

500 the ashes daily] which preserved or heightened a soft roseate complexion.' In such instances the inequality of fortune is as injurious, from the contagion of example, as from injustice. Such beings, in an economical light as in a political one, "are absolutely good for nothing;- Their existence is an evil, and their expense as useless as the expenders."

The frugal farmer then, whose plough replenishes the horn of plenty, as fast as prodigals exhaust it, appears, [in the closest view that can be taken of luxury, idleness, - and industry] an object of still higher respect. He asks not for the silly palliatives of sumptuary laws, but would strike at the root of all evil by a total abolishment of privilege, erecting on its ruins equality and security.- "Consumption, by industrious men, or productive consumption, being the only one that produces what it destroys, and being therefore the only source of riches, it is that above all which we ought to endeavor not to derange." [Tracy's Pol. Economy - 229.] Whenever this wise precept shall be adopted in Venezuela and New Granada, those charming regions will "bloom like a garden," though parts of them are now as desolate as the grave.- The territory truly presents to view "a noble country highly favored by nature." It is in journeying over the woody mountains, after traversing the naked plains of Guayana, or passing the umbrageous plantations of her val-

* From this plain reasoning in favor of useful labor, we may judge of the "splendid nonsense" of Mr Burke when inveighing against reform of broad abuse in England he styles the hereditary nobles, i.e. idlers of England, as pillars of the landed interest. A pillar of this might be useful as a landmark or a monument: the other pillars are incumbrances. "The only [illegible] who ought to be seen without reprobation, are those who devote themselves to study, - and "chiefly to the study of man. And these are the only ones persecuted; there is reason for "this: they show how useless the others are, and they are not the strongest."

lies - when the traveller retires from the ardors of noon, to "overarching" shades, that he forcibly recalls the lays of Virgil, of Milton, of Thompson, or of other poets, whose melody had beguiled his juvenile days. - There we recognize, amidst eternal verdure, the living archetype of their finest descriptions, and see the original of every image: -

The steep wilderness whose hairy sides
With thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild,
Access deny: and overhead up grew
Insuperable height of loftiest shade
Cedar and carob tree and branching palm -
A sylvan scene - and as the ranks ascend
Shade above shade a woody theatre
Of stateliest view. — — — — — —
— — — — And there a circling row
Of goodliest trees loaden with fairest fruit
Blossoms and fruits at once, of golden hue
Appear with gay enamell'd colours mixed,
On which the sun more glad impress'd his beams
Than in fair evening: cloud, or humid bow,
When God hath showered the earth; so lovely seem
That landscape — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — —
All trees of noblest kind, for sight, smell, taste,
Groves whose rich trees wept odorous gums and balm;
Others whose fruit burnish'd with golden rind,
Hung amiable. Hesperian fable's true,
If true here only, and of delicious taste.

But while one is tempted by the alternative influence of verdant scenes to apostrophize the placid pursuits of agricultural or pastoral life, which like the symbolical poppy of Morpheus, solaced the cares of mankind; and like her renewing fires confer immortality, by providing sustenance to the race; the faithfulness of detail loses nothing of its importance, and shall not be overlooked. I may dispense

with much particularity, since M. Depons however faithless in other respects, from an obsequiousness to despotism, is generally very exact in his notices of venezuelan agriculture and commerce. It is easy to convey to a stranger an idea of the great capabilities of this country; the loosest, tamest sketch might do it... but a statement rigorously drawn from correct data, will set the subject in a more satisfactory light. I have collected few materials, but they are authentic.

To begin with Guayana, a mixt-chorographic description of this valuable, but neglected province, a copy of which I was politely favored by Gen. Bolivar, enables me to present an abstract with greater confidence. Though it is not very recent, few changes [except political ones] have intervened since its date. It was written by Don Miguel Marmion, in 1788, and accompanied by various tables and a map - the whole intended as a memoire and remonstrance to arouse the government to the magnitude of the interest involved in the loss or preservation, the decline or improvement of the province.

The position of Guayana, bounded E & S.E. by British, Dutch and French Guayana, need not be particularly repeated. By its situation, relative to the great river Oronoko that waters it - constituting its strength and its weakness - its navigation opening the way to the interior of Cumana Barcelona, Caracas, Barinas and Cassanare: Guayana is the most material possession of Venezuela. It is essential - indispensable to the protection of all the rest. Don M. Marmion views this province as divisable into three districts: - 1st. That of Lower Oronoco from point Barima to the raudal [rapids] of Atures, comprehending a space from E to W. of above 180 leagues, in which are the Capital San

Tomas de Angostura, — the reductions of the Catalan Capuchins apart of the Franciscan missions, the richest lands, but scant population and produce. 2d The district of Parime, S. South, where stands the city of Guirior, so called [or miscalled] and the once far-famed El Dorado, on the margin of Lake Parime; a country not well explored; with many sterile tracts, and uselessly bathed by the rivers Parime, Mao, Caricara, and Paragua; & lastly the District of Upper Orinoco [Alto Orinoco] from the mouth of the Meta, near the rapids of Atures & the fort of San Carlos [constructed in 1778] near the confluence of the Rio Negro and Casiquiare, descending by the latter & the waters of the Orinoco, near the village of Esmeralda.* Much of this latter tract, as the whole of the 2d is occupied by untamed Indians averse from civilization, leading an erratic life, embosomed in the thickets of the forests; and preferring independence to all the comforts of rational and civilized life.

By the rivers Yurguari and Supamo, & Guayana has an outlet to the Caguari and Equivos [Essequibo] for the produce of the lower missions: the Caroni and its tributary, the Paragua offer others, as well as the country above, a vent on the other side, interrupted only by the cataracts near the junction of Caroni with the Orinoko. Above Angastura, the principal river that disembogues into the Orinoco, on the same side [viz. right bank] is the Caura, and much higher the Cachivara and Atabapo.

As we ascend the Orinoco from Angostura, we meet successively entering it on the left bank,

* Esmeralda, or Emerald was the name bestowed on this poor village from a belief since proved unfounded, that a mine of that gem was situated thereabouts. So when the enthusiastic Raleigh visited the Falls of Caroni every pebble that he or his companions picked up, appeared to indicate mines of gold and silver.

the river Pao, running from the plains of Barcelona - afterwards, [to name only the principal] the Apure, Arauca, Capanaparo, Sinaruco, Meta, and Guaviare. - These rivers with many others open a communication with all the vast regions between the mountains of Merida, Pamplona and Santa Fé, and the Orinoco. Such is the importance of this river to other provinces as well as to Guayana.

In 1788, there were a few spots on the Caura cultivated by Indians and fugitive Negroes from Essequibo, who raised some articles of first necessity and a little cotton: in the whole province there were reckoned 21, 391 souls, distributed among 11 nominal cities,[x] 7 villages and 72 missions. Those natives in charge of the Capuchins, viewed the pattern of social life, exhibited by their teachers, with repugnance; and labor with abhorrance. It seemed insupportable Subjection. Content with a paleta of maize and yuca, with hunting and fishing, they wanted nothing more; but fled to the woods at every opportunity. Small escorts of soldiers had been allowed to guard the religious. The Franciscans, who were entrusted with the care of the upper missions, after the expulsion of the Jesuits, had a more teachable, industrious people - they gathered wild cacao, vaynilla, resins, gums and aromatic spices, which they sold to the Spaniards. Tonquin beans, [as the fruit of a nauseous tree is im-

[x] Gumilla relates [Tom. 1 p. 27-8] that under mighty preparations for penetrating to El dorado, terminated in the miserable foundation of St Thomas, of Guayana, consisted of thatched huts, at the mouth of the Caroni, opposite to the island of Faxardo, but that after the repulse of Keymis, and young Raleigh by Governor Palomeque [reinforced by 150 men from New Granada] and a subsequent destructive attack from Captain Parker, some of the inhabitants returned to neighboring provinces, and others built a town of the same name ten leagues below the original site. This is now called Old Guayana. Angostura is about 50 leagues above it on the same right bank. - Gumilla is not always accurate, but is so circumstantial that he probably is so in this instance.

properly styled] were collected from the banks of the Caura, and nutmegs from the Rio Negro. Industry had not yet improved the more precious and indigenous products. The vanilla vine, which [as all know] ascends by and entwines itself around other trees as the vine embraces the elm, and flourishes wherever its tendrils grapple: but when it has the mischance, [says Humboldt, very elegantly] to bud where there is no protecting prop, it experiences the same misfortune as those men who, however meritorious, find none to offer a friendly hand - and like them its slender germ lies prostrate on the earth without a hope of that fruit which it would yield in abundance with the slightest help." This beautiful liane prefers the fellowship of the calabash-tree, as the cacao has an affinity for the shade of the anauco. Wherever it climbs it repays by ornament as by fragrance [according to the idea of the poet] the guardianship it needs: -

"Some more aspiring catch the neighb'ring tree
With clasping tendrils, and invest his branch,
Else unadorn'd, with many a gay festoon
And fragrant chaplet, recompencing well
The strength they borrow with the grace they lend."

Of the native plants, the nature of the soil, character and course of mountains, rivers, valleys, indicate what species are adapted to cultivation, and what sorts may be introduced. From the caño, [creek or channel] of Carrucena, upwards of twenty leagues above the mouth of the Oronoco, to which distance the country is overflowed; the Amataca ridge of mountains takes a S. S.E. direction, which with the channel of the river forms a spacious triangular peninsula, fertilized by the Amacuro, Arature and Aguie-

re, covered with forests and groves of the finest timber, suited for every purpose: the par-dillo, nogal, cedar, mahogany, algarrobo, and numberless other growths. [The choicest timber being in the mountains, it is impossible to transport it to a distance – but whoever erects saw mills at convenient points on the Caroni, Paragua, or other rivers, would confer great benefits on Guayana, and make a fortune for himself.] The lands, whether gentle hills or savanas, are fertile to the mountain side, equally fit for pasture or tillage, with the advantage of ready transport by water. The mountain runs nearly parallel with the bank of the Orinoco, a narrow savana between, suitable for grazing cattle, as far as its termination at the Caroni – and the cordillera [if a mountain of its elevation deserves the name] bends southwardly. The road passes over it from Angostura to San Antonio, and the town of Upata, situate in a pleasant, fruitful plain, central to the Capuchin missions; from whence rich vales wind between ridges towards the Cuyuni, &c. The tract between Caroni and Angostura, for the most part level, bare and sandy, produces some wild grass, but is naked of trees, excepting the stunted chaparro, alcornoque, and here and there, a clump of moriche-palms [morichas] relieve the dreariness of the landscape. From Paragua to Parime, and between the Caura and Esmeralda, intervene many valleys and mountains whose soil is represented as bearing the usual marks of fecundity. Nevertheless, at that time [it is scarcely better now] there were raised only two loads [Cargas] of tobacco annually;

8000 hides were exported, one half of which were furnished by the provinces; and cacao being unequal to the consumption, was imported from Barcinas and Caracas. But if we formed plantations of this fruit,* its produce would be plentiful, [says the author of the Memoires] from the excellent quality of the soil: the same assertion may be made respecting indigo, superior samples of which have been produced and promise a bounteous crop, if cultivators of capital would dedicate a share of their funds to cherish so valuable a branch capable by itself of enriching the province. Cotton, of tolerable quality, with scarcely any care, growing all over the country, even in half sterile plains; every tree and shrub [arbol o mata] yielding twice as much as in the windward islands, according to reports of credible, intelligent men, — with the additional advantage of surer harvests, from the greater regularity of the seasons: but as this commerce has been hitherto held in low estimation by the Director in Spain, and it has no vent elsewhere, the laborers stimulated by the government to the cultivation of this essential article of prosperity, are dispirited.

* "Among all the trees created by the deity for the use of man, none can be found in the old world comparable to the cacao, for the abundance it yields the proprietor. Vines and olives produce a yearly crop and rest for the remainder of the season — not so the cacao. By June it gives a plentiful harvest and is at the same time whitened with blossoms preparatory to the fruit it offers in December. Nor is this all, it is a tree so grateful to the cultivator that it compensates his labor every month with remarkable punctuality, as from earlier and later blossoms result an intermediate product ripening monthly!" [Travels in Yucatan I 42-3] It is necessary to prop the branches of this prolific tree, to prevent them breaking with the weight: the trunk is covered with pods — and the very roots, if accident lays them bare, soon display the swelling fruit. Its fecundity is unparalleled. This tree first grows under shelter of the plantain, and comes to maturity under that of the anacao, or erythrine. It is deservedly a favorite in Spanish cultivation. Lavaysse observes, that the monks who, [like himself] were always lovers of "good things," introduced the use of chocolate into Europe, and it was, perhaps, in their pious idea of the boon, that Linnaeus gave to Cacao the name of Theobroma, a drink of the Gods. [Voyage aux iles, &c. et en Venezuela, tom. ii. 379.] The fragrant fruit of the Vanilla, the clambering liane, already mentioned, is employed to improve the odour and flavor of chocolate.

"The number of black cattle is computed at two hundred and twenty thousand head, a little more or less; 180,000 in the common lots of the Catalan capuchins' Missions, and 40,000 belonging to individuals. Few mules and horses are reared; but the convenience of pasture and a herd of mares brought from adjoining provinces, insure a speedy multiplication of both species."

Direct trade with Spain was trivial; a few vessels imported small cargoes of wines, brandy and goods, returning with small parcels of Barinas tobacco, such as that province could supply a surplus beyond the quantity it was obliged to furnish the Company of Guipuzcoa; a little was gathered in Guayana; but for want of hides and other articles, this barter was abandoned. The trade in cattle and mules, carried on by the colonists [by permission of authorities at Caracas] in their little vessels with the neighboring islands, proved unprofitable.—

Mortality of animals on the passage, and other causes, since the war* tended to injure this branch of trade," and principally the importation of the same species from New England in better condition. The Guayanese had to pay heavier duties of import and export; and when they returned from the islands ~~were obliged~~ with negroes were forced to dispose of them on credit, the purchaser having no ready money. Contraband trade increased with prohibitions. Receipts from imports in Guayana amounted to the paltry sum of $14,000, while the salaries and expenses were $56,689; the province having to draw for the deficit on Caracas, overburdened with its own obligations.

^ compelled the owners to sell at the lowest prices circumstances

* American war, it is supposed.

To remedy the distress that was depopulating the province, it was then proposed, to establish a couple of towns and settlements - one at Carrucuia, by the ridge of Imataca; the other on the banks of the Cuyuni from which he meditated an extension of villages and settlements along the Dutch [now British] frontier, and around Parime to the Rio negro. - A junction or communication of settlements on the Oronoco below Caroni, with those on the Cuyuni and Mazeruni, was in prospect, advantageous to the grazing savanas of the South, and to the culture of the woody tracts on the North [or Oronoco.] It is, say they, but 30 leagues S. to N. from the Cuyuni to the Oronoco, and a much less distance to the missions of the Capuchins, who would furnish cattle, as they would be concerned in the profits; and reap the benefit of securing their villages on the rear; the new colony preventing the flight of the Indians to the woods, and their intercourse with the Dutch: the reverend fathers relieved from the alarms they now live in, might exercise their apostolical ministry in greater quietness.* Thus plan would check the Caribs, restrain the encroachments of the Dutch on one side, and of the Portuguese on the other; especially towards Parime. With a few immunities for some years, the colony would flourish - mountains of less acclivity than those of Caracas and Cumana, bounteous soil, a more benignant and healthful climate would allure settlers from adjacent provinces. He would incorporate three hundred Indian families of the villages of Zacoupana and Imataca, and others from the islets below; and request a port

* He alludes to the invasions of the Caribs who carried off converted Indians to sell them as Slaves to the Dutch. Under due precaution, it was suggested to retaliate the outrage by encouraging the revolted negroes of Surrinam.

of entry at Cavrucinas. This would be a requisite accommodation, as during four months of the year [from June till September inclusive] vessels are liable to be longer in ascending from the mouths of the river to Angostura, than in making the passage from Spain to the coast.

It was necessary, to further their plans, that the "King's merciful bounty should dispense certain privileges to the new settlers; [for men who have no idea of rights, always speak of them as favors:] these were, to be permitted, agreeably to rules prescribed by the administration, to plant cotton and tobacco; as this single branch of cultivation would defray the expense of other useful undertakings, and capacitate the province to carry on lively commerce with Spain. To confer any value on lands or labor, some trade was essentially necessary. They saw with sorrow, that the advantages tendered to the capital on the Oronoko by the Meta and Apure from the immeasurable extent and fatness of the countries on their banks, were utterly lost by the interdiction of a traffic which formerly filled the royal chest, and enriched the inhabitants. The benefits of its too transient permission were attested by the prosperous state of the capital of Caycara, and other villages. Persons had come from Barinas and other districts to establish themselves; but their migration ceased with the trade, and they had lost hope as well as fortune. Although licence had been granted to export hides, tallow, and tasaje from the plains of Apure, yet the returns being confined to salt or specie, excluding utensils and merchandize necessary to the consumption, few or none engage in the trade, except some persons from Trenidad and Havana.

"All are acquainted with the tedious trans-

portation from the province of Barinas to Maracaybo and Caracas, the exorbitant costs reaped on goods and produce conveyed on beasts of burden over rough, steep, craggy roads, frequent crossing of rivers, subject to losses by the death of animals, increased damage and waste of goods that ordinarily accrue. By the time they reach the stores in the destined ports, they are found to be insupportable to poor farmers, and the consequence is severely injurious to agriculture or industry in general, and of course to the prosperity of the public treasury; losses the more painful, as the remedy is before our eyes, in our very hand, ... the accommodation afforded by those rivers for water carriage to Guayana, with a saving of more than two thirds of the expence, which they would incur almost without damage, in much shorter time, and without the risk experienced in longsome, tiresome journeys by land.

The same regulation ought to embrace the countries on the Meta on account of the remoteness of the inhabitants from the ports of the Kingdom of Santa Fé [New Granada] and from the capital. By reason of such costly transportation by land, they decline the prosecution of any great agricultural labors, contenting themselves with supplying interior consumption or little more; when it is indisputable that the voracity of their land and the industrious habits of the tillers might furnish abundant supplies of wheat, indigo, cotton, wool, hides, leather and sugar, &c. with which they might profitably enlarge this commerce, and the direct trade to Spain by way of the Orinoco; which for want of this intercourse have no other exports than that of their fabrication of hammocks, blankets, coverlets, cotton cloths, and other ordinary articles for home consumption, of which they now and then send down small parcels, some flour and sugar to this province, returning with their proceeds

in ready money... it being disallowed to pay them in any thing else. This restricted trade is highly detrimental to this country, by draining it of the little specie that remained, and detrimental to the Granadians [Reynosos, i.e. people of the kingdom or reyno] themselves, who are incapacitated from furnishing the necessary implements and goods for their Agriculture &c. These they must go without, or purchase at enormous prices; paying for a common hatchet worth here eight reals, at the utmost, three dollars; and at the same rate for spades, machetes [sort of swords for cutting bramble, &c.] shovels and other utensils - from which they suffer and must suffer great impediments in their labors until a reciprocal trade be established between settlements on the Orinoco, and the countries of the Meta, Casanare, Macuco, and Santiago de las Atalayas, which will allow the exportation of their produce and a return of commodities suited to their consumption.

"If these districts had a commercial connection with Guayana, it would not be difficult even in the present state of things, to dispatch several vessels annually to Spain, with the produce of these parts, and such as could be collected here. This encouragement would give the first impulse to industry," &c. The spokesman of the Guayanese; and a Zealous solicitor he is, requests, in the 13th clause of his project, an exemption from duties in favor of manufactured cotton and other articles to be brought from Santa Fe to the Guayana market.

A fastidious mind might reject as useless, the consideration of a commerce so paltry; but a sagacious one sees in small matters, in embryo, [evolutions]

the same principles of folly or wisdom which are practised in the greatest of human concerns. I thought, too, that these details would fix attention on the map, and render us more familiar with the geography of Guayana and contiguous States. Muromi-on's plans are still unexecuted - and the infancy he describes is not removed by years, though a new order of things supervene.

The grievous nature of those prohibitions may be conceived by supposing a law in force obliging the settlers along the Susquehanna to carry their grain and drive their cattle to Pittsburg or Vermont - where they must purchase their goods too - instead of selling one and buying the other in Baltimore, whither they could glide in their boats and canoes, almost without risk or charge. If Spanish politicians could not like a sorcerers of old, turn rivers backward and make them flow from the mouth to their source, the monopolists took an easier mode, but equally unnatural, of forbidding the miserable inhabitants to make use of the fine, commodous channels excavated by nature in her navigable streams. While birds and monkies were fattening on the spicy fruits of the forest, the colonists were precluded from floating the fruits of their labor down the rivers that flowed [for them] in vain.

The Apure, rising in the Andes of New Granada, runs about 170 leagues before it enters the Orinoco, by several mouths, in 70° 30' N. lat.; previously receiving the tribute of the Portuguesa and Guanare, San Domingo, Cojede, and a dozen or twenty other rivers. Besides the indigo, tobacco, and [recently] coffee, embarked on its waters, from the jurisdiction of Guanare, from Barinas, and the

* M^r. Vargas, who descended the meta from the mountains of Santa Fé about 1790, first made the people acquainted with that important internal navigation. It was not until 1811-12 that the canon of Chile who returned by the same route, gave a description of it to the world at large.

plains of Caracas on its left bank and near its embouchure, covered with flocks of cattle and mules, furnished a grand source of commerce. Rafts with excellent timber for beams, and plank used also to descend from its vicinity, on which the raftsmen came floating amain snugly lodged in their little cabbins. They had carried their grain and every thing transportable on these; which they sold at a moderate yet profitable price, from the cheapness of conveyance.

The Meta country was then and is rather a desert; there being very few inhabitants except wandering Guahivos unsusceptible of subjection, between its mouth and the settlements of Macuco; yet these colonists sometimes navigate with launches to Angostura, bringing cargoes of flour, sugar, cotton cloth, table cloths, hammocks, fresadas, which they vend at reasonable profits.*

Travellers have remarked, how Spanish prosperity was retarded by want of roads and canals.. the natural effect of another want of liberty and security: and Humboldt has taken notice of the like defect in the colonies.- "when we consider the bold undertakings of the first Spanish conquerors in Mexico, Peru, and on the river Amazons, we are astonished to find that for two centuries the same nation could not find a road by land in New Spain from Taos to Monterey; in New Granada, from Santa Fe to Carthagena; and in Guayana, from Esmeralda to Angostura." [Essay on New Spain, ch. viii lib III.] It is still more strange, that they should interdict the natural high-ways which were often good substitutes for the artificial.

To remove the possible recurrence of such obstructions, if for no other grievance, a revolution was warrantable, just and holy.

Innumerable articles of commerce may be extracted from the vegitable and animal stores of Guayana [and other provinces] of the former. The staple growths are cotton and tobacco. Wherever I saw either, it was in the most flourishing state: whether at San Antonio, Upata, Capapui, Pastora, Guasipati, Carrapo, Miamo, &c. &c. Indeed the finest samples of maize, cotton, [I speak not of species but of growth] cane and plantains, are found in the fields. The missionary gardens are stocked [as before observed] with tropical fruits - pauypaw papaya, guayava, sapote, guanavana, manna, oranges, limes fig-trees and many others.* Leguminous plants, as fesoles, &c. - and cabbage, tomates, lettuce, berengena, hinojo, culantro, mustard, native pepper [aji] and a hundred herbs more grow exuberantly.

On the plantations of several missions, if not elsewhere, the tobacco plants undergo three or four several cuttings, each succeeding new growth, being less acrid than the first.

* In one garden near Angostura, on a space not exceeding half an acre. I counted the following species of fruit trees, or those used for hedges. Mata de ratones [from the rat-like shape of the fruit] castaña, Chesnut [bread fruit] Prune, rose apple [poma rosa] nisperos tamarinds, orange, pomegranate, mango, tatuamo [calibash tree] aguacate [alligator pear, called by the French avocatier] the Laurus Persea which answers likewise to shade the cacao] date, coco, lime, fig, vine, plantain, guanabana, [or sour sop] cacao, manarote, coffee shrub, piña [pine apple] marcure anato, merei [cashaw nut] to give them their popular names. The hedge, a fine one, was composed of guamacho, jobo and peñon; which grow so compactly as to require no pleachery. The jobo, cut in pieces or steps, grows as readily as the sallow; - the other two bear a fruit, and that of the peñon is medicinal. Every inhabitant seems to be a piece of a botanist or physician, & affably informs the stranger of the property of each tree and fruit in his garden or forest, from the Cedar that is in Lebanon, to the hyssop that springs from the wall. what is edible, what noxious, what will answer for a cataplasm a cathartic, as Cquissa, Cañafistula, &c. - what serves for incense, what for ornament, or for cabinet work. He rehearses all... and lets you know his whole skill in pharmacy. Many gardens contain more species than this. In mountainous parts, the inhabitants can add all the fruit-trees of Europe to this tropical stock.

After yielding this number of crops the plantation is renewed. Some prefer the tobacco of Upata to that of Barinas; but caprice, not taste seems to direct all choice in the species of Nicotiana. - Guayana formerly supplied some tobacco for consumption at Cumana and Barcelona; for the famous tobacco of Cumanacoa, which some believe to surpass that of Barinas, was very scarce. Under prohibition, the quantity bore no proportion to the quality. The tobacco of Rio Negro is more aromatic than the growth of Cumana. Humboldt ranks it next to the tobacco of Cuba. Cigars of pretty good quality, are manufactured from the tobacco of Guayana.

Cotton returns likewise, 3. 4 or 5 crops; a circumstance apt to surprise a person accustomed to regard the gossy-plant, only as an annual plant; not recollecting that some species like that of Hindustan, become lofty trees if left untouched; & the same thing happens in Guayana, where I have seen them fifty feet high. The Commissioner in Guasipati, assured me, that he preferred retoñing it [to adopt his own phrase from retoño a sprout] and running the chance of crop after crop - rooting up the shrubs, disturbing the mould, sowing anew, and exposing the soil to be washed away by annual rains. The benefit [or the contrary] of this course, can only be decided by comparing its results with those of annual planting.

A species of cotton of a very dark yellow, is raised in Pastora and other missions; and is greatly prized for its use in various fabrics. I do not think it has the very fine, silky fibre which distinguishes that of Siam and China, so much used in fabricating nankeens.

If Venezuela does not yet cultivate the best

sorts of cotton-seeds, there cannot exist a doubt of the fulness of her soil and climate to produce in perfection the Bourbon, if not the sea-island cotton.— What thrives in Surinam, Cayenne, and Pernambuco, cannot degenerate in Caracas or Guayana.

Excepting now and then a choice hammock, there is not machinery nor sufficient skill among the Indians to furnish any manufactures to commerce; nor is it very necessary, perhaps in their present condition. Hereafter, the subject may be debated by their posterity. The raising of the raw material may employ them at a time when its imports into England have risen in 38 years from about 5 millions to 80,000,000 lbs. In those missions where the traveller is sure of receiving the most hospitable attentions from the commandants, one is agreeably surprised to find so much industry and fertility after passing over barren tracts or uncultivated wilderness.— [It is true, as to the mere fertility and the quantity of rich land, I was disappointed, because the assertions of Humboldt and half a dozen more had raised my expectations far above the plain fact.] One is gratified with the hum of business—and with strange contrasts—the extremities of ages and improvements seem bent together like the emblematic serpent. A silversmith is hammering jewelry, pendants & earrings for the Indian girl; and some of these are spinning cotton with the distaff and spindle. Through all their processes of labour, one involuntarily smiles at the rudeness of their implements, betokening the lowest stage of the mechanic arts.— Their contentment seems the natural consequence of occupation. Possibly the reverend fathers who had presided over the spiritual and temporal affairs of those villages, were of the same mind with certain

Mexicans who deprecated labor-saving inventions lest they should make people lazy – a very different motive from that which actuates English mobs, who are averse to machinery, lest it set them idle, for want of work.* When the first water mill was introduced into Mexico, both Spaniards and Indians held a festival – the Indian women especially were overjoyed at being relieved from the hard drudgery of shelling and grinding the grain and corn by hand – "but a Mexican [says Gomara] indulged in much jest "and raillery at such a machine; affirming that "it would reduce mankind to such idleness and e- "quality, as would render it impossible to distinguish "between master and man; that the ignorant were born "to toil and servitude, – the intelligent to enjoy do- "mestic and leisure." Proper doctrine for a savage Cacique. On this shore of the Atlantic, I hope, that mechanical invention may never be the prelude, cause and very synonime of misery.' but prove a purveyor of a comfort – not wretchedness!

Indigo appears to grow to perfection in this province, but its cultivation is pretty generally suspended since the war.

Among the indigenous gifts bestowed by nature, upon Guayana, and some other regions of South America, a species of maize that comes to maturity in two months from the time of planting, is not the least valuable. The ear is much smaller than the common yellow kind. With the care of irrigating the ground, planted with this maize, for a

* When Hargreaves invented the jenny, about 1767 he was obliged to keep it concealed; but some rumors of it reaching out a mob burst into his house, destroyed the innocent spinster, and broke Hargreaves furniture

Having substituted the vertical for the horizontal wheel, and constructed several machines with 12 & 18 spindles each for his friends in Lancashire, popular alarm grew into phrenzy a second time, and every machine was destroyed that the inflamed workmen could discover in any part of the County.

As the carding machine was introduced, a belief universally prevai

about 3 or 3½ months of the dry season, it is perfectly practicable to raise five crops a year. The rainy season and nortes of the dry second the cultivator [quoad hoc] for eight months annually. In that climate, this corn undoubtedly stands next in productiveness to the finest sorts of the plaintain, which affords an incomparably greater quantity of food to man, than any of the bulbous or tuberose, or cereal plants. Not only this maize [which I first saw in the missions of Miamo] is indigenous, - and sometimes named onona by the natives - but according to Gumilla, a species of rice: In this he avers he could not be mistaken, as he had lived in Valencia, in Spain, where that grain was common. [Orinoco Illustrado ii. 231.] But Humboldt is of opinion that early tourists had mistaken the chenopodium quinoa for the oryza sativa first cultivated in Spain by the Arabs, and carried thence with various seeds and plants to America [Essay on New Spain, lib. IV ch. 9.]

When the herds of cattle, so greatly thinned by the effects of the war, or other causes, shall be removed in the hatos of the missions and of the province throughout; when mules and horses again crowd the potreros and yeguadas of San Felipe, Upata, Santa Cruz, and Palma, &c. &c. the Guayanese will enjoy the superior advantages which their geographical situation gives them in this traffic over every other province of Venezuela. Vessels descending the Orinoco with the current, can fetch the most windward islands, or Demerara, &c. or at option run farther to leeward by a favoring breeze, than it is possible to do from any port westward of it. - When steam power shall be employed

that all manual labor would be annihilated by the use of those machines; when a third and fifteen mol in 1779. increased the county and discharged all machinery turned by water or horses, &c

Those were the evils of apprehension; now the malcontents have real cause - not for rising in tumult - but for discontent. If to compare small with great, their government waged war so wantonly and so long - from apprehension, that it cannot now subsist in peace!

to overcome the effects of calms and currents, the navigation of this river will be a constant spur to industry and an inexhaustible source of opulence.

The dessemenation of the artificial grasses. [as they are called] especially the Guinea grass. none of which I saw in the lower Missions, would certainly bring more prosperity to the missionary hatos by nourishing the cattle substantially, than orisons to the great mediatrix herself. Fodder and frugality are better than supplications to Hercules. In Spain there are thousands who think, that the religious can prevent or charm away murrains and all the diseases of cattle. Some monks make a lucrative circuit for this purpose every year, but in general those doctors attend more to the weakness of the owners than the flocks. In Pastora, it is not carried so far. yet, there, the avowal of a selfish motive detracts from grateful panegyric, or pious invocation. But the good, innocent people of Pastora, have as clear a right to their sentiments as we to ours. And those industrious Indians seemed as happy, as the Commandant and Commissioner were strict, zealous, affable, intelligent & kind.

* Among the inscriptions, in honor of the Divine Shepherdess [patroness of the hato] on the door of the Convent hall, adjoining the church, is the following advertisement, enclosed in a flowered border:

"Ave Maria purissima!"

Rezando esta salutacion ganan dos mil dos y 20 dias de indulgencia y lo mismo respondiendo.

Sin pecado Concebida

Viva la Divina Pastora del hato, — A.D. 1811."

Purest Mary, Hail!

By reciting this salutation, 2020 days of grace and indulgence are obtained, and the same by responding

Without sin Conceived!

Glory to the heavenly Shepherdess of the hato — A.D. 1811.

This notice which implies a professed contract, was probably intended for the Indians, who in performance of their daily tasks, passed through the hall to the stores and garden in rear of the church; or, in other times it might have been intended for the devout exercise of those who were godly by profession. The advertisement is little attended to. But let all pursue their choice; for after all,

[illegible]

Vines thrive well in the heights: the parras in the garden of Santa Maria produced abundant clusters of the most excellent grapes. Considering only the heats, one would believe that planting by trellis, would be unsuitable in this climate, so different from that of the provinces of Spain, where they often meet in lofty arbors across alleys and roads - but the closer to the earth, and the more unsupported, they would be a little more in the reach of those insect-pests, the swarms of Vachacos, or large red ants. Numberless battalions of those invaders, in two or three days stripped a large square of muscadine vines to their last leaf, carrying the leaves to their granaries with ceaseless diligence. The tart grapes in the same garden, and equally within their reach, they did not touch.' For several rods together, you might see these indefatigable creatures, coming and going, marching and countermarching, in various tracts and in regular file. Each division seemed to pad their path,* and keep their line of march. At night they did not intermit their toils to take repose; for at 9 P.M. several divisions were foraging for grains of maize, every one bearing his burden. These busy marauders, who like greater ones "reap where they do not sow," levy the heaviest contribution on the farmer, in a climate where frost is unknown, and where it seems an impossibility to extirpate them. No fragrant leaf or blossom escapes their depredations. It was doubtless the forecast and perseverance of these tribes, and not their propensity to plunder, that Solomon set as a pattern before the slothful man.

* —— "formica terens iter," which figures so finely in the poets as prognostics of rain, tempest, &c. has more dominion, makes more forced loans and requisitions in Guayana, than in Italy.

The length of the rainy season accounts for their matchless activity during the dry. - The holes that are scooped and the hillocks thrown up by vachacos and other tribes of the ant, almost justify the idea of a regular society & civil polity, harped on by old authors - so that a reverend missionary has missed his aim, when he contemptuously speaks of some Indian nation as being worse governed than an 'ant hill!' Had Gumilla stretched his remark to most governments and kingdoms, he would have hit the mark, for the ants appear to tolerate no idlers in their community. Nevertheless their industry is mischievous; and the entomologist who shall teach the Southern people how to exterminate the brood [no matter by what guerra à muerte] will be certain of gratitude, of Statues, monuments and immortality!

Bancroft and others, who have treated of the natural History of Guayana, though none of them have completed such a work in its fullest extent, will best instruct the curious inquirer what articles can be made subservient to commerce. Every plant that requires heat, moisture, and generous soil, must grow thrivingly, wherever trees abound in mountain or vale. Uplands naturally bare of timber, are universally sterile. — Where the cane and banana shoot up apace, there will the batate, ignane, the yuca, and every esculent [tropical] root, flourish too. Where the bread-fruit is instantly naturalized, the native cinnamon, Tonquin bean, and nutmeg may be improved.

A completed natural History of Guayana, would bring into notice many an article estimable in commerce, & hitherto unknown: but, a performance of this character cannot be expected, perhaps, unless from the hand of a Lee, or some other Naturalist equally capable; some disciple, like him, of the illustrious Mutis.* some in-

* This distinguished botanist and philosopher, had forwarded to Spain, as I am informed above 120 boxes of specimens or collections in botany, before his works appeared. Twenty seven painters were employed in Santa Fe to paint his drawings or plants. Caldas, Zea, Torres, Pombo, eminent, commenced a scientific work on the agriculture and products of New Granada, which embraced other topics of the highest interest. This was the "Semanario" of Santa Fé, in which he and his coadjutors displayed talents that surprised and terrified the enemies of American freedom. They trembled at the developement of such mental and physical resources, and resolved to put an extinguisher on both. With the Peruvian Mercury, of Lima, another work devoted to Natural History, Geography, &c. &c. the Semanario was proscribed by the royal government.)

ator of the erudition of Caldas, and the eloquence of the martyred Torres. The "Essay on the Natural History of Guayana," by Bancroft, is creditable to the author's good sense and philosophical spirit of research, considering the time and circumstances in which he wrote. It is to be regretted, that he scarcely travelled beyond the maritime district of Demerary — a field of observation too much circumscribed. He reviews many subjects common to the vegetable and animal kingdoms both of Spanish and Dutch Guayana, - but his herbal is scanty; he passes by many more invaluable trees and plants without mention. With a better opportunity, the same acute judgment which dispelled much fabulous darkness and futile theory relative to the Torporific Eel, would have thrown a blaze of light on the vast, wild, herbaceous and ill-explored "Botanic Garden" of the interior. — Mr. B——k, from New England, I hear, had been prosecuting researches in the botany and Zoology of Guayana both; but his enquiries were interrupted by the war, and he returned from Angostura. Possibly he may one day resume his labors, and give us the result.

Among the useful plants of Guayana, Bancroft describes the cotton-shrub; two species of ricinus, or castor-bush; the achiote, or rocou (bixa orellana) used with the gum of the Mauna-tree as an Indian pigment; silk grass plant, susceptible of many very useful applications; mashlant; Ocre; edda; siliqua hirsuta, (or cowitch) an excellent vermifuge; ginger reed, &c. Though Mr. Bancroft shows that the Indian Yams (as he terms it) "a farinaceous root of a reddish purple color" with dilated leaves, is indigenous in Guayana, he is silent on the more disputed point — whether coffee is the spontaneous growth of the continent; * but this rather interests botanists than merchants. After a sketch of the rarer fruits, he describes a few of their more remarkable trees, their wood or other qualities, - as the stately cabbage-tree 120 feet in height, and some smaller species, - the formerly very common in Guayana and Trinidad; - lofty silk cotton tree; locust tree, 70 or 80 feet high and 9 in diameter, remarkable for the kernels of its large nuts, like Windsor beans; Letter-wood; three species of the Green Heart, (Sipeira or pui) the pride of the

forest, and the most [illegible]
bullet, bow, and iron wood; - all these, except the [illegible]
tree, love a dry, elevated soil. Lignumvitæ, ebony, sas-
tic, and cedar are well-known. He confirms the as-
sertion of Wafer, that the bark of the red mangrove,
on account of its astringent qualities, is used for tan-
ning leather. The ducollabolla takes a more elegant
polish than mahogany. Trees of medicinal proper-
ties next follow: the cano-fistula (cassia-fistula as he
calls it) with depending pods; carapo, so valuable
for its oleaginous nuts, with the oil of which, the
Natives annoint their bodies to prevent excessive per-
spiration, and also to avoid catching cold; it has al-
so been supposed a specific for the gout; / savory tree,
with the most exquisite nuts; simaruba-tree, whose
bark is deemed a specific in dysentary; wallaba-tree,
whose bark is emetical; - nutmeg, whose qualities
are familiar to all; balsam tree, arrecocerra, superior
to that of Tolu; anime and capive; camphor-tree, its
bark being punctured, distils a gum resembling that
of Borneo - The hearree and caruna are poisonous: -
the wurare (or curare) with which the points of arrows
are envenomed, is said to be a Vine species of bejuco, or Clymbers
that runs from tree to tree. The roots of the hiarree are
cut into convenient lengths, bruised and thrown into riv-
ers, &c. (when still, either at high or low water) to ine-
briate fish. Troolies are huge leaves 20 or 30 feet long,
each growing on its respective stem which rises from the
root, and becomes the mid-rib to the leaf running
through its whole length: in some situations is more
useful to thatch huts, &c. than the leaves of the
Talipot-tree of the East. The white ipecacuhana
is the root of a plant bearing a stalk three feet
high, with large pointed leaves and yellow blossoms,
&c. &c. — The launa is a singular tree, about 50
feet high, with long pointed leaves bearing an oval
fruit large as a Lisbon lemon; the juice of which, ex-
posed to air, turns from white to a deep bluish pur-
ple color. By macerating the pulp in water, a pig-
ment is made with which the natives draw 423
manner of figures on their bodies, - indelible for
process, - but then becomes

ment is made with which the natives draw
manner of figures on their bodies,- indelible for
9 or 10 days, by any process,- but then becomes in
visible. "From this fruit a beautiful ink is like
wise made, which, however, in a short time become
invisible, and is therefore capable of serving many
fraudulent purposes; for which reason its use
is prohibited under the severest penalties." (See Bar
crofts "Essay" p. 76.) Treaty breakers and fraudulent
emitters of promissory notes of all sorts, will cer-
tainly not forget the merits of this changeable,
camelion ink!

Although Anderson has added much to the fund
of natural history, and Humboldt has further recruit-
ed the tall ranks of the arbolist, - yet, half the work
is not done. Even the preceding abstract shows
the wealth of Guayana in the vegetable kingdom.

* Bruce found the coffee shrub growing every where at Caffa, and
the country near the hills, a region not more favorable to it than the moun-
tains of Guayana. - That of the islands and of Surrenam, we believe is of the Ara-
bian stock, which the Dutch are said to have planted in Java, about
1690. In 1714 the merchants of Amsterdam presented a fine coffee bush
to Louis XIV, from which it is thought the
first seeds was sent to Martinique, in 1717. From this fine island
it spread over the west Indies, and the Dutch colonies. As the
story has been controverted, we leave it to persons better qualified
to unravel the knots of Natural History.

† "It is of a yellowish white color and bitterish taste, stomachic,
somewhat astringent, balsamic and diuretic" the back of the
root is superior to that of the branches.

The resinous timber in the mountains along the rivers, and some of the vallies of Guayana, must one day become precious for furniture and construction; and the more so, as it is not very accessible; for the savanas are mostly destitute of all trees except the stunted Chaparro and alcornoque. When good roads shall be opened to the mountains, and oxen and horses are harnessed for draught, to bring timber from thence, this branch may become valuable. We may guess at its product by recollecting that our manufactures from wood in 1810 were estimated above $5.000.000. (not always) United them, the United States may advantageously export many articles of house hold furniture, and much gross manufactures, to South America, as we shall specify hereafter.

The mere [Cashaw nut] alone, growing abundantly every where, would constitute as valuable an item of exports, as the nuts, filberts, and chesnuts of Catalonia and Asturias, &c. the ridges of Cuyapui, of Alta Gracia, and the mountains be-

tain between the latter and San Felix, abound in cusparé, or Angostura bark. Cortex Angosturæ has I can attest, were it necessary, after Humboldt has stated the fact. Should it maintain its reputation in foreign countries as a febrifuge [which is problematical] it will add to the articles of commerce. Guayana has numerous dye-woods; some very important, discovered by Doct. Lea, which require no other mordaunt to fix the color. The aromatic cunasire whose very shavings when cast on coals, exhale the odors of frankincense,* "the white and red cedar of that country, the anime and tremendous algarrobo," as Gumilla styles it, distilling two or three pounds of resin diaphanous as chrystal, besides its fruit, — with the curucay, possessing some very similar properties, must sooner or later be a fund of profit. If I remember rightly, the ceiling of the elegant church at Guasipata, was washed or varnished with the gum of the curucay — it glittered in the light like polished steel. I began indeed to fancy it might be the identical gum described by Ulloa, under the name of mopa-mopa, and which that illustrious man had seen in Pasto, in the province of Popayan. — It had the lustre of Chinese laque, and so tenacious that when solved, laid on furniture and dried, it was almost impossible to loosen it.

Plantations of the coco-tree flourish in every part of the tropics — the oil and fruit as beautiful as refreshing, and profitable as the "marshalled ranks" are ornamental. When the young tree is planted remote from the sea, a quantity of salt is deposited about the roots; it is known to vegetate with vigor when accident flings the fruit near the salt sea beach. The fine grove of cocos, on the E.S.E. shore of Trinidad, sprung from the wreck of some Guaraunos' boats from the Oronoco in 1730, the nuts on board being

* Oronoco Illustrado i 248. T

driven ashore. without other care or tendance, they germinated, struck root, and rose a lofty grove, a luxury to the inhabitants - a landmark to the pilots, and a grateful shade to the contemplative tourist, who omits no incident, if connected with the history of a national struggle.* Humboldt values a coco tree at $2.50

[In running down the flat coast from Cape Nassau, the E extremity of the river Pomaron, to make the mouth of Guayma, in order to enter the Oronoco with exactness, you must first Point Cocales or Coco-nut Point is the surest landmark. So useful may a peculiar tree become to navigators, from its rarity on a drowned coast, where in order to enter the Oronoco [if sailing from the E.] with exactness, you must first make the mouth of the river Guayma,† between the Pomaron and Oronoco.]

Two other species of palm, the moriche and gragru, are of signal use to the aborigines of the coast and to others. From the former they derive food, hammocks, and covering: the trunk furnishes plank for walls or floors; the splinters and leaves form a roof: of the fibres of the leaves they make chinchorros or net work hammocks; from the meddulary substance or pith, they extract flour and starch. The moriche

* See Voyage aux iles de Trinidad &c. tom. 1 page 17. During the revolutionary war of the United States Count D'Estaing, who always behaved like a father to his sailors and soldiers, kept a proper constantly plying to this coco beach, and collecting the fruit which he had distributed among the crews of his squadron. This prudent measure preserved the mariners from scurvy, and promoted their health.

† As this fact may possibly be of accidental service to some of our seafaring brethren, we extract the following scrap from Alcedo's Derroteros &c. "From the river Pomaron follows the coast of Guayana, without varying in any wise from the preceding till the Point Cocales, which is distinguished by forming a creek or bay to the S. and by having to the W. some very lofty coco-nut trees, which are the only ones on the coast, the rest being filled with mangroves. From this point you must steer to N.W. and N.N.W. taking care to keep in five or six fathoms water, in order to avoid a bank of mud which is about two leagues and a half to the N.N.W. of it, and having sailed about 12 leagues on the said course, you will discover the mouth of Guayana, situate in the latitude of 8° 25' N. The ascertaining of this mouth, the only one on all the coast, is very important to those who are in quest of the grand mouth of the Oronoco, from there being no other point where you can make a land mark with security and its configuration cannot be mistaken, not only on account of the entrance or opening it presents, but by three heights or mounts which will be seen within the land towards the S.W. if the day is clear." A digression in favor of a useful fact will be tolerated - when it is recollected how many shipwrecks happen on that Coast for want of the precautions of getting far enough to windward.

likewise supplies their fishing apparatus; and its clustering fruit, when roasted, are tolerable food. — When the trunks decay, of the latter, especially, numbers of thick, white worms are generated from the vegetable oil, &c. which are eaten fried. They are rich as marrow, deemed the rarest delicacy by epicures, and are eagerly sought for the tables of the magnifices in Trinidad. Were this luxury an exportable article, that island would afford it a fine market! Some think that this article of consumption ought to have been left to the Guaraounos [Indians]; but it is as futile to dispute about tastes as it is to squabble about religion.

In the two species of bread fruit tree, which grow as sturdily in Guayana, as in Otaheite or Trinidad, the natives find another embellishment, and another variety of wholesome food: for indeed, possessing the yuca [of both sorts] batate and banana, diversity only was wanting. Dried by heat, it is supposed the bread fruit might become an important article of provision on long voyages, or of export to foreign countries. On the beautiful estate of St Hilaire Beggorat, Esq. in Trinidad, consisting of mountain and plain finely diversified, and which I visited, with some esteemed friends, there are 800 bread-fruit trees in full bearing and beauty. Having once blossomed, this tree gives plentious supplies of fruit for five months following. M. M. Beggorat holds it in high estimation, but the negroes prefer the fruit of the plantain. French cultivators of science, have wonderfully improved this interesting island in horticulture and other branches. — As soil and climate are similar, what grows

here, will flourish also in Guayana.- On the mountainous part of the estate just noticed are 10.000 coffee shrubs; 4000 cinnamon trees in a field below; from which Mr. B. has successfully prepared much cinnamon, and extracted the essential oil. Indeed if this island were governed with less arbitrariness, its soil could not fail to attract many emigrants from other colonial territories. *

From what has been stated, it is evident that the exact amount of commerce, revenue, and population of Guayana, is not easily ascertained. The common herds of the Capuchins, were exempt from tithe - which was badly paid on other flocks and products. Contraband was fostered by unwise prohibitions: the very officers of government sometimes became smugglers, and at all times could be induced to connive at illicit trade. In the only instance recorded of a person being regularly denounced for smuggling, the informer was assassinated - a sum of money having been given, openly. I may say for the purpose. Neither the governor nor the garrison, not even flight could save the victim. After being stabbed, but rescued in the barrack, the luckless fellow was traced and pursued to a country village, whither he had fled for safety, and deliberately lanced. The assassin rode back, without molestation, and received his wages, $300 [as I was informed] for the job. Crimes like this, the consequence of injustice or misgovernment, will gradually cease with their cause. The paltry item of $4000

* Avenues bordered with the spiral and royal palm, and gardens adorned with the cucumber tree, pimento, myrtle and bayamet orange, pomegranate, Otaheite banana, garlick pear, palmetto and vanilla-vine leaning on the calabash tree are common here. The latter grows as well on the top of a little fertile, shady mountain as at the foot of it. Some maloneys were in Mr. B's garden which were of unusual size. Above I had seen growing in the Missions of Guayana between Miamo and the late foundation of Santa Rosa Cur.

for tithe, or $ 388, 200 for exports of specie and produce to Spain in 4 years, ~~[illegible]~~, are hardly worth notice, except to show the abandonment of the colony: but in her infant condition the exportation of so many cattle and mules to the islands, evinces what she is capable of becoming in future, when every thing concurs in her favor, as every thing has heretofore conspired against her.

Depons was nearer the fact than Lavaysse, who huddles together a population of 52.000 souls, exclusive of unsubdued, independent natives. Guayana does not possess half the number. She is greatly depopulated by war and disease, and there has been much dispersion on account of insecurity. When the latter cause is discontinued, many will return from their haunts and help to till the soil.

-Whether there be, as some conjecture, a numerous body of demi-civilised natives in the interior, around Lake Parime, who have hitherto repelled the traveller as well as the conqueror, is (for us) an unprofitable enquiry. If the hardy Indians of those parts, screened by mountain-barriers, and defended by their courage, have so obstinately preserved their independence, they deserve to enjoy it. They had better remain half barbarous and free than enter colonial society, by the gate of slavery or superstition - run its wretched, servile round and terminate in barbarism again. Their strength would seem to denote union, and consequently to augur considerable advancement in the social state; yet the civilization of Mexico, of Bogota, of Quito and Peru, has never been found in any part of Venezuela. Raleigh's visions of the populous empire of Guayana; its splendid cities, towns temples and [illegible] treasure,

governed by a descendant of the Incas of Peru, &c. are in nubebus - founded on the narrative or wild speculations of Ciega and Lopez. It was probably that old conjecture, connected with the more recent disclosures respecting the Muysca Indians, which gave birth to the present surmises. If the aborigines of the interior surpass the other tribes; if they till the ground, domesticate animals and maintain a civil polity, one would suppose that the Dutch, French and Portuguese or Spaniards, surrounding them on every side, ought to have learned the fact. If they possess superior union and strength, they must also possess superior justice, since they abstain from conquest - and this consideration renders the belief chimerical. Be this as it may, they do not belong to the association of the province, and contribute nothing to its commerce or ability. They are inhabitants of Parime or Manoa [as what you will] not citizens of Venezuela. The Guaiheros of Santa Marta are not freer, than the Guayacas of Guayana. The Indians and other settlers of Rio Negro send down skins and grass cables, &c. to Angostura and Trinidad - but the people about whom we have been guessing, have furnished nothing.

Reflecting on the natural advantages of this neglected province, one is tempted to exclaim, with the respected deputy of Cohauila, in the Cortes, relative to the destitution of the Internal Provinces of Mexico: "Unfortunate Inhabitants! what would now be your opulence, had you not had to struggle for ages under the heavy burden of so many vexations heaped on your industry by the avarice of monopolists and ambition of the great!" - But there is some difference. - Man-

ufactures were not indispensible to the Guayan-
ese,- a young colony situated near the sea, which
might for a long time, have exchanged its produce for
foreign goods.- The little manufactories of the
Missions were a necessary part of the policy of
segregating the natives from the whites - just as no
ferry-boat was tolerated on the Caroni.' A se-
questered, as well as a moneyless people must
manufacture their own goods. When idlers and
monopolists of all sorts cease to fatten on the
industry of others, the agriculture of Guay-
ana will be more than adequate to all its
wants; its coarse factories will vanish before
better and cheaper, until the advance of
population, the accumulation of materials &
skill capacitate the people to manufacture
for themselves,- The time is remote. With the
blessings of independence and free commerce,
which we wish her to enjoy, all Venezuela may
sustain a numerous, prosperous and happy
people... Guayana particularly, are very respectable. Their resources,

Seven different writers [and many mo
for aught I know] have pointed out the pe-
culiar advantages of the Oronoco and the cap-
ital of this province. M. Humboldt remark
"that Angostura will necessarily be at some f
"ture period, a place of trade of high im-
"portance, especially when the flour of New
"Granada, embarked above the confluence of
"the [little] Rio Negro and the Amadea, shall
"be preferred at Caracas and Guayana, to the
"flour of New England [of the middle and
"western States rather.] It is of great ad-
"vantage to the provinces of Venezuela, that

"their territorial wealth is not directed to one
"point, like that of Mexico and New Granada which
"flows to Vera Cruz and Carthagena, but that
"they possess a great number of towns, equally
"well peopled, and forming so many various cen-
"tres of commerce and civilization." [Pol. Nar. vol.
iii - 402 - 3.]

This eminent man had already predicted in his elaborate Essay, on New Spain, that "When the road which is constructing from the table land of Perote to Vera Cruz shall be completely finished, the grain of New Spain will be exported for Bordeaux, Hamburg and Bremen. The Mexicans will then possess a double advantage over the inhabitants of the United States; that of a greater fertility of territory and that of a lower price of labor."

As there is a sufficiency of space and air, and light, for all the inhabitants of the globe; so I believe it will appear that the prosperity of nations need not be, and prosperity is not in mutual conflict. The æra of South American liberty and industry, and their natural concomitants, felicity and affluence, cannot arrive too soon either for our wishes or our interests. Fear and envy are bad counsellors; all governments who have steered by their suggestions have run on shoals or quick sands. Invidious policy is absurd as wicked. Paralyzed be the brain that would imagine, palsied the hand that would erect obstructions to the welfare of our neighbor! Sound policy and strict morality have long been re-

conceited in the minds of the great and wise; it is only the cunning, the tyrannical and the base who, resisting the irradiation of knowledge and experience, neither receiving nor reflecting light, remain fixed in their native opacity - churlish as the boor, and sordid as the miser; it is only they who stand ready to subserve the purpose of oppression and monopoly by levying contribution and imposing disability on virtuous industry. In the competition of labor, it is never the generous or industrious who seek undue privilege. They are content, as Ajax in the battle, with day light and fair play, and only want, like Diogenes their share of sunshine. - Labor is not only the hand-maid of wealth, but the ruffled nurse of republican virtue; therefore the sinister arts of idleness and despotism combine to burden or enslave it. So highly do some economists estimate it, that they placed all the advantages of society & the account of its good direction, all its embarrassments & the misdirection of it. Let us then disabuse the people of the South, and vindicate those of the United States against the most unworthy imputations. But, we do not attribute illiberality to Humboldt - he is far above it. But not so with many who cannot perceive his errors. Venezuela and New Granada cannot have too many productions or enjoyments for our desire: On a calculation of interests their opulence can never clash with ours. What is commerce? An exchange between wealth and indigence! Resumteneates?- or between equals, advantageous to both? It is assuredly the latter; for, the motion of the

former, in the nature of things. Stops as soon as it begins: superior means cannot for the same reason, continue an unequal barter with inferior — nor inexhaustible with exhaustible. — Means and wants, consumption and production have their inviolable laws. For Society, if we have paupers, must we not support them by alms; if we cannot find them employment? How irrational then, is the doctrine which would make pauper-nations in order to maintain the balance of trade! Where designs of conquest are not entertained, it is folly; and where they are, it is knavery. Arguments grounded either on monopoly or conquest, necessarily include a fallacy: it is only thus that injustice can venture to oppress right. But it often happens that an erroneous tenet is repeated from misconception, solely by persons who are unfriendly to oppression and monopoly. Like other spurious coin, it circulated perhaps with the true; and some into whose hands it fell, could not distinguish the counterfeit sign from the real. Cavils against our intercourse with South America, are, in our opinion, like base coin — which ought to be cried down and put out of circulation.'

As consumers of tropical productions, we must wish to be relieved from European caprice, which denies us a regular reciprocal trade with the insular colonies, which are opened to us, only when famine threatens them. South American emancipation undoes the effect of this illiberal jealousy forever. The more Southern staples we consume, the better customer will South America be for our commodities — for recent relations cannot last — and a losing trade must be abandoned. — She will need foreign manufactures; and at some day not remote, we must become manufacturers to

a certain extent; though it is not desirable that we should depend too much on manufactures, any more than on agriculture exclusively. For her coffee, sugar, cacao, hides, gums, vanilla, cochineal, specie, drugs, &c. she will receive in exchange our salted fish, spermaceti candles, tar, beef, pork, staves, and lumber; boots, shoes, saddlery, brushes, hats, chairs, and household furniture; letter and marbled paper, - porter, ale cyder, hams, bacon, cheese, butter, spirits of turpentine, wrought nails; - wrought copper and brass, lead and shot; gun powder, pistols, and fuzees, skins and hides dressed and tanned; and before long perhaps, cottons and cotton stockings, with many other articles, as we see by looking into the lists of Spanish exports to South America. Our artizans, engineers and shipbuilders may conveniently supply steam boats of light draught, so necessary to the navigation of the Orinoco, the Magdalena, and more rapid Chagres &c. Buka

In the circle of our probable relations with S. America, scarcely a ground of collision meets the eye of the statesman - let the profoundest puck ster presage what ill he may. It is not worth while to discriminate between the trembling monopolist, whose soul is filled with direful forbodings, lest tobacco grow in this province, or too much cinnamon in that island: lest the tide will rise and drown his paltry interests; or the harsher, invidious dictator who would control the ebb and flow of the ocean. The sun will shine, the rain will fall, on all alike; and the sea will undulate, and swell and chafe, whether Xerxes or Canute condescend to permit these operations or not. Moral and political

laws, and all their consequent revolutions, are equally irreversable with the physical laws of motion. Changes in South America are certain; and "we must take the current while serves or lose our ventures." In the prospective melioration of our neighbors, we not merely acquiesce - we rejoice.

But South America will cheapen our labor, and undersell us: for Baron Humboldt estimates the relative prices of labor, in Mexico, at 10; in France at 12; in the United States at 26, & in Bengal, at 2. [Vol. II 481 Black's translation, in note.] Were the nefarious evil of paper-money, the worst ever spawned since the elements retired from Chaos & their ordained positions - or were this monstrous pest even limited to certain bounds in social rapine - there would be little difference about the matter. Whatever tends to destroy the scourge, is a blessing. I wonder that Humboldt standing on eminence, did not cast a glance behind next, and follow the chain of consequences. Did he not foresee that until South America be surcharged with population, the price of labor will rise? Every cut of the revolutionary sword prepares better wages, for the enfranchised laborer. A freeman must have more enjoyments than a slave - consumes more and produces more. As the feudal State, and its pertenances retire before the march of information, industry and equal rights, the workmen will exact better compensation. As the number of proprietors increase, wages and labor must increase. The rest of the world, however, have not thrown aside their spades, ploughs, implements, looms, because of the lowness of labor in Bengal. It is a general

and a just law, that money, like fluids, will flow to the lowest point, until a level is attained, or an equilibrium restored. If it have not happened precisely so with respect to Bengal, there must be a reason for it... the cause could not exist in all its latitude, or the effect would follow. Distance, political divisions, prohibitions, demand for luxuries of other quarters, diverted the current to those directions,- not to state half a dozen other suggestions. So that we must look at an object in more than one aspect, and observe it in all its phases.

Were governments as much busied, as nations are concerned in binding each other to good behaviour, they would find mutual interests the strongest tie; but governments oftener than further frustrate the vital advantages of all nations, either by setting up partial for general ones, or pushing domineering pretentions. People generally are interested in reducing currency to a reasonable extent; but one nation who wished to tyrannize over its neighbors, has only to pawn the labors and fortunes of a hundred generations to obtain its ends - at least vast means of mischief. By the mortiferous libertidical plan of mortgage, she can combine at a moment the resources of ages.. what is debt? - what is conscience ["unparliamentary word"] to it? what the happiness or misery of millions? "Havock and spoil and ruin are its gains" When Cæsar was bribing and corrupting all around him, plundering all people to enslave all, he made an open jest of running in debt - for usurpers have no scruples. "I want" said he, 250.000 sesterces to be worth nothing; i.e. to pay the debts already contracted. He knew, that with su-

preme command, he should be able to command coin enough - with men get money. and with money get men. The truncheon of power would be a cornucopia of wealth. Against the pecuniary power of credit or anticipation, society should array its united physical force - and it would then appear, as the Florentine politician maintained, that money is not always, nor necessarily the sinew of war. - Money is not omnipotent, - nor even the strongest power, ~~against~~ in a well-regulated association; where each is pledged to all, and all to each, ready to move like a Theban Band, wherever tyrants threaten. The society here gains by the united, dispatchful system, both in time and force - differently from the principle in mechanics; & if the unjust aggressor-government cannot conquer the world during its reign of credit - it must conquer itself from the recoil of its own machinery... and Labor, and Liberty will "stand redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled." Innocent competition returns and envy disappears; every thing tends to equability and justice. Labor left freely to operate, would reform the world; & in verity it seems as if it were dreaded as a reformer - since nations strive to cripple one another. - Statesmen in their respective circles, cannot too often repeat the assertion of Tracy: - All the good of human society is in the good application of labor; all the evil in its loss."

I hope this "vain terror" that stalks the world, and haunts malevolent or feeble minds will soon be laid forever; ~~even~~ either in the sea it has so often reddened, or on terra firma, we care not which. The really intelligent and industrious have an interest in expelling idle apprehensions and idle privileges. The latter needs better employment than that of simulating inge-

nious arguments to pass off sophistry for truth, and beguile the simple into the belief that unproductive classes ought to be tolerated, nay robed in privilege!

South American statesmen, I repeat, may learn saving lessons on this subject from the blindness and misfortunes of Spain. Once the foremost of European nations in arts and arms, civilization and industry; excelling in manufactures of linen, wool, silk, brass, leather, iron-work, cutlery, unrivalled: industry and freedom were sacrificed to privilege, to impositions, or to superstitious fears. Then her mines became the prize and recompence of more industrious nations; she became wretched with all her advantages, and powerless with all her resources - tyrannized at home, and lost respect abroad; her vitals and substance devoured at once, by 700,000 nobles; - 147,857 friars and religious - and [probably more destructive than both] above 100,000 persons engaged in courts of litigation, as lawyers, judges, notaries, scriveners, clerks, &c. interested in harassing the people by ambiguity and perplexity.* In short, according to Laborde, 1,221,799 persons, [27,000 tax gatherers included] were directly withdrawn from industry. — Of 10 millions or more, only 2,300,000 persons remained to work... and these hampered by grievous imposts and disqualifications. Those difficulties were unalterably confirmed by the laws respecting landed estate. "The greatest part of the lands in the Kingdom entailed on the families of the nobility or belonging to religious corporations, remains uncultivated, and the little that is alienable is sold above its value, on account of the difficulty of obtaining it. [See descriptive Itinerary. Pt. 1. Ch. II.]

* This is a terrible engine of chicane and power in all countries, and cannot be too pointedly reprobated. The order as such, are warmly opposed to the formation of a code of laws, intelligible to every man, woman and child governed by it; for all ought to understand the rule of action which all must conform.

It is deplorable, that people can be so reduced by their ignorance and remissness, or the wiles of rulers, as to put on such fetters and hug such chains. If people would calculate results of public affairs, [as they seldom or never do] the Spaniards might have taken a hint from the cost and fatigue of guarding their barilla fields every night from the depredations of the foxes, who are very fond of feeding on it — how far it was profitable or secure to leave the whole field of public concerns open to the ravages of three ravenous sets of hungry foxes. If in one case, a crop requited their vigilance — precaution in the other would have saved it, and all their earnings from the jaws of devourers more greedy than the four footed foxes, & more dangerous, as they sometimes persuade the people by their subtilty that bipid foxes are trusty guards. From the days of Samson the foxes have notoriously been great consumers, & their interests have been as closely and craftily linked together as if they had been dove-tailed. South America must look on the picture, to avoid the example of Spain. May her sons never suffer themselves to be drained by leeches of the vital fluid of a well-directed industry, as the turbos of Guayaquil are successively squeezed to death in order to obtain the purple dye.[x] The difference between tying up the hand of production, & preying upon its toilsome gains is too trivial for notice. It is pressing the shell-fish: but we commiserate the turbin, whilst the tame subjects of inglorious stripes and suffering are at the

[x] See Ulloa's voyages, vol. 1: p. 189 for an account of the turbines near Punta and Guayaquil. This shell fish is found clinging to rocks washed by the sea; it is replete with a juice consituted like its blood, that affords a beautiful purple dye. The turbin is not much bigger than a nut. They squeeze it so hard as to express its juice and then replace it on the rock; sometime after it undergoes a second pressing, but yields less than at first, and at the third or fourth very little, by which means the fish is exhausted beyond recovery. Surely, this poor shell fish is a type of mankind — of this were a place to moralize on Peruvian natural occurrences, fables, &c.

same time objects of contempt + they perish unpit-
ied and unregarded as the brute.

We see, therefore, that the importance of labor has not
been magnified either by charlatans or statists, by
friends or foes of freedom. We also perceive, that, as the
greatest producers can be the greatest consu-
mers, we are interested in wishing prosperity to all
people / I wish we could safely say all governments
/ especially to those of South America. With these
we hope to weave inseparable bonds of amity, thro
a hundred relations of sympathy, trade, policy &
interest - the golden links that bind nations in har-
mony. "It is on the banks of the Oronoco, that the
inhabitants of Santa Fé de Bogota will go to
exchange the produce of their soil for that of Eu-
ropeans and the inhabitants of the States of North
America; and Santa Fe will become the seat of
an extensive trade between Peru and other quar-
ters of the world." / Voyage aux iles, &c. et en Venezuela,
i.i.-301. / The latter prediction is disputable perhaps
the former is most true. Another route will pro-
bably be opened to Peru - excepting possibly the in-
terior districts conterminous with New Granada
and the Territories of Brazil. The Oronoco is the
only avenue to Guayana and the east part of
New Granada. It is not commonly known, with
what celerity a passage may be performed from
the northern ports in the United States to the coast
of Guayana. Leaving the capes of Delaware,
with a fair wind, the brig Ellen, Capt. Steele,
arrived at the mouth of the Oronoco, in the
13th day; a navigation more safe and rapid
than is commonly performed to New Orleans or
to Europe. I do not affirm that every voyage
can be made as expeditiously as the Ellen's, be-
cause every vessel does not sail so swiftly,

but in general, the distance may be sailed as speedily or more so, than from the Delaware to the Mississipi.

Proceeding coast-wise from the Oronoco, to the west, several settlements occur in the province of Cumana, finely situated for commerce, around or adjacent to the gulf of Paria.- The Guarapiche has been the channel of an active trade from Maturin, &c. with Port of Spain [Trinidad] in hides, cattle, mules, and sometimes a little produce.- Around Punta de Piedra, near Cape Paria * are lands of inexhaustible fertility: but on various parts it is affirmed, plantains have been cut or reaped for more than thirty years without replanting. This settlement has sprung up with a rapidity resembling vegetation in the torrid zone. In 1797, it had but a few fishermans huts; the emigration of some French and Spaniards from Trinidad after its conquest by the English, it became a respectable town. Adjoining it is the fruitful vale of Yaguaraparo filled with plantations of cacao and coffee, that enrich the proprietors.+ Guiria, so often lost and won, had flourishing cacao estates, which have been nearly destroyed during the present war. The valley of Rio Caribe [called by Lavaysse the Jemjpe of that quarter] Carupano, Cariaco, Cumanacoa, Cumana - the province itself, hardly require a remark. Every thing notable has been ~~remarked~~ noted by M Humboldt or by others - the coco-groves of Cariaco, and the sulphurious marshes near it, - the Petroleum of Buen Pastor on the Areo, like the mineral tar of La Brea, x from which it is dis-

* The termination of a range of mountains in a promontory at Point Peña, on Lake Paria is remarkable as being the first part of the Continent discovered by Colon, in his third voyage when he made Trinidad, 31st July 1498. ~~[illegible]~~ as before remarked.

x Called Chapapote by the natives - See Pers. Narrative, vol iii]

distant only 35 leagues. The valuable salt works at Point Araya, on the Gulf of Cariaco, opposite Cumana, and on the Gulf of Paria - the fine quality of its cacao and tobacco; its Campeachy and Brazil wood, which with the mahogany, cedar, Javillo, &c. of this and other parts, are so precious for domestic use or exportation. Numerous harbors and productive valleys counterbalance the inconvenience of crossing the mountains to communicate with the plains whence cattle and produce are brought to Cumana. This circumstance favors Barcelona, as already observed, in the cattle-trade from its contiguity to the Pastures. In 1800, Barcelona exported alone, 8000. [It has been stated, I believe, that the plains of Cumana, Barcelona & Caracas, furnished 30,000 mules a year for the West Indies.] In addition to these, tasajo [dried beef] hides, cacao, indigo, vocoa, cotton and maize, are exported almost equally from both provinces: whose plains extend, like those of Caracas, to the N. W. bank of the Oronoco. Barcelona, on the Neveri and Pao, on a river of the same name, are the principal towns of the province of Barcelona, which with that of Cumana, contain about 130,000 souls... nearly half of them are aborigines. The salt works of Barcelona, of Piritoo, of Pozuelos, Coro, and those mentioned, if not equal to the salt mines scattered through Spain, are still of inestimable worth to the Venezuelians - during a war for independence.

Margarita, by her heroic efforts in the present war, can furnish a longer catalogue of battles, devastations, - of military and political events, to the annalist, than of facts interesting to the Statist. But, if the intelligent author of the "descriptive Itinerary," Laborde, thinks proper to record among the rich fruits and mis-

erals of Arraya, among her rock salt, crystals, saffron, almonds, oil, &c. &c. the manufactories of soft soap and fiddle strings at Carraotta; undoubtedly the salt works, elegant hammocks, the fisheries around the island - flocks of goats and sheep - the fruits of her vallies - few, but smiling and more charming amidst the infertility of surrounding mountains, arid and sandy; all that nurtures this hardy race, deserves remembrance. It is the home of health, courage, industry. When the conqueror of Mexico contrived in an exigency to cast cannon from copper and tin, and to draw sulphur from the crater of a volcano for the manufacture of gun-powder, he well remarked in his narrative [Carta de Relacion] to Charles V. that nothing sharpens invention so much as necessity. Want is the keenest spur to exertion. Margaritanian industry and enterprize make amends for the stinginess of nature. From what appears to be only "a rocky station for the sunny cormorant," or a resting place for the clumsy pelican, this active people draw sustenance and even wealth. We cannot regret that the pearl fishery at the neighboring islet of Coche is exhausted.... since the cruelty and destruction so feelingly depicted by Las Casas have vanished with it. x

The province of Caracas, to which nature has been profuse of her bounties, contains 721 Spanish Square leagues - its greatest width being from Cabruta on the Orinoco to Cape Codera, & its utmost length from the district of Carora to

x All the Lucayan Indians who were expert divers and swimmers, and whom that account sold for 30 or 40 dollars per head, were extirpated in pearl fishing. Continued pressure on the lungs and stomach from long suspended respiration, caused effusions of blood, from the mouth, &c. and this uninterrupted toil they soon died. By repeatedly diving in the brine their glossy black hair was so transformed as to resemble fine wool or fur of the sea calf; and the unhappy creatures assumed an appearance more like monsters than men. While as Las Casas affirms, their task masters never relaxed their severity. The island was named Margarita by Columbus, from its pearls and shells so called.

the boundary line of Barcelona. Its population in 1807, was estimated above 490 000 souls; perhaps the most active and intelligent in Venezuela, as Caracas was the focus of the revolution. She unites in her mountains and valleys, most of the products and temperatures from the extreme of the torrid to the torrid Zone; the coffee plant and apple-tree, banana and jaince, prunes and dates, the vine and coco, are seen growing in sight of each other; and it is common to see forty or fifty species of delicious fruits at the same table. Here it is, as throughout the more hilly regions of the tropics, "where store... all seasons ripe for use, hangs on the stalks." Here, may the inhabitants select variety as the poet represents the mother of mankind to be employed in the garden - for poetic harmony elsewhere is not fiction here:-

"Whatever earth all bearing mother, yields
In India East or West, or middle shore
In Pontas or the Punic coast, or where
Alcinous reign'd fruit of all kinds, in coat
Rough or smooth rind, or bearded husk or shell
She gathers, tribute large and on the board
Heaps with unsparing hand; for drink - the
Grape she crushes."

It has been remarked, that the valleys are too rich for the olive, as the tree grows to a great size, but does not bear. Vanilla, wild and cultivated is, found in this province, as well as all the usual staples of commerce, with sarsaparilla, storax, agave, some cochineal, several gums and the incorruptible woods." ancient

The city of Caracas, capital of the Captain-generalship, residence of the Captain-General, the seat of the audience and intendant gene-

as we have seen, suffered terrible calamities by the earthquakes in March and April 1812. But every town, mountain and vale in this province, must be by this time familiar from frequent description. La Guayra, the port of the capital, is so inconveniently situated, that it was in agitation to cut a road from Caracas through the ravine of Tipe to the Bay of Catia, to avoid the troublesome transportation over the rugged declivities, as well as the risks of vessels of an incommodious roadstead. Between La Guayra and Porto Cavello are several anchorages formed by indentations of the land. Humboldt points out the coves of Arecifes, La Cruz, Chorroni, Ocumare, Turiamo, Burburata, besides the bay of Catia just enumerated. From all these ports, hides and produce are exported. We mean not to step out of our way to recite descriptions of towns or amenity of vallies; but a cursory notice of the more industrious places is not inconsistent with the scope of these notes. — At Maracay to pass over grander ones, the active descendants of the Biscayans, raise indigo and coffee; in the heights wheat: — in a strip of two leagues, according to the situation of the ground, they cultivate the vegetables proper to the temperate climates of Europe, and those of the tropics. — Coro, besides its flocks, trades in hides and indigo. Carora converts the hides and wool of her numerous herds into a more lucrative shape by manufactures. She has tanners, saddlers, and shoe makers who turn hides and leather to great profit; and weavers and rope-makers, who make excellent hammocks

and cords from cotton and the fibres of the pita. with these they trade to Maracaybo and Cartha gena. Their sandy soil bristles with prickly plants, yields some gums, balsams and a little cochineal. The wheat, wool and tanneries of Tocuyo put the industrious inhabitants on a par with those of San Felipe, notwithstanding their mines of copper;* their cacao, rice and cotton; nor need they envy the people of Barquisimeto though they cultivate a richer soil. The fecundity of the land, and number of the herds around the pleasant city of Guanaro, like those of Araure 20 leagues W. of it, are ordinary qualities, resources of which the inhabitants have not profited so much as their clergy did of two marvellous and rival editions of the Madona, by which they wrought miracles - at least that of fleecing the credulous. The towns in the plains, San Juan, Bautista del Pao, San Carlos and Calabozo, have nothing more distinctive... except mere situation near this stream or that, than the respective herds that constitute their wealth. They are distinguished, however, in the vicissitudes of the war, and will be more noted when peace and security usher in more intelligence and education, and greater business in civil life.

Maracaybo, W. of Coro, and E. of Santa Martha, is a province more notable for its lake,* which communicates with the sea, by a long navigable streight, and with the interior, as far as Cucuta, by the river Sulia and others,

* They are not very rich in this metal, it is believed.

* From the huts on this lake or its islets, bearing a faint similarity to the site of Venice in Italy. The first settlers gave it the name of Little Venice or Venezuela - an appellation by which the conquerors of Mexico had already distinguished a more considerable town, built within the margin of the Lakes there. [See Diaz' History of the Conquest... 234.]

than for its productions. The city of Maracaybo, is on the Western side of the Streight, six leagues from the sea; a Seite more inconvenient for trade, than friendly to health. The country abounds with fine timber for Ships building, and several vessels have been constructed there. Cacao, cane, tobacco, and other equinoctial plants are cultivated in the W. and S. districts of the province. The tobacco raised near the little town of Gibraltar, 100 miles S. E. of Maracaybo has been long known as giving rise, by a vicious pronunciation, to Maccabaw-Snuff: as that of a plant [yuca] has given a name to a province... Yucatan.

Truxillo, heretofore known abroad only as a city, is the destined capital of a province, situated E. of Maracaybo, and N. of Merida, among the mountains that stretch from the Cordilleras of new-Grenada, and which are connected by those of Tocuyo and Barquisimeto, &c. to the chain that pervades the province of Caracas. It enjoys a delightful climate; the cultivation of three zones concentered in its high-seated vallies and productions. Wheat, indigo, cacao, coffee, grow equally well, in the proper situations. The skins and fleeces of their flocks acquire greater value in the hands of the inhabitants who trade with Maracaybo and Coro.

Of Merida, its people, its lands and products, we may say nearly the same as of Truxillo, except that the former has several advantages over the latter. The Sierra Nevada, a mountain that enters the region of perpetual snow, has much influence on temperature, health, and vegetation. Its proximity enables the inhabitants to variegate

their grounds with a greater number of northern fruits and grain. Wheat, rye and barley ripen here perfectly. Merida has numerous herds of cattle. The town is watered by three rivers, which ~~conjoining~~ unite in the Chama, communicate with the lake of Maracaybo. M. Depons draws an enchanting picture of the culture and the people, whose love of industry and fondness for science are worthy of the cattle paradise they inhabit. "No class there, disdains to labor." Agriculture, grazing, manufactures, occupy them all. Their interior position has obliged them to fabricate woolen and cotton goods, particularly ornamented carpets of wool, which are greatly admired. The general contentment in which these people live, is the natural result of their diligent, rational and temperate habits.

Barinas, in which so many noble rival streams seem by turns to emulate each other, in fertilizing and inundating, from the branches of Apure to those of the Meta, is bounded in the greater part of its E. S. E. border by the Oronoco. Pretty general consent has assigned its tobacco the highest rank - but its indigo, rice, cotton, cane, are not inferior to those kinds raised elsewhere. It has a species of tea, as we are informed. A road from Calabozo, crosses this province from N. to S. and intersects the Oronoco a little to the north of its junction with the Meta: but during the height of the rainy season, half the country is impassable by man or beast. Next to the capital, [also called Barinas,] San Jayme, W. of the Portuguesa, San Fernando, S. of the Apure, San Antonio, Nutrias, Apurito, Villa de Isla, Achaguas, La Cruz and Trinidad, are the principal villages. San Fernando was burnt and evacuated by General Paez, at the commencement of the last cam

paign. This province is inevitably destined to become as conspicuous in Agriculture and commerce, as it is celebrated in the history of the present war, for the exploits of Paez and his Colonel, Alexander Macauley, who, panting for enterprize, rapidly traversed the N. W. part of this province on his journey to Pore and Santa Fé, in 1812, made some interesting, though cursory remarks upon it. - They are to be found, with a sketch of their gallant author, in the Portico, as stated above. - No V. vol. IV. Nov. 1817.

Every one speaks with a degree of wonder & pleasure of the unexampled progress which Agriculture has made in Venezuela, since 1790. The culture of every valuable plant is dated since that.* From that year till 1795 French emigrants from St. Domingo had extended the cultivation of the coffee-shrub over half that country, as they had done in Porto Rico, Cuba and Jamaica. Where the hills are unfriendly to its growth, which is apt to occur where the soil is not calcareous - it succeeds in the valleys. It affords a few beans the second year, more the third, and comes to maturity about the sixth. By the year 1803, the exports amounted to 2,000.000 lbs. If war had given no interruption, the planters on the islands and on the main must have been enriched, as coffee has often sold at 12 - 20 - and sometimes $25 per 100 lbs.

The sugar cane of Otaheite which has superseded the Canarian cane since 1790, proves a very lucrative crop in the rich lands of the tropics. Humboldt is inaccurate, when he says in his Essay on new Spain, book iv. ch. IX. that the bread fruit, flax of New Zealand, and cane of Otaheite were left by Captain Bligh, at Jamaica, and they have propagated rapidly in the island of Cuba, Trinidad, and on the coast of Curacas." In his Per-

* In 1784, it appears that Don B. Blandin planted a coffee estate near Caracas; but it was not commonly cultivated for several years after.

sional narrative, he is equally erroneous in saying, "The settlement of the English in Trinidad has changed the whole aspect of the Eastern part of Cumana. Strangers have settled there and introduced the cultivation of the coffee-tree, cotton, and sugar-cane of Otaheite."

Several years before the arrival of Capt. Bligh at St Vincent and Jamaica, viz. in 1793, the Otaheite cane had been cultivated in Cayenne and Martinique, having been originally carried by the celebrated Monsieur Bougainville on his voyage of circumnavigation from Otaheite to the Isle of France. It was there planted in the Botanic garden, and borne from thence by M. Joseph Martin, [botanist] to Cayenne, in 1788. In 1790, it was cultivated in Martinique, and disseminated from this colony over the West Indian archipelago and adjacent continent. Years before the English invaded Trinidad, which was not until 1797, this cane was growing in Terra Firma – Capt. Bligh is not the less deserving of respect because another is entitled to priority. The testamony of M. Du Buc, admitted by all, puts the matter at rest. [See Voyage aux iles de Trinidad, &c tom. ii. 335–8 et seq.] But I ought to say, that the English do not make those pretentions which Humboldt makes for them. This modesty does as much credit to individuals, as the outfit of the Bounty on an expedition for plants, &c reflects on the government. I wish we had more instances of both.*

* The enlightened Humboldt exclaims, "Why have not the names of those benefactors of mankind, who, instead of ravaging the earth, have enriched it with plants useful to the human race?" — It is doubtless because the sanguinary massacres of a Cortez, a Pizarro, or the individual butcheries of by the celebrated blood hound, surnamed Bezerillo [who received soldiers rations and his quadrant of slaves] are more tragic, and excite more interest than a history of humanity. – People more eagerly peruse accounts of torturing Mexican princes before a fire, burning others, or hanging four or five from a Ceyba tree – or hunting natives with dogs, to exterminate revolters, than they read accounts of the same Captains [Cortez] importing seeds and roots, and undertaking voyages to discover the imagined straight between the two seas. We agree with M. Humboldt's idea of rendering unto Cesar what is Cesar's, and wish he had followed the precept more strictly himself. The recollection of bar-

In Trinidad, whose soil and climate, as we have said, are similar to those of the neighboring continent, the Otaheite often known by the name of the Bourbon cane, is remarkable for its prodegious size and produce - but Judge Black, a gentleman of superior intellegence is of opinion that it exhausts the land and degenerates - "owing" as he believes, "to the same plants being used in succession, on the same soil." He therefore proposes to transplant the shoots from dessimilar soils & try whether this variation will not have as beneficial an influence on the vegetables, as crossing of breeds has on the animal race. "When we first began," says he, to cultivate the Bourbon cane, in our virgin soil, the product was immense. I have myself made 20,000 wt. Sugar from a quarré [about 3½ acres] and some of my neighbors on richer land, made as much as 30.000lbs! but our lands were soon devoured, as it were, by so voracious a plant, and with good cultivation and manure we do not now exceed 10,000 lbs per quarre." — I was assured, that at Tacarigua, on this same island, they have reloned the same canes for eighteen years; which still produce 8000 lbs. of sugar per acre. Since sugar has often sold for $7 or $7.50 per 100 lbs. the culture of the cane must have been a very gainful occupation. Every particle of the cane is useful - the tops and leaves for fodder; the ground stalks for fuel; the expressed juice for sugar; the scummings for rum. — The sugar boiling season [as Mosely has truly noted] is a jubilee with the negroes, who appear to fare much better in some of the islands

sowing 7 or 8 orange seeds near a Mexican temple, into the top of which he ascended to snatch a little sleep, unarmed by musquitoes [in Grijalvas expedition, 1518] and of the grove they produced, and re visited, after all the adventures of the conquest, has as much space in a benevolent mind as any incident in his candid history of the wars of conquest. So the names of Doña maria de Escalar, Jose Rizi, and of [illegible] Cortés negro slave Garrido, who brought wheat to Lima, to Quito, or found it accidentally brought [in a bag of rice] to new Spain, are all recorded. But how tame are these useful deeds in comparison of installing Calepodia's hare in the consulship & pontificate, and promoting a bloodhound for service?!

"The Spaniards have not coined their greatness in America by what they have created, but by what they have destroyed. Of eight millions, two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, exclusively Indians, who were enumerated in Santa Fé and Peru in the year 1537, five remain scarcely one tenth part at present. [Vida y memorias del Doct. Don Mariano Moreno. I

than the white slaves do in Europe. But no disguise can hide the deformity. No cates can sweeten the bitterness of slavery to a sensible mind. Doct. Thornhill, also, who cultivates the fine Esperanza estate, and to whom, with judge B. William White Esq and Messrs. Littlepage and Doell [without making mention of many others] I am indebted for some gratifying notices of the natural history and husbandry of the island,* concurs with the statements given, that the Otaheitean cane owes its preference over the Canarian, to the greater quantity of saccharine produced on the acre. In rich soil, says he, it grows more luxuriantly, and with less labor comes to greater perfection than the other."— He seems to confirm Depons opinion [Voyage to Terra Firma, Vol. II. 200-1.] that as it contains less of the essential salt than the common cane.— The strongest soil and greatest heat are requisite. Doct. Thornhill raised canes on his plantation, this season, which corresponded exactly [the statis-

* This is not the proper place to acknowledge the obligations imposed on me by the polite, friendly and communicative disposition of sundry gentlemen whom I shall ever remember with lively pleasure. In the liberality of individuals, we are often made to regret that ~~misgovernment~~ governments compel those to be enemies, who would delight in the most natural and grateful relations of friendship. Both hemispheres are civility are like true metallic currency, respectfully and welcomely received every where.

Since we are launched on the island, a passing sketch may be considered a pardonable digression.

Near three years ago, Dec 31, 1811, by the official report of the Commissary of population, composed ~~by returns~~ from the returns of commandants of quarters, there were — 1,285,729 cacao trees, Coffee shrubs, 655,310; planted with cane, 18,452 acres.

The population consists of

Whites	3,512
Indians	1,141
Free people of color	10,555
Slaves	24,545
	40,153

Of the "whites" 14 are stated as "Americans," but I was told there are above 35. Of the "free people of color" &c. there is an item,—"550 Americans." These are the negroes or part of them who the descendants of Admiral Cochrane. They are remarked here for industrious laborers; and Judge Biggs, since gone to organize affairs in New Holland, has expressed surprise at their superior intelligence, demeanor and civility.

Among the "incorruptible" woods of this island is the famed Pui or green heart. "The best" according to Judge Black, grows on gritty, sandy soil, in elevated situations. On a Spanish plantation settled by a generation now descended to the fifth, I have seen a post taken out of the ground, which had been planted there contemporaneously with the first dwelling house built. It was as sound as when thrust into the earth, though it must have stood there one hundred and fifty years. Its incorruptibility is derived from the closeness of its texture and the great quantity of resin contained in the pores from which it never exudes. It is as solid as marble; easily worked with well tempered tools; but in planing or adzing, it must be wrought across the grain — no tools can make an impression lengthwise." The marvel with which ~~at first~~ I beheld every object within the tropics — in rivers, lakes, seas, fields, mountains — or even in the firmament; the venomous reptile, and the vegetable antidote; may excuse me for rambling aside to admire them. Trinidad has the ~~mapepire~~ mapepire and guayacan, the most poisonous of snakes, nearly excepting the coral of Venezuela and the viper of St Lucia; but it possesses also the guajoo and sepa vines or leaves, the most active [vegetable] counterpoisons known. The latter is also administered in epilepsies with great success — and both being sovereign remedies in spas-

with the description of their growth in the South Sea islands by Captain Cook. Consequently Guayana, Cumana, and Trinidad, if not every fruitful spot within the tropics, are as favorable to their culture as Otaheite.* It is remarkable, that in the most generous soils, the cane may stand over for 18 months or perhaps two years, though it comes to maturity in 12 or 13 months; while in penurious land it must be cut the moment it ripens, or its juices become sour. But let us return from this little excursion.

In Venezuela, the cultivation of indigo may be said [independent of some inconsiderable essays in 1774] to have been commenced about the same time with that of coffee. The annual exportation from 1793 until 1798, averaged 1,000,000 lbs. — most probably exceeded this amount, if clandestine exportation could be ascertained.

Some experiments in the culture of cotton, were made in 1782; it was not much planted till 1793; nor commonly till 1800; yet in 1803, 4,000,000 lbs. were annually shipped.

All these articles are of superior quality to those in most of the islands — or would be so by selecting the best species of seeds and plants — and are raised, as I am informed, at a rate, one third cheaper ... an important fact in the "cost of production."

Upwards of 100,000 hides [no trifling item] used to be exported yearly for Europe or the colonies; about 20,000 mules — on a moderate average, and as many cattle. For these animals and several other articles, the islands depend chiefly on Venezuela. — Porto Rico is now the only insular colony that exports cattle. Jamaica, notwithstanding her adoption of the invaluable Guinea-grass and im-

* There may be a proviso to this conclusion; if crossing or interchange of shoots between different soils prevent degeneracy. — But if they are liable to the like consequences in Otaheite [and it seems an universal law] their equality still remains.

modic affections, are supposed to be efficacious, if any thing is efficacious, in cases of hydrophobia. So say the most intelligent persons there. The properties of the guaco first made known to the world by Mr Mutis, a learned botanist of Santa Fé, were originally discovered by a serpent that had been wounded by another, running to this creeper and eating the leaves. It has been so affirmed. It was not in seed or blossom, when I left Guayana and Trinidad; else I had resolved to bring some of the guaco for trial.

provement of pasturage, still (as I hear) imports mules &c. as she did in 1787. when, under the Free Port Act she received 1202 mules, oxen, sheep &c. ostensibly from the "foreign West Indies," but really from the continent. She also imported from the same quarter, cacao, gum-guayacum, dye-woods and specie, &c. for which she paid in manufactures, and negroes. [Cuba is too precious for mere grazing grounds; and as "appetite comes by eating" a certain foreign nation having devoured Hindostan, digested new Holland and swallowed Demerara, &c. has now a violent longing for this vastly important island, on which, Archimedes-like, she would erect her machinery to poise and break the "new world."]

We may be allowed to reiterate, as our deliberate opinion, that whenever the war is concluded, the sphere of husbandry and commerce can be easily and very considerably extended, by naturalizing in fields and gardens, many indigenous plants and trees, as senna, tea,* vaynilla, ipecacuanha, and Tonquin bean. Neither can it be reasonably be doubted, that the nutmeg tree which grows spontaneously between Upper Oronoco and Rio Negro, would not succeed as well in every province of Venezuela, as it has done in Cayenne and the Botanic-garden of St. Vincents. The laurel wax-tree, too, described in the beginning of Don M. Torres's concise and masterly pamphlet, may become a precious article of cultivation [See Exposition of the Commerce of S America, p. 15.] Few countries possess so many resources as Venezuela.

There are mines of iron and copper; the former were not worked because Spain discountenanced it [until 1795 - certainly] as she had pounced on the working of the quick silver mine of

* I state the existence of tea in Barinas only on report. It abounds in Bogota and other parts of new Granada; and according to Humboldt in almost every one of the Internal Provinces of new Spain. But whoever desires to know all interesting particulars of the tropical plants must consult the works of Humboldt and Bonpland.

Guancavelica - by which her mines might probably have dispensed entirely with the importation of mercury from Spain and Carniola. Venezuela's grandest, happiest wealth lies at and near the surface - and, possibly the world ought not to yearn so violently after more gold and silver mines for the purpose of money. Many a noble resistance against aggression, shows, that however potent this agent is, it is not so strong as patriot force. England has taught all nations by dreadful examples, that it is inferior to credit: and common sense instructs us, that in currency what is gained in quantity is lost in value. It has a striking analogy to the law of mechanical powers, "what is acquired in force is lost in time." One law is as uniform, inevitable and eternal as the other. We have already shown, in substance, how foolish and fraudulent it is to issue four dollars, to do the business of one; foolish, because it is unnecessary; fraudulent, because the emitters of the three superfluous coins make the rest depreciate in a quadruple rate, and may filch three fourths of the property represented by these signs - And mankind groan or sleep - but do not enquire or act, and legislators talk - while the overgrown circulation has no other check than the weight of its own iniquity, and the rebound of oppressed society that has not yet lost the resilient principle. This latent power, like instinct in brutes, may preserve the possessors against evils to which reason is purblind, & at which selfishness connives. It always happens with money, as with the Sibyl's books; the more they were reduced, the more the residue were enhanced in value, [and very nat-

urally, as superstitious books shame each other.] Gold mines then, we affirm, are not necessary to the prosperity of Venezuela. It is an interesting fact, that the territorial produce of New Spain, exceeds by about one fourth the amount of all her gold and silver mines.

Give Venezuela but independence, and [if possible] freedom, and her inhabitants will have no reason to murmur at the lot of any other section of the globe; nor, of consequence, to dispute, as writers have done about the greater favouritism of nature to Spain, or to their own countries. The South Americans appear naturally active, sprightly and acute, more like the gay and brisk Valencians [of Spain] than the grave, starched, torpid and melancholy Estremadurians - and complete antipodes of the gloomy Murcian who makes five meals a day, and smokes or sleeps in the intervals. "He eats, drinks, sleeps, [says Laborde] counts his beads, and drags his cloak to a place where he sits himself down to think of nothing." [Descriptive Itinerary, ii-187] The system under which the South American has lived, it is true, promoted idleness and all its attendant vices. There we hope, however loathsome, will disappear with the causes. When the "parasite institutions" which now impede society, as the ivy deadens the oak it embraces, are lopped away, the South American will be seen to display the best faculties and dispositions of man. - we have admirable specimens of his intellectual abilities - though educated in chains. In a few years his country may quadruple its products and means and be at once a

"splendid and a happy land." Though one cannot but smile at the puerile attempts of some national disputants, to set nature at variance with herself, as mother to this region and step-mother to that, yet there is amusement in Doct. Guevra's laudable vindication of his country; a short sketch of which may be agreeable, as it relates to the indigenous productions of the South American soil. It reminds us of the disputation between the Egyptians and Scythians about superior antiquity.

In vegetables and fruits, [says the learned Mexican] we excel Europe beyond dispute. She gave us flax, we gave her cotton*. If she brought us wheat, which she had received from the north, we presented her with maize. We already had a species of wheat in Chile, and five or six sorts of bread, yuca, patates [sweet potatoe, convolvulus patate] ignames [or yams] and plantains. For six or seven kinds of fruit she introduced, we sell one hundred species in Mexico alone, wholesomer and of finer flavor. She received the mala persica, peach, pomegranate, and China orange, from Carthage; we have the latter indigenous and of enormous size. For the vast list of leguminous plants derived from Spain: peas and lentils, she is our debtor for papas [solanum tuberosum ♀ or common potatoe] batates, frijoles cacahuac, pimiento, tomates, and chocolate, the prince of nutriment and drink of the Gods — for all of her food in short, and the very cigars puffed by the Spaniards after dinner, with which they fancy themselves the happiest of mortals. —

* Does G. forget that Italy produced cotton, from whence as well as from Africa and the Levant, England used to obtain that raw material.

Bark [cinchona] and other remedies, gums, balsams, and dye woods, she owes wholly to us. Though sugar-cane was introduced from the Canaries, Brazil was stocked with it, and had sugar-works. [Cites Labat and a curious dissertation in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Lisbon.] In Mexico, before the conquest, the natives extracted sugar from the tuna, a fare and maiz, which chemists can hardly do at the present day. She turned our palms and bread fruit,* &c. &c. to small account. She sent us horses, cows & sheep, but would not suffer the former to be made a beast of burthen, lest the conqueror should lose the use of the Indian carriers. Azara detects the errors of Buffon, and proves that the New World includes more animals than the old.—The goats of California, bisons, beavers, otters, tapirs [dantas] bears, vicuñas, alpaces, guanacos and llamas are valuable creatures.—Spain would not favor South America with the mercuries, which she bestowed on Saxony! But the Antilles owe their ostriches and cattle and our continents to Stanley and Rotz! [Cites Charlevoix &c. St Domingo, Azara and Molina.] of Spain brought us poultry, we owe her voracity the extinction of some species, as the guaginajos, and we have supplied her with turkies and muscovy or musk-ducks [los patos almizclados.]

Coffee, he declares, after Pombo, &c. was indigenous in Mexico, Mocha and Chiquitos & especially in Carthagena, whose coffee is equal to that of Mocha, which the French never car-

* Humboldt asserts that the bread fruit [as the vine, vitis mexicana] did not exist in America—but that it reached her from Otaheite by the West Indian islands. He is not always accurate, as we have shown.

ried to the West Indies. In 1727, the French cultivated coffee in Martinique, whereever they obtained it. But certain it is that Coffee is indigenous on this continent. on the 2d of December last in passing the rugged mountain between Alta Gracia and San Felix, where the stranger is continually, excited by new and magnificent objects, after alighting to gather some nuts of the algarrobo, a tree which there grows to a gigantic height and size, and to cut some bark from the lesser cusparé trees, we saw several coffee shrubs by the edge of the path. I supposed, that those might have grown from some grains casually dropped by the conqueros going to and from Upata, &c.-and was minute in my enquiries.- but Lieutenant P—t—o and all the men assured me, that the plants were indigenous.

We have been wondering, that Doct. G. who asserts so starkly, [I do not say problematically] and defends so stoutly, did not contrive to particularize the 1000 stands for bees and a greater quantity of bee-hives and honey found in the island of Acuzamil [Santa Cruz] in 1518, where the Spaniards taught the natives how to prepare and burn the wax-and the latter in turn, let the Spaniards into the secret of drying the flesh of deers, wild hogs, hares, &c. in the sun, i.e. how to make tasajo:- Curaron al sol mucha carne." - Gamara Cronica, Cap. XIV. - This also happened in Grijalva's expedition.- See also D. Bernal Diaz' Hist. Conquest, p. 15. - Perhaps Doct. G. saw that the little honey bee though of different species, belonged to both sections, and would not increase one side of

the account. It would be unfortunate however, if Europe monopolized wasps of all kinds and sting us and our rights to death!-Apropos, as to tasajo, I cannot be loyally silent when a friend is attacked.' To be formal then, we must observe, that the tasajo "aforesaid," is not as the Edinburg Reviewers allege, "animal sinews dried in the sun," for in that case it would require many thousands or millions, or billions [more or less] of fat oxen to freight a ship of 500 tons. No, it consists of animal fibres and solid flesh, honest sirloins of bona fida prime beef. The natives, who are so fond of it, would not thank the too-learned editors for the transformation! Neither have I been able to learn that this commodity is the same which in the commercial language of South America is called jug-beef; "because the South Americans do not commonly speak any other tongue than the Castillian, which has very different signs and sounds, for jug, pitcher and beef, from "the Kings English." But the substance is the same, and transubstantiation goes for nothing! The brown loaf is but a brown loaf, and mutton is the flesh of the sheep, "animal sinews" and all. "De mortuis nil nisi bonum!" is our reason for vindicating tasajo. But Doct. Mier y Guema does not close the account with Spain yet-the rest is diversion.

She made us a fatal present of these terrible scourges small pox, itch, and maladie syphilitique and had the ingratitude to ascribe the last to us, because we furnished

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her with lignum vitæ, sarsaparilla, sassafras. &c. to cure it. [Cites Clavijero, Langle's French notes to Carli; the Dissertacion of Sanchez Valverde, &c. &c.]

The impoverishment of Spain is not due to America, who gave her 5445 millions of dollars pearls and precious stones; but is the joint effect of her misgovernment, her ignorance of political economy, her mercantile monopoly, as Estrada has fully, and particularly, demonstrated. Before the discovery of America, Spain was so exhausted, that her treasury was incapable of affording the slender means of equipping Colon's little expedition, and Queen Isabella was obliged to pledge her jewels to borrow $8000 for the purpose. [See Historia de la Revolucion, de Mexico, tom. ii. 727-733-'37.]

Most of these observations are just; all the facts curious, - and some remarks important.

From her probable (indeed her actual) connection with Venezuela, it cannot be amiss to have a glimpse of New Granada - a region bounteously endowed by nature with her selectest gifts. This confederacy, or Kingdom, as it has been styled, has a population of about 2.600.000 souls of all classes. - Whites 1.500.000; Mestizos, 270.000; people of color, including 30.000 Slaves, 520.000.

The Indians, a very docile race, are employed in Agriculture, internal navigation, or manufactures, in which they are expert. Mestizos [descendants of Indians and whites, and people of color [mulatos]] are extremely active, robust, and fitted for any profession. - Azara, the naturalist says, "In the elegance of their form, and in their stature, the mestizos appear to me to possess some superiority over the European Spaniard, even in the fairness of their complexion. These facts make me

suspect that the mixture of races improves them. I am likewise of opinion, that these musteros have more ingenuity, sagacity and intelligence than the offspring of Spanish parents. I think too that they are more active." [Azara's voyages in South America, cap. XIV.] The generality of whites are characterized by a bland amiable temper, and hospitable disposition; and noted for their devotion to science and literature. Many of them had passed with eclat a course of Collegiate Study; and these unlucky acquirements multiplied the number of the proscribed at Santa Fé and throughout the Kingdom. Knowledge was crime; information synonymous with revolutionary sentiments.

The territory is traversed throughout, as all are aware, by the cordilleras of the Andes; and drained by some great navigable rivers which discharge themselves into the Atlantic or Pacific Ocean - after irrigating and fecundating the tracts thro' which they run. The Caura uniting with the Magdalena, enters the Atlantic: as the Sinu, farther to the S.W. and the Atrato by the gulf of Darien: the San Juan and Guayaquil empty themselves into the Pacific. Those waters that connect the most distant points of navigation, have been stated already, as the Meta and Sulia; others will be distinguished in the sequel. Between the Sinu and Atrato, the rivers Leanalete, San Juan, Damaquiel, Cayman, Turbo, Guacabar and Uruba &c. disemboque into the Atlantic - The river Chagres, in the Province of Panama, which Don A Ulloa found so difficult to ascend, from its impetuous current, is navigable from the ocean it crosses, within 5 leagues of the city of Panama.

Ports designated for trade by the Spanish gov-

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ernment, were Rio-de-la-Hacha, Santa Marta, Carthagena, Puerto-bello and Chagres on the Atlantic; Panama and Guayaquil on the Pacific: but an unrestrained commerce, whose busy, piercing eye espies the shortest routes, most saleable commodoties, and best channels, will also disclose many a haven between the Chirique on the confines of Guatemala, and the shores of Machala, on the little river Tumber. On the Atlantic the contrabandists found bays and coves commodious enough for carrying on the major part of the country's commerce

If the rivers which lave this territory, be so important in a commercial view, the mighty mountains on whose summits the clouds repose and the heavens seem to rest, give it a remarkable configuration. The four cordilleras whose snow clad tops even under the equator are crowned with domes and cupolas of ice, eternal monuments of the wondrous wisdom of the Grand Architect, diffuse around the coolness of high northern latitudes, occasioning equal diversification of culture and climate. The centre of these ridges is often the depository of gold and other metals - there is very little silver in New-Granada. A fine simile is used by Ulloa, speaking of Monte Capiro, or the Capt. Mountain near Porto-Bello, illustrative of a popular means of prognostication, wherever there is such mountain-scenery "It is particularly remarkable for its superior height," says he, "as if designed to be the barometar of the country, by foretelling every change of weather." A single chain is often an epitome of all. At its base the laborer swelters in the most sultry heat; on its sides enjoys a comfortable temperature; at its summit is pinched with cold. The table land, or elevated valley is blessed with perpetual spring.

Hic ver assiduum, atque alienis mensibus æstas:
Bis gravidæ pecudes, bis pomis utilis arbos.
Eternal spring and summer part her year,
Her ewes yean twice, her trees twice blossoms bear.

In truth, its sky transcends that of Italy, and fruits and blossoms are constant companions in the same garden through the circle of the year. "Her elevated mountains and intervales are the secret of those prodigies of nature." "Some," as we are told, "are covered with snow, others sheeled with ice, with volcanoes flaming within." The animal and mineral Kingdoms correspond to the vegetable. She possesses ores in plenty; raw materials of every kind for manufactures; provisions in superabundance, and cheap beyond comparison; sheep and cattle are as prolific as the flocks of Chaldea or of Scythia. Her resources under a tolerable government, judiciously administered, must be immeasurable, since the worst colonial system has been unable to destroy them. However these expressions may sound, they are not the language of hyperbole - as will appear from the closest survey. A statist, perhaps, more intimately acquainted with that country than any other man, observes of it in an unpublished Memoire, with a perusal of which he favored me; "The uniformity of temperatures allows nature no repose." Her productions are renewed without intermission; cereal grains yield two or three harvests a year; it is the same with other fruits excepting sugar cane, which requires a twelvemonth to gain the necessary degree of maturity.

"There are copious mines of all the known metals in the Andes that cross the territory; but heretofore only the gold and copper have been wrought. It is impossible to determine the quan-

tity annually extracted from the former, from the facility of concealing and exporting it clandestinely to Jamaica, Caraccas, and other islands. The yearly product of gold cannot fall short of six or seven millions of dollars; and the capability of the country for other productions, when freedom unfetters industry, is incalculable. Her consumption of foreign commodities cannot be accurately calculated, but it ought to be equal to the annual exports, which are nine millions or $ 9. 500. 000, gold and platina inclusive." "The smuggling trade was always great, and it has been officially estimated at the proportion of 3/4 to 1 to the lawful commerce."

Formerly The traders from Santa Fé, Popayan and Quito, brought Gold and silver in dust and ingots, and emeralds from these provinces to Carthagena to exchange for foreign merchandize; their barter was completed at Porto Bello or Panama. Goods purchased at Carthagena or Porto-Bello, to be transported across the isthmus, were carried in boats up the Chagre, and conveyed from Cruces on mules to Panama.- [And this is the route of trade to this day for flour from the United States, which, at times, competes with that from San Blas and Chile!- It is packed in half barrels, and put on board of bongos or large canoes at Porto-Bello, arrives at Cruces in 5 or 6 days- and in 2 or 3 more reaches its destination.- The whole transportation is effected within 10 days, at an expense of about $ 12 per barrel. Flour sells at such times as encourage this traffick, for $ 20 the half barrel in Panama.]

——— Carthagena received by the Sinu and Magdalena, and its dependent dikes, &c. the produce of the country - maize, rice, plantains, tobacco ca-

save, honey, cacao, cotton, hogs, poultry, earthenware,- giving utensils and goods in return, and exporting many of those articles to the islands, and to Porto-Bello. It is most likely, if not certain, that Santa Fe will choose a different route for her future commerce and resume the different outlet by the [little] Rio Negro and Meta. Carthagena, perhaps, from its unhealthy situation, may be abandoned for a better seite at Sabanilla on the left bank and near the mouth of the Magdalena. If not, the Carthagenians, it is the hoped, will deepen the dykes and drain the whole space that is drainable between the city and this great river. There is little doubt but that their greatest rival will rise at some future day on the banks of the Atrato.

A lively trade has always subsisted between Panama, Guayaquil and Lima. From the latter, cane, bullion, wines, flour, brandy, oil, sugar, tallow, and leather; from Guayaquil, cacao, quinquina, &c. Nautica and cordage were imported from Sonsonate and Realejo, in Guatamala, for the vessels in the Lima trade. But our tar will ever undersel any petroleum in market, which requires so much tallow to prepare it for use. For this reason, that of La Brea, in Trinidad, which would serve the whole shipping of England, in case of necessity, needs too much of the unctuous mixture to be profitable."

Guayaquil has boundless sources of domestic and internal commerce, in the salt works of Punta, the cacao of Machala, the best in the province, and no wise inferior to that of Cacuta, the cattle, cotton, cacao, and timber from Yaguache; rice, cotton and similar articles as in

the last district, from the jurisdiction of Baba-
hoyo; and the tobacco and fruits of Daulé. These
three rivers, Yaguache, Baba and Daule, throw
themselves into the Guayaquil. The city of Guay-
quil is the emporium for the products and man-
ufactures of Quito, which in the dry season are
transported thence by the mountaineers of Chimbo
with their caravans of mules. Bales of cloth and
stuffs, hats, stockings, baize, tocuyos [white cot-
ton cloth] potatoes, cheese, bacon, flour, fowls,
and other provisions descend to the coast by this
costly and toilsome conveyance on a steep &
frightful road-impassable nearly half the
year. Salt, fish, oil, brandy, wine, copper, tin,
lead and quicksilver from Lima; and iron, steel,
&c. from New Spain are returned. Guayaquil,
then, is an exporter of wax, rice, cacao, pepper;
tobacco, drugs, fish, salt, lumber, cattle, mules,
and some native fabrics from Quito. On both
imports and exports her merchants receive a
profitable commission.

Of Quito, particularly, it is enough to re-
peat, that the industry of her inhabitants al-
most vies with the bounties of nature to their
country. It was a subject of encomium, nearly
a hundred years ago. Goods and stuffs were
then sent to Barbacoas as well as to Santa Fe
de Bogota, and exchanged for gold, which was
commonly carried to Lima. The exchange of
products between district and district, was
says Ulloa, "a constant incentive to industry
among the inhabitants of the villages." The
Indians have a genius adapted to manufac-
tures: their linen, their cotton bags, and fra-
grant earthen-ware, are described to be as exqui-
site as lucrative. The earthen ware, I think, is

that sort called bucaros, of great utility in warm climates, from its porosity, & cool water by evaporation. A similar kind seems to have been in great demand in Arabia and Egypt. It is made of odoriferous earth, and is left unglazed. If it could have come into rivalship with the lacquered earthen ware of Manises, in Valencia, no doubt it would have been prohibited. A majority of the population used to wear domestic goods: hence the quantity of cloths & stuffs woven in this country, and all by Indians, "is prodigiously great": and to this, is owing, in a great measure, the happy state of this province, - the masters and traders soon realizing fortunes and the servants and dependents contented with the fruits of their industry." [Miller's Voyages, vol. i. 293.] Her manufactures are the creation of necessity: with more accessible roads they would probably decline, like those of Cochabamba, by the influx of British merchandize through Buenos Ayres. But here we think policy imperatively demands their steady protection, if precipices and ravines, torrents and mountains are not enough. Here are applicable the reasonings of Arriaga, in his inestimable "Memorial," being the substance of his speech delivered in the Cortes, on the affairs of the Internal Provinces. He laments that the raw materials of cotton & wool, so abundant there, are sacrificed to the external provinces where they are spun, woven, and returned, with all the duties of carriage, workmanship and alcavala, three or four times paid. The industry of the people, whose frugality and virtues he extols, is thus baffled:

"The nation or province," says he, "which after subtracting from its productions, what is necessary to its own consumption and subsistence, has a considerable surplus left for exportation, approaches towards prosperity in the exact proportion of the amount of that surplus; but when this exportation consists in articles of the first necessity, and raw materials ~~of which it has an unnecessary~~ necessary to existence, far from being in the road to opulence, she will remain in a state of seclude, the prelude perhaps, to a total decline." In most things, this philosophical Mexican priest, reasons as well as Franklin, or Tracy, or Say. The world at length must concur in estimating the powers of industry: the very Turks by undertaking canals, recommend internal improvement. Yes, the fanaticized people, who have sometimes (as we are told,) declined taking precautions to exterminate the tiger-blinded by dogmas of predestination and the imagined will of heaven, seem recovering from the hallucination of superstition, and begin to think that man was not endowed with faculties of intellect and volition in vain; that nature has her immutable laws in mind as in matter-& that winged angels will not stoop from above to carry even Mohammed's favorites over a river, or to dry up a quagmire, or cut a canal.* Stupor is going off; and mankind begin to think, if they would pass a gutter, they must really step over it, waddle through marshes, or make a causeway-and swim a river, or construct a boat or a bridge-or remain on this side or that.

* Every one recollects that the observation of a Russian noble to the English Engineer, who was taking levels and exploring the route for a canal. It was in substance: If God had wished canals here He would have made them.

id grand point is ~~gained~~ achieved! and as all men are responsible for the misemployment of the talent entrusted to them, it is to be hoped that human powers will be less perverted than they have been - especially in governing ~~rational~~ equal and rational beings. From the memorandum already referred to, I extract a note on the manufactures of Quito and other provinces. "Cloths, serges, baizes, and other commodities of wool, are manufactured to great perfection; muslins or cotton cloth of every kind, more durable than those of Europe and Asia, although they lack their criterion beauty. About the year 1785, the Count de Casa Gijon, a native of Quito, obtained royal licence to bring over some European manufacturers, who greatly improved the fabrics of the country; but Spanish monopoly and the system of oppression, soon made away with these workmen - and the Count himself had to fly from the Inquisition - to embark on the Marañon [Amazon] come down the Orinoco and take refuge in Trinidad, in 1792 - where he died in the house of a Jew who gave him shelter. Ever since that epoch, fine manufactures have retrograded in Quito; but ordinary ones remain on their ancient footing. Peru and New Granada afford a market for them. Manufacturing skill has been spread to Cusco and other districts of Peru. Socorro, San Gil, Moncole, Giron, Sogamoza, Salazar, de las Palmas, are the most conspicuous places in New Granada for industry and ingenuity: the inhabitants are well qualified for the occupation they have embraced. In Paraguay in Yu-

catan, and even in the kingdom of Mexico, there are districts of signal industry. In the latter, San Miguel el Grande, Queretaro, Puebla and other towns are devoted to manufactures. Considering on one side the pacific character of the Indians and mestizos; the persons generally employed in manufactures on the other, the supply of excellent raw materials, it is my opinion, that American emancipation once secured, there will be exhibited, in a few years, by the introduction of the requisite machinery, artificers and workmen, as much industry in the heart of South America, as in Belgal. The disposition and number of the people, and the climate and products presage this."

With respect to the latter position, I am sorry to be compelled, by deliberate conviction, to differ, toto coelo from the esteemed author. As in Cochabamba, it will result elsewhere, that manufacturing institutions will be prostrated by the ingress of cheaper foreign goods. It is natural, however, to prize very highly, and even prematurely, a branch of human industry which has given to England so much power and preponderance - and by abuse has entailed on her unequalled wretchedness. In Quito, it will, most probably, have a more prosperous issue; because, if I do not grossly mis-observe the ground, the discouragements opposed to foreign fabrics, by obstructions of roads, &c. will be an equal and adequate encouragement to domestic industry. It is naturally defended as by moat and citadel. - But, let us not overlook the hideous aspect

of Spanish mercantile cupidity in the instance before us; as it shows the injustice inseparable from avarice - insatiable avarice. - could Spain have furnished the articles, we should not be surprised so much at the jealous measures adopted for the ruin of a meritorious citizen: had it been a competition with something in existence - with the fruit of olive groves in Andalusia or Valencia, &c. - with Spanish almonds, mulberries, soda, or spart - ber nuts or crockery ware, or any thing! we should not have marvelled greatly at her decrees, that no such trees or rushes should bud, or no such articles be made in South America; - but as the Spanish merchants had generally to import from other countries of Europe the means of supplying America, the abuse of monopoly appears the more detestable. For sake of a commission on merchandize, we see monopolists ready to murder an individual or to blast a nation. Here we behold the invariable consequence of privilege - the grand corrupter of the human heart - the blight of society - and the canker, I had almost said cancer of [illegible] governments.

In the plains of Guaranda, and of the city of Quito, verdant fields of waving grains - wheat, barley and maize, are seen to flourish near the peaches, nectarines and apricots; in a position a little warmer, fruitillas [Peruvian strawberries], &c occur; and the chirimoya, aguacate, plantain, pine apple, guagava, in a still warmer exposure. "Succulent fruits which require a warm climate, are abundant throughout the year - as China and Seville oranges, citrons, limes and the like. These trees are full of blossoms and

fruit all the year round." Nature seems to have striven to decorate Quito with all the "beauty of utility" and sublimity; the charms of all the seasons and all the earth being collected in the circle of half a day's journey.* Sheep, cattle, horses abound in the provinces of Quito, and the species [of the horse] called Paramos, for their boldness & fleetness in the precipices of the Andes, where they are used by hunters in their venatick sports, are matchless. [See Ulloa.]

At Loja, at Hambato, and Chambo river, are plantations of nopal, on which the natives rear the cochineal insect. Loxa is famed for its forests of cinchona [Jesuit's bark] and almost equally celebrated for the elegant carpets manufactured there.

Quixos and Macas have forests of cinnamon trees; and the latter produces excellent tobacco and sugar cane, storax, copal, bees wax, &c. Jaen is pre-eminent for its tobacco, which the cultivator steeps in hot mead or a decoction of fragrant herbs, in order to improve its scent and flavor.

* It is true indeed, that nature has dashed the cup with some bitter ingredients and mingled alloy with [illegible] will riches so profuse and enjoyments so delectable. Many provinces are subject to the vexatious pests of and terrible diseases described by Ulloa and others. It is not our business to compare the advantages or disadvantages of climate. "There indeed," as the good natured hero said, "much may be said on both sides." The pinching frosts here the bloated serpent and burning fever, or inward gangrene there, ad infinitum. The curious may turbush Sir Walter Raleigh's arguments anew who contends for a cold, or a temperate "earthly paradise, in preference to a tropical one!" "This begin," he continues standing in the most excellent temper of all others, viz. 35 degrees from the equinoctial line, and 55 from the north pole, in which climate the most excellent wines, fruits, oil, grain of all sorts, are to this day found in abundance." "This tree" [the palm] alone giveth to man whatsoever his life hath all at nature's hand." Though it is found in the East & West Indians he admits, "which countries are also blessed with a perpetual spring and summer; yet lay down by those pleasures and benefits, the fearful and dangerous thunders and lightnings, the terrible and frequent earthquakes, the dangerous diseases, the multitude of venomous beasts and worms, with other inconveniences, and there will be found no comparison between the one and the other." There is a disputation however at which we would rather laugh than enter - where the Saints, canonized fathers of the church, St. Augustine and others take opposite sides; one affirming the story to be allegorical, another declaring it literal - while Sir William Temple &c prove that paradises, or pleasure gardens were common over all the east: We are of opinion, with the poet, that advantages are more equally distributed than some suppose + That

> Nature, a mother, kind alike to all
> Still grants her boon at labor's earnest call
> With food as well the peasant is supplied
> On Toro's cliff as Pamamarca's side. ... [illegible]

The district of Jemana, in Popayan, affords the coca, of which so much notice has been taken by casuists and botanists!

Riobamba yields cotton cochineal, flax, wheat, barley, sugar cane, and has mines, but not wrought.

Tolu balsam, abounds near Carthagena; ipecacuanha is frequent; nor is there a district in new Granada destitute of some valuable article, vegetable or mineral.

The Salinas or salt mines in the jurisdiction of San Miguel de Ibarra, are of great extent - which with the salt works of Punta, near Guayaquil, can supply the whole country. Coal mines exist near Santa Fe de Bogata; rock crystals, alabaster; silex are common, and there are emeralds at Manta.

Mines. - The richest gold mines of Popayan, are at Barbacoas, where the rare metal the platina, is deposited in grains. Cali, Busa, Almaguer - have mines also. - Several mines in Choco were formerly abandoned, on account of the workmen encountering the unmaleable, unyielding platina, a substance so "obdurate" that they could neither break it nor calcine it! Its nature & value are better understood at present. Novita, Nitara, Andagueda river, San Juan, Jimana, and St. Augustin, contain gold in grains or shota. Loja has gold mines, Cuença gold and silver ore; and Pallactanga, in the jurisdiction of Rio Bamba, Quixos, Majos, Jaen and Atacames are said to possess metals. There is quicksilver in the mountains of Antioquia - at Santa Rosa, Quindiu, and near Cuença. A complete enumeration we cannot pretend to. There are gold mines at Cana [Santa Cruz de Cana in the isthmus] in Darien; gold and copper

in no great plenty, in Santa Martha; & is a
seven gold and silver mines in the district
of Mariquita, province of Santa Fe; Copper
at Tocayma; gold mines at San Pedro and
Arenas, and grains of gold at Santa Rosa,
and the vallies of Trinidad and Los Onos, in
Antioquia - besides silver at Vega de Supia.
we have no recent or very authentic account
of the mines of New Granada; but it is mani-
fest, that were all her provinces without sil-
ver or gold, her territories would still be rich-
ly endowed. ~~Asantic is rich. extensive tracts~~
~~Asturias are very fertile.~~ [~~in Esposicion of the com-~~
~~merce of South America. pb~~]

When a country, like New Granada, whose
natural advantages may be said to hang around
her as thickly as clusters on the vine - shall have
been thrown open to the competition of free labor
and free trade, and all society feels the stimulous
of interest, we may judge of her rapid advances
by our own. We may calculate them too by her
past situation - jealously and inflexibly smote
with the curse of idleness and all its train. -
Idleness and servitude seemed to be the two pil-
lars of government. - the operation of the former
is graphically sketched by a writer on the spot.
"There is no vice to which idleness is not a prelim-
inary - nor is sloth ever unaccompanied with
some fault or other. What must then be the
state of morality in a country where the greater
part of the people have no work or employment or
calling to occupy their thoughts, nor any idea of
intellectual entertainment?" Therefore Ulloa
found drunkenness and gaming to be common

practices in many parts. With all this, she grew a pace, and has exported, as we see, about ten millions. We cherish the hope, that nothing in her future government will resemble the past, that no mountain weight of restriction shall crush the elastic mind of man, and no restraints entangle his laborious arm; that no grave synod of priests or other privileged orders will be convened, as in Mexico, to determine whether native classes shall be allowed to learn latin or not — or to acquire other literary knowledge; and finally to resolve on the inexpediency of letting them learn any thing but latin! * we hope to see a political edifice erected on the basis of equal rights — and representation under which, the general prosperity will be but the sum of individual security, freedom and happiness, — where governors shall never forget that the welfare of the governed is the sole legitimate object — their will the only lawful means of government — Fair Industry would then accomplish what shackled labor can never do; and men would be agreeably amazed at their own melioration: all would be the reverse of that woful system of experiments in economy & government, which almost seems to have for its drift the ascertaining what degree of weight — how many grievous "fardels" mankind can bear — and what proportion of persons in society can be supported by another. In the case of dumb animals, as of a generous, "high mettled racer," or a lusty bullock swimming a river, who should be burdened with bundle after bundle until one drop down on the course, and the other sink in the waves, all would exclaim against the wanton barbarity — as absurd, impolitic, and mad: but when these cor-

* See Fonseca — Cronica, &c. cap. 23. This Junto of bishops, friars, and other men of letters, was convoked by D. Antonio de mendoza, the Viceroy, to deliberate on ecclesiastical affairs, and on the in-

rect judges come into the same predicament with the maltreated beasts, and come to try their own cause, they forget the judgment they had just pronounced. For tyranny stupefies our faculties; or society, like the eye, can survey every thing except itself. If sound principles of reasoning govern the people of the south, monopolists can never blind them again; the product of their labor they will regard as their own creation, and insist upon the just rights of property — but as patriotic children of the state be ready to contribute to the public largely — to privilege nothing.

It has been remarked, that the monopolists of Cadiz, who had remonstrated with all sort of arguments against the participation of other ports and provinces in the commerce of Spanish America, were soon after astonished to find, that the extension of trade to others, sensibly augmented their own: in one year, above fifty millions of dollars in specie or bullion, and above twenty millions in other products were introduced. Yet they repined at their wounded privilege of domination which men and nations pursue to dotingness.' "The Independence of the United States [as Walton repeats after others] in point of trade, has been more profitable to England than their subjection" would have been. So it is with every people whose enlarged production tempts to greater wants and consumption: As

"Every want that stimulates the breast,
"Becomes a source of pleasure when redress'd!"

For this reason, of which enough has been said above — the author of the Exposé prognosticates the greatest pecuniary, as well as political, advantages to British trade and intercourse with South

struction of the Indians. It was ordered, that they be taught no more than latin, which they learn quickly, &c. It is worse at present — Reading and writing were capital crimes in New Granada.

America. "Who would have thought," he asks, "that coals and English fire grates would become articles of export to La Plata; or that by our intercourse we should have taught the inhabitants many conveniences and wants before unknown to them; and that, in so short a time, we should have contributed more than to double their imports? This instance alone, tends to show how much the resources of that country might be improved, and how extremely deserving it is, both of the attention of the government and of our mercantile interests." ib. 427. "Nor are the returns less interesting [than the exports] being composed of the richest productions of nature, besides 42 millions of dollars in coin, which might easily be increased. This is therefore a connection of the greatest possible importance to the mercantile interests of the British empire, and will in future be of great political consequence in the affairs of Europe."

This writer does not exaggerate the resources of South America, nor miscalculate the benefits which may accrue to England from a trade with the various provinces. As he sees only the British side of the account, he may be mistaken in the notion that doubling the imports of a country can improve its capability! Consumption ought to be graduated by the ability to produce; and safe importations must be consequent, not antecedent to exportation. How far the inordinate love of lucre in the breasts of Buenos Ayrean merchants swayed the government there to involve the provinces in a civil war for monopoly, would lead us astray to enquire at large. We are grieved at the event. The emporium of La Plata raised and fought for pretensions as grossly unjust as if Norfolk or

Annapolis should forbid Baltimore and all the country westward to import foreign merchandize for themselves, and order them to pay commissions and contributions other merchants, be supplied exclusively ~~exclusively~~ by them, and depend upon them. Precisely parallel is the assumption of Buenos Ayres, and as evil natures coalese, political Amphion has stepped in to throw another brand upon the flame of discord. The champions of free trade must triumph; but the country must suffer in the pobilico-mercantile war, that divides its energy and has been marked by assassinations of learned, liberal, republican and gallant men; worthy of triumvirate proscription, or Robespierian murders. How South American "resources" may be of the "greatest political consequence in the affairs of Europe," we could easily guess if we would. English politicians from inveterate habit of interfering in others' concerns, wedded to their ways, and [conclude from familiar associations] that every western or eastern star, is to revolve around Great Britain as a centre. Where others see a rising, independent empire, they behold a ~~provincial~~ provincial demesne for old England. Thus a manufacturer stops to admire a flock of sheep, and calculates in his mind, as they browse, how much broadcloth their fleece will produce.- The butcher regards the same flock, and thinks of slaughter - how well their throats become the knife - and their quarters will look on his stall! One, in idea, clothes a community; another eliminates the simple woolly dupes, who like all dupes [in Virgil's idea] carry about a warm fleece for the benefit of others.

"The free cultivation of the vine and olive, the growth of the mulberry, the distillation from

sugar, rice and the grape; the exportation of flour; the increase of plantation of cane, cotton, tobacco, as well as of many other productions, and the working of the mercury mines, will, one day, not only add to the circulation of trade, but will become more inexhaustible sources of wealth than the united mines of gold and silver. Spanish America appears to be destined, at some future time, to supply us with wine, oil and raw silk; for which we are so dependent on the continent of Europe – as well as flax-seed, for which Ireland has to recur [what a hardship!] to the United States." – [Expose, 444.]

And this insinuation, after the avowal, that the United States have been more serviceable to Britain with their independence than without it! In reciprocation of our kindness, not an article – no, not a petty modicum of flax-seed was to be taken from us, if procurable any where else! What a deep seated grudge! Rivalship may naturally exist among nations, and it would be disingenuous to disguise it – but jealousy is base. Happy the nation that does not prosecute with foreign commerce or national antipathy – [like Macbeth] "too far"! But our business is with South America.

Walton affirms, that the British West India Islands will greatly participate, likewise, in the beneficent effect of Spanish American trade. As those colonies are supplied with live stock, &c from Venezuela, he thinks they may be furnished with flour from New Spain. This is founded in part, yet many of the islanders forebode a "disastrous eclipse from Venezuelian independence which they behold very grudgingly.

"Spanish America is also stated to consume about ten millions of dollars in East India goods. what an additional field might not be here opened! If banks were established in Lima, Mexico, and Buenos Ayres, connected with that of England, what an influx of precious metals might not be promoted." [ib. 457.]

Such copartnerships could not fail to be as acceptable as it might be necessary to one of the parties. The gold would be important, not from its making an amalgam with paper, for that is impossible - but by redeeming it. And banks aside, I fervently hope there may be, - I believe there is a redeeming power and spirit in South America, whose beneficial influence may be felt, on the pool of commerce and the wider circle of human affairs, "to the last moment of recorded time."

It would be desirable by English traders to reverse the current which carries specie from Spanish America to the Philippine islands, through which she receives the products of the East. However averse the Philippine Company or the Spanish American merchants might be from this traffic, the mouth of Liverpool or Bristol would match the mourning in Cadiz or Acapulco. The equilibrium or "balance of power" between laughing and crying would be maintained, at any rate - to the great complacency of the British politicians!

In foreshowing all these gains, the author of the Exposé solicits his countrymen and government to look at the probability of the result, from the instance of the trade to Buenos Ayres - where, notwithstanding the glut of the markets by British goods - they were on account of their cheapness gradually purchased by the natives who were thus taught new wants, and had their

own manufactures greatly supplanted."

Powerful as such artillery is, the author had taken precaution to plant his battery on more commanding ground. - From this impregnable position, he can almost dictate opinions and touch the most sensible chord in a British bosom - the fear of rivals or enemies on the continent. "The commercial prosperity, and consequent strength & greatness of England have long been the envy of the European continent; and notwithstanding the favorable issues of the war, who can insure that it will not again become the same!"

Believing that a frugal, industrious, free people, if true to themselves, have nothing to apprehend, but much to hope from the prosperity of a neighbor; believing that where many are bodying evil, we may congratulate ourselves on good. - we look with composure on the fretful, fearful solicitude, that is disquieted with inevitable things - yet "trembles at impossible events" - lest aged Atlas should resign his load, and heaven's eternal battlements rush down." Steering in that happy medium, equally remote from ambition as from avarice, we are undisturbed by the evil spirit of either.× Away with petty jealousy and pettier bickerings; and welcome the competition we cannot shun - nor seek to shun. Mr Walton, we repeat, has not magnified the ability of South America to create or to consume. - Britain will have her share of their trade & let her enjoy it without envy. We shall have a full, if not an equal participation in its benefits, [nothing can prevent us] and we desire no more. The catalogue of exports from the United States, which is in great part set down

×"Enarcade avariento, el Diablo yace dentro" says the Spanish proverb.

above, and for which a market will stand open in South America, is very considerable. I am far from intimating, that commercial interest alone ought to regulate our conduct. More generous motives and weightier considerations, knitted with our affections and feelings will preponderate in our judgment - and turn the scale of a liberal policy. We sympathize with the champions of independence, who have suffered a worse tyranny than we did; and we flatter ourselves with the approach of a time, [a political advent] when identity of interests and principles shall link us together from Tierra del Fuego to Columbia river, when we will feel as with one nerve, and throb with the same pulse, and burn with one holy ardor of patriotism and justice, possessing the same continent, united by the same cause, inspired by the same honor, we shall coalesce to defend our own rights, will think alike, but march together to vindicate the inviolable sanctity of conscience and opinion. The South will have its polarity in the North; and the North "garner up its heart," and treasure, and sympathy in the South. Should Time even disappoint our wishes, we cannot forego the satisfaction of indulging them.

Before we forsake this part of the subject, we shall recapitulate such articles, as we most probably may, and a majority of which, we actually do send to Spanish America; [not calculating the entire list for the demand in Venezuela and New Granada:-]

Ashes, pot and pearl; Beer and Porter; Bread, navy and crackers - [& flour] Brushes; Butter;

Candles, wax, tallow, and Spermaceti; Cheese; Cards, wool and cotton, also Playing Cards; Cider in boxes; Carriages, Coaches, gigs, waggons, and carts; Cordage, ½ to 3½ inch; Chairs, Windsor &c; Copper and Brass manufactured; Drugs; Earthen Ware, common and stone, &c called; Fish, salted or dried, as shad, herrings ~~and~~ mackarel, and cod fish; with oil and whale bone; Frames, wooden, for houses or ships; Garlick; Glass, cut and plain, decanters &c. [and a little window do.- but little or none of the latter is used within the tropics.] Gunpowder, fine, and shot; Hats; Iron, and iron manufactures, Nails from 2 to 6 inches; hinges, saws, axes, anchors, anvils, spades, carpenters tools; cannon shot; bar iron and castings, cambouses, hoops, &c; mixed iron and wood, as pistols, fusees, muskets; Lead, pig and sheet, shot, &c.; Leather and skins, dressed and tanned, including morocco and their manufactures- boots, shoes, Portmanteaux, holsters, &c. &c; Lumber- Staves, plank and pine boards; Naval Stores and provisions; tar, pitch, beef, pork, &c; Oil, whale and linseed; Onions; Paper, letter and writing; Peach Brandy; potatoes, during the season; printing press and types; Saddlery; Soap; Spirits, from domestic produce; Spirit of Turpentine; Snuff, and perhaps tobacco for a time; Sawed Stone and marble Slabs; Wood and timber, for house and ship building, as above.

It is very probable this list might be lengthened by a person practically conversant with mercantile ~~affairs~~ business. Though a few of the enumerated exports will decay with time

new ones will indubitably overbalance the defect with our increasing relations.

Among very long printed tables of Spanish exports to Caracas, Cumana, and Guayana, &c. we find the following - but every one recollects, that Spain supplied her colonies with almonds, olives and their oil; artichokes, saffron, raisins, beer, wine, liqueurs, even lentils and all sorts of stuffs either national or foreign - re-exported from Spanish ports. - I select, without classing them, at some of the items one cannot forbear smiling, viz.

Brooms, bird-cages, barley, cantines, or liqu-r cases, gilt combs of shell, &c. carpets, common earthen ware, grindstones, garlic, onions, sweet potatoes [potatoes] hazel nuts, and filberts, hogs-lard, wild marjoram, mahogany chairs and elbow-chairs, chests of drawers and escritoires, candles, coverlets, harpsichords, guitars and piano-fortes, sacredotal ornaments, images of saints, pictures of saints, vases or fonts for holy water, wax and tallow candles, cloaks of the order of Calatrava, cravats, fringe, silver plate, &c. thread, cotton, and woolen stockings, linen shirts, waistcoats, &c. clothes ready made for men and women, sieves, soap, wrought tin, towels, table cloths, pack-thread, cordovan, morocco and common leather, iron hinges, saws, and hoops.

In the table of imports into Venezuela from other colonies we perceive - rice, flour, fish, provisions in general, delft and glass ware, drugs, frying pans, spades, masts, yards, and generally articles of equipment for vessels, pitch pullies oakum, pitch and tar, mixed; iron boilers and farming utensils. Munitions of war it were superfluous to state.

we have not presented these two extracts on the principle of Utrum horum, to afford those unacquainted a choice; but to corroborate, as they do, in part, the catalogue first in order, which I had previously collated, with such statements as were within my reach. It would be ridiculous to offer advice to an order of men as lynx-eyed as merchants usually are in discerning their own interests; but since they, like other professions incline to pursue these exclusively; - and since a review of our commerce with various European States, shows large balances against us, for a series of years, it behoves the American people, especially their legislators, to reflect seriously on past transactions, and on the prospect before us.

With China and the East Indies the balance of trade uniformly, heavily and perhaps necessarily against us.

With Spain and Spanish and French West Indies, greatly against us.

With Russia against us.

With Great Britain and British East Indies enormously against us. [We have in truth supported that power.] While our commerce is declining with some other States, which formerly enabled us to pay off adverse balances. [See Seybert's Statistical Annals, p. 278 et seq.] But later reckonings outstrip all former example - and we are brought to a pause on the brink of an abyss which is strewed with the wreck of individual fortune. The nation will probably re-echo the caution of Washington on another occasion: "Here let us stop." "To permit importers to exhaust a country because some grains of revenue

are picked up - is like cutting down an apple tree to gather the fruit.

Embarrassments accompany every change of national position - the greatest of all entangle alterations of relation deferred till too late. Ours however, cannot be of long duration. We are not in the dilemma of some other nations, who have Revolution or Servitude, Bankruptcy or unsufferable Taxation staring them in the face: Distraction glaring wildly upon them - and the uncertain light they have to guide them, emanating from Despair; "brief as the lightning in the collied night" - or the horrific brightness which flashes from the eye-balls of the couching tiger ready to spring on the benighted traveller. By steadiness and discretion our difficulties will vanish as a passing cloud. Nothing can be farther from our intentions than to exaggerate the present or future resources of South America; and therefore we do not say that it has balm to heal the wounds and woes of all the world - though the world [a little unreasonably perhaps] appear willing to believe it has. Hellebore then, will ever be necessary! The old would be renovated like Iolaus, and both aged and decrepid would leave lameness and senectude in the fountain of Bimini - if Ponce de Leon could only have discovered it! Many are not aware that labor in the fields, or at the loom, or bench or lathe, is less toilsome and more advantageous than digging and delving in the mines - and that the products of gold and silver mines are chiefly useful in representing and circulating the other productions of skill and labor. I am therefore mortified at seeing any disposition to overrate, [or to underrate] to

deceive or to be deceived. Tin is a more useful metal; iron the most useful; but the latter too abundant to serve as money, as tin has sometimes done. Were nations agreed on making platina, instead of gold, &c. the common measure of value, as its rods are of lines and superfices, it would be proportionately more precious, as it is rarer than gold and silver - but then it would prove, perhaps, too scarce for the currency of all nations - One metal is unsuitable from its plenty, another from its rarity - and gold and silver preserve the happy intermediate point between the extremes - As for paper it has no place on the scale - and must be rejected every where. Let us neither be dazzled by false lustre, nor bewildered by intricate statements. Were there not a solitary mine in Spanish America, it ought not to effect our opinion or policy.

Most nations, like most families, will find the main source of their prosperity, and comfort at home. Domestic trade is the most important of all; it is to the national body what the circulation of the blood is to the human body in the vital functions. For our surplus productions we flatter ourselves that a profitable market will be opened in Spanish America; and other nations believe the same of their respective products; while some, more impatient or profligate, debauched by illicit policies and habits of conquest, in East, west, North and South, would clutch at once both mines and territory if they could. This they would do without clutter - familiarized to operations of deception, intrigue and subjugation. The same

profluent stream of wealth that swells a conqueror's power, is sure to allay his conscience!

As to the recent and present trade of Venezuela, I think, that fully five-sixths of the dry goods, sold are British; though German goods, as checks osnabergs, linens, packing canvass, &c. are saleable. India goods, as blue and yellow nankeens, serampores, &c. are also vendible.

Catalonian wine [in pipes] Sherry and the common wines [in bottles and demijohns] Spanish brandy, with garbanzas [or peas] almonds, olives, figs, raisins, anchovies oil in jars, &c. are articles of regular consumption. I resign this field to more practical persons.

However eminent the advantages with which nature has endowed New Granada herself, may be, they appear to us to be susceptible of fourfold multiplication from her central situation relatively to Europe Asia and north America. This geographical and commercial position, is the most favorable that can be conceived on the globe, [not excepting New Spain] for maritime and mercantile communication. She has harbors on both seas, and rivers which nearly form a boatable channel from one ocean to the other. By a navigable canal, [and several are no doubt practicable] from the Atlantic to the Pacific, Europe and the United States may one day hold intercourse with all the western ports of this Continent, and the eastern coast of Asia. The original designs of the discoverers will then be realized by a method unexpected. Chile, Peru, as Panama and all New Granada, W., Guatemala,

California, our future settlements between the bay of San Francisco and Columbia river; the establishments of the Russians and others at Nootka Sound and Northwardly of it - all the coast from Behring's Straights to Cape Horn - the Asiatic islands, &c. will all be accessible by this new route. This continent already passable with boats, at one point, may at a moderate expense be traversed at several. For one hundredth part of the labor which scooped out the Duke of Bridgewater's subterranious canal, or which carried the Canal of Languedoc through mountains (a work more superb than useful) for an insignificant portion I say, of this labor, and expenditure, a shop navigation may be opened from the Atlantic to the Pacific; In asserting this, we think we speak advisedly on the subject, from the best information procurable, except actual, professionable survey. Whenever, or wherever executed, the project will effect a revolution in the commerce of the world: and make a corresponding impression on every branch of our social institutions. Besides shortening the navigation two thirds or more from Europe and the United States, the risks of doubling Capes Horn and Good Hope will be avoidable (in a great measure) by this channel. With this enterprize we naturally associate an idea of our trade in the Pacific. Judge Bland in his excellent Report on Chile* has developed the great and growing

* See the Report from the 117th page to the end

importance of the Western Commerce, whale fisheries, &c. to the United States - and this gentleman has made a modest estimate of the trade. Whether it be in furs or fish or any other article; whether the voyages there be connected with previous shipments to Europe, or subsequent enterprize to India; whether our traders carry [in French goods, &c.] the proceeds of a cargo of tobacco or other article sold in France; or they directly send out their vessel with hardy sailors and harpoons to brave the elements, and scour the deep, and win a freight by daringness and dexterity; whatever be the choice, this traffic is equally entitled to our regard. We cannot be mindless of it at this time; we will have our fair quota of it at all times. Monopoly has received its death-wound, and is convulsed with mortal agonies: - no human skill can extract the dart- haret lateri lethalis arundo. We wish the monster a speedy dissolution and eternal requiem.

The succors which our whalers in the Pacific and our new Settlement on Columbia River, may receive from "Independent Chile" are judiciously stated by Mr Bland; and it would appear from various accounts, compared, that the fishery had been estimated too low. In Commodore Porter's very interesting Journal of a Cruize to the Pacific, &c. vol. 1. p 122, there is a list of 23 American whale ships being then in that sea, but as this statement was made from the personal knowledge of two sea captains, it was doubtless considerably below the whole number pursuing their enterprize in every part of that ocean. And therefore the estimate ought to be doubled.* which increases our interest in that quarter.

* While this letter was copying. The following list of vessels and capital in the whale fishery, [though not all beyond Cape Horn] has appeared in sub-

According to Delano, a cargo for the North west coast ought to consist of coarse Cutlery, iron hollow ware, tin, iron and ware blue Cloth, blankets, bread, molasses, honey, and different kinds of arms. But, experience is necessary in this trade as in sealing and whaling [and the experienced need no information] see Delano's voyages, p. 255. It being a common route sailed from the N.W. coast, or from the Gallepago for Canton, by the Sandwich and Ladrone Islands, and through the Streights of Formosa our vessels, [as has been remarked] will have the benefit of procuring water, vegetables and other refreshments at the Sandwich Groupe lying so conveniently in their track. The increase of this trade will tend to balance the constant flow of Specie to China, and probably do away the necessity of sending Specie [as is said, is the case] to manilla in the Philippine islands for the purchase of Indian goods, of which it is a great depot.

Persons better versed than we pretend to be, in a knowledge of trade through the whole range of the Pacific ocean, as with the Cyclades or clusters of islands with which the Indian Archipelago is strewed, can properly appreciate the traffic practicable in that great expanse. It is only of such, that we can sue.

stance in an Eastern news paper:-

it New Bedford Paper estimates to have sailed from there	
18 ships and 1 brig, 5347 tons, which with their outfits cost	$ 465.000
Their return cargoes rated at	390.000
From Marthas Vineyard, 2 ships, costing	50.000
Return cargo rated at	93.000
From Nantucket 50 ships, costing	1.350.000
Their returns supposed	2.342.000
From New Bedford, on this side cape Horn 11 ships &	277.000
and 8 brigs, [outfit]	343.000
Return cargoes estimated at	160.000
From nantucket, 10 ships, at an outfit of	227.000
Return cargoes supposed	
Total	6.000.000

So that deducting the last New Bedford item, we have a capital of $ 1.805.000 in this whale fishery promising a return of $ 3552,000 dollars!

cessfully enquire. Whether it be not more profitable, as it is politically safer, for us to barter with any of the islanders in that vast space, than persevere in a commerce with some nations of Europe, who would plot our ruin, while ~~they~~ we insensibly empty our purses into their lap?

Whether the island of Banka,* in the Indian ocean, with new Spain, may not furnish us with tin sufficient for our purposes - and relieve us from dependence on Europe, or "a corner of Britain?" For we presume, that in the course of a circuitous trading voyage, the previous gains would enable our merchants to obtain the article on more reasonable terms in those directions than in Europe.

Since Chile, [as Peru hereafter] or even Japan, may supply us with copper in abundance, is there any good reason why we should look for that commodity in any other quarter? Is it not a species of economical felo-de-se to import copper in sheets, or copper bolts, when our manufacturers can advantageously employ themselves in refining it from the ore, or rolling it from the pig or bar? I contend, that as we have mills standing idle, it were gross mismanagement to suffer sheet copper to be imported. We encourage foreign workmen and discourage our own; and we pay tribute, perhaps, to an implacable enemy. Better to bring unrefined unrolled copper from Japan itself, than to introduce it ready for use from Europe.

We can dispense with the productions of British India; but what purpose then, is a trade continued - or rather, ought not a trade to be prohibited, that is so greatly against us? For since a society is like a crew of a ship, whose fate and fortune hang together, none ought to have the power of impeding, ~~much~~ still less of sinking her.*

* This little island exports annually, near 5.000.000 lbs. tin.

* were all nations to consent to a free commerce, it would be for the advantage of each people: but domineering governments and monopolists will not give a patient hearing to the proposal - Does not self-preservation then require exceptions to the rule of unrestrained trade, in case of a nation urged to unnecessary wants, and plunged in debt by any particular traffic?

similar interrogatories would naturally be put on similar cases, as to any people. They are here proposed only as "positions to be enquired into." Individuals generally can best determine how to apply their industry and capital in any vocation or pursuit; while governments exercise a paternal watchful superintendance over all, with a commanding "view of the whole ground." None, perhaps, with so little capital brings back more profit than the fishermen; and none ought to receive more protection; our policy towards him is just and generous. The fisher who trolls for Cod-fish on the Banks of Newfoundland, the mariner who kills Seals on the islands and Shores of the western ocean, the har-pooner who strikes the whale in every latitude — with him who catches mackarel in our bays, or Shad and herrings in our rivers, are laudably employed. "If he can but meet a market he who draws up a fish, draws up a piece of silver." As the most convenient nursery for all our active and gallant Seamen, who are to carry our protecting Stars and Stripes through every Zone — not only the cod-fishery but every other fair maritime calling that allures a hardy brood to build their "home upon the deep" — ought to be, and is, & will be fostered with patriotic affection. The western trade and fishery will divert, comparatively, less specie from the country, and introduce more into it — there will be, demonstrably, more of creation in them than almost any other. If the latter can conduce to an extension of the former among the islands of the Indian and Pacific Oceans, and between these and Canton or Macao, &c &c. it will merit so much the more attention. English merchants and American navigators represent it as

attractive colours. In what degree this particular degree com-
merce would be influenced by a canal-communi-
cation between the two seas, it is not necessary here
to conjecture. What would facilitate intercourse
to one nation would do so to another, and all be ac-
commodated. We believe that it would have be-
nign effects on our commercial relations with
the western territories of New-Granada, and one
of the finest countries on earth. Humboldt, whose
wise reflections are a million of times better than
his laborious jumble of assertions and facts, wheth-
er on the metals and coin, or on canal routes, says
of this western trade, &c. that "the whale and cache-
lot fishery, which in 1803, drew no English vessels to
the South Sea, and the facilities for the Chinese com-
merce and the furs of Nootka Sound, are baits of a
very seductive nature. They will draw, sooner or
later the masters of the ocean to a point of the
Globe destined by nature to change the face of
the commercial system of nations." We hope
that the ocean will have no masters - and that
the earth [in time] may get rid of them. Ev-
ery thing reflects light on the importance of
this trade, while the greatest part of our Eu-
ropean commerce is a vortex to bury capital,
or to plunge us in debt. It entices us to squan-
der our money, or to drown our credit; and ex-
tinguish that proud sensibility which is the
honestest source of morality and republican
integrity. But instead of dilating on this sub-
ject, let us observe some of the most practica-
ble routes.

It is familiarly known, that by the junction
of the river Atrato, which flows into the gulf

of Darien, with the San Juan that disembogues into the Pacific, a boatable channel was opened from sea to sea, in the year 1788. These waters were united by deepening the ravine of Raspadura. It is passable during the rainy season - but excepting the transportation of indigo, cacao, and a few other articles from Guayaquil, &c. it has hitherto had no greater consequences than the barren and boasted circumnavigation of Africa by the Phœnicians, 600 years before our æra. After all this is the spot, or the neighborhood of it, where a little labour can produce the grandest results. Of the feasibility of a sloop navigation hereabouts, from the information received, I entertain no doubts - From its mouth [about 8° N. lat.] to the Port of Quibdo, capital of the province of Choco [5° 30' N.] the Atrato is navigable by the largest sloops, having a clear unobstructed channel. Quibdo is not above 45 miles from a navigable point of the San Juan, and the excavation of a canal for that distance, would not probably prove a Herculean task. But that undertaking is not so necessary. The bay of Cupica on the Pacific, about lat. 6° 30 N.; or one degree Northward of Cape Corrientes, offers, to all appearance, and by all accounts, the most eligible point for cutting a canal. It is only requisite to make a cut from thence [Cupica] to the little river Napipi, which after a short and gentle course mingles its waters with the Atrato. The Cordillera on that part of the Coast, presents a break or interval of 12 or 15 miles; as if Nature herself had placed an Index

there, to indicate the fittest place for opening the canal. Cupica is described as possessing all the requisites of a commodious haven; is without shoals, and sheltered from the winds: the coast is healthy and garnished with superb forests of cedars, mahogany and other trees. According to the map, which I have had an opportunity of consulting,* the length of the proposed canal, need not in all probability, exceed 20 miles; but the depth of the Napipi, not being delineated, we cannot positively pronounce the precise distance to which a line must be produced, to intersect its highest navigable point. There is no reason to believe that it can possibly be above 30 geographical miles. How trifling a work for so sublime an ~~[illegible]~~ enterprize! And so we may remark of all works of real utility. For one third part of the debt incurred by some nations for purposes of conquest, enslavement and monopoly- that is to scourge others or aggrandize themselves, they might have showered freedom and justice on mankind; completed noble monuments of the arts- civilized the savage - liberated the bondman, & have made the wretched happy. Instead of this, their intrigues and treasures have been exerted to poison the waters of health, rivet old chains & fabricate new; and, in a word, let loose all the plagues of Pandora's box among nations - ~~[illegible]~~

In the history of the English and French buc-

* Entitled, if I may translate a title Sections of new Granada Cumana, with all Guayana, &c by Don Antonio de la Torre, a Captain in the Spanish service, with a diary of his tour, [during the survey]; dedicated to Don A. Cavallerry Gozora, Archbishop, &c. &c. &c. and viceroy of new Granada. It appears that this arduous labor had been completed in June 1783, the dedication being dated from Santa Fé, the 19th of that month. The Diary, which I have never seen, must have been extremely interesting, from the time and scene of observation. This itinerary and measurement led, as I have been informed, to the dismemberment of Barinas [that is, its principal part] from new Granada, and to other territorial transfers, which will have an influence on political modifications.

careers we perceive repeated instances of those adventurers [a strange compound, half hero half villain] passing the isthmus of Panama, and with few attendants, being enemies to the Spaniards, they readily ingratiated themselves with the natives: the achievment was like a pastime to them. Going in small bands it is likely they would explore the shortest and most convenient routes; for, in detached parties [all under the bann of Spanish proscription] their precarious circumstances resembled those of amphibious animals, which came ashore to feed: they kept watch argus-eyed, against surprise, or attack, and prepare to regain the watery element with all possible celerity. Among men who undertook most desperate adventures, were persons capable of originating the boldest plans. The project of colonizing Darien, conceived and digested by one of them [Patterson, the same who planned the Bank of England] was of this character. It is related in various histories of the times, particularly by Laing, in his History of Scotland, with his usual clearness and impartiality. Patterson projected the establishment of an emporium on either side of the isthmus, for the trade of the opposite continents. His African and Indian Company were to import European manufactures and African negroes, transport them across the strait, and exchange them for South American produce, or the manufactures of Asia, - "when imported to the Gulf of San Miguel [St. Michael] or to the river Sambo, in the Bay of Panama. The same trade winds that wafted the European commodities across the Atlantic, would carry them across the

Pacific Ocean to Asia. The ships from each continent would return with the produce of the other continents, while the ships from Europe would return loaded with the produce of both the Indies. To unite the commerce of the two Indies by a colony planted in the isthmus of Darien; or as he expressed it himself, to wrest the keys of the world from Spain, was certainly the conception of no vulgar mind. It may be compared with Alexander's great and most successful design of establishing a mart in Egypt, through which the commerce of India might flow for ages; and was worthy of Spain to execute, if Spain had been a free and enlightened nation." — [Hist. Scotland, vol. 4. 261-2.] "With a wiser policy, he proposed to render the colony a free port, where no distinction of party, religion or nation should prevail."

If the scheme of a depot on either side of the isthmus, deserves to be emblazoned as a "sublime conception," how should we denominate the accomplishment of a canal from sea to sea?

The sad sequel of this remarkable enterprise chiefly concerns England, whose monopolists first opposed it with infamous and secret machinations, and finally, defeated the project with the most shameless injustice.* But if Patterson

* The English East India Company, and other merchants on whom William III. was dependent, actuated by sordid jealousy, importuned him to quash and destroy the Scots Darien Company — as they had prompted him to suppress the manufactures and industry of Ireland. It was argued, that the English would be expelled from foreign markets by the competition of the Scots, and their exemption from duties, and undersold by a clandestine exportation at home; and that if Scotland were once permitted to acquire a settlement in America, the colonial trade of England would be utterly lost. The King replied, (to the parliamentary address) that he had been badly served in Scotland," &c. In fine intrigue and menace failing, the might of the government was exerted to extinguish the Scots Colony. The Scots had fought and conquered the Spaniards — renewed the colony several times; but being excluded from the British colonies, and cut off from all succours, the dregs of the Company were obliged to relinquish the undertaking. To appease the rancorous indignation of the Scotch, and

had purposely sought revenge, all his wrath must have been glutted, could he have had a foresight of the operation of his Bank of England on the political and economical condition of that country. He bequeathed the poisoned shaft to the nation.

At Acla, where the Scotch found an excellent harbour [in lat. 9° N. long. 77° 45' W.] they erected a fort about the eastern limit of the province of Panama, a little to the westward of the Darien Gulf, and opposite the isle of Pines.- New Edenburg, the capital, was situated midway between Acla and Cape Tiburon, or the western extremity of the Gulf of Darien. From the map it does not appear, to be above 15 miles from Acla to the boatable waters which discharge themselves into the Bay of Panama; and not more, if so much, from new Edinburg to the waters that flow into the great gulf of San Miguel, situate S. E. from the city of Panama. - It strikes us, that as this scite was carefully chosen, there must be a short, and convenient portage from one navigable point to another: but there we presume, the mountains render a canal impossible. It is probably preferable to ascending the Chagres to Cruces - after which the carriage overland to Panama, will probably equal the cost of transportation via New Edinburg from sea to sea.

Whether this immortal ground will minister as largely to utility as to fame, we have no topographical knowledge to enable us to turn prophets. The gulf of San Miguel is consecrated in

attack them obsequiously to England. The union of the two kingdoms was suggested, recommended, and at length carried by bribery and force against a sincere and strenuous opposition. The Darien stock or debt was funded with the English national debt; and Scotland admitted to a participation of the colonial trade, to be, because a faithful Sanctuary in the guards of the British crown. - Gambling in funds cements all interests! To see how conducive to such events the Darien affair really was - read the 11th & 12th chapters of the same volume. Thus does mercantile cupidity operate on governments and government react on society!

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history as the identical spot where Vasco Nuñez de Bilboa, the discoverer, took possession of the South Seas, as the Spaniards did at various points, with military and religious ceremonies that literally astonished the natives. This happened the 25th of September, 1513. Before Balboa climbed the mountain, from whose summit he expected to behold the Pacific, he ordered his troops and young cacique [his guide] to halt, when he ascended alone, that none should share with him the honor of a discovery so important. Arrived at the top and overpowered with joy and admiration at the prospect of an ocean stretching in boundless expanse before him, he fell on his knees and raised his hands towards heaven, — as silently expressing thankful adoration for a blessing so distinguished. At sight of this emotion, his impatient troops scaled the mountain, and followed his example. Rapt in grateful extacy, they indulged in feelings of gratulation on an event, from which indiscribable glory and advantage would redound to their country. Nuñez reared mounds of stone and planted lofty wooden crosses in token of dominion — carving the name of Ferdinand in the bark of many a tree. — Descending the mountain to the opposite side, with his brave little band, Balboa, armed cap-a-pie, with sword in hand, and round buckler on his arm, waded to his waist in the ocean, and turning to the spectators, solemnly called them to witness his taking possession of that sea and its surrounding territories for the Kings of Castile, whose right and property he would maintain [like a loyal knight] in single combat, hand to hand, or in any other

mode against all who should dare to dispute their title.

This formality of taking possession of new countries, by the authority of the Pope, &c. was strictly prescribed in a set of instructions drawn up by a body of Spanish lawyers and divines. The severe Churchill has lashed with his bitter and "chastising pen," this grave and chivalrous ceremonial. The Darien Company contested the right from mere discovery; as the British government lately in the case of Nootka Sound, which the Spaniards had entered and explored, long before Cooke:- but the Company respected the right of the natives, and purchased of them; whereas both governments revered no right but that of force. Though the Darien scheme was overthrown by "invidious opposition," a change of circumstances has caused that government unsated with immense conquests in India, Guayana, Trinidad, &c. &c. to hanker after more continental and insular territories in South America.

To finish the digression concerning Balboa; transported with enthusiasm, he and his companions, contrary to the warning of the Indians, embarked on this untried ocean in nine miserable canoes; and were nigh paying with their lives for their temerity- being overtaken by a terrible storm, and thrown on an inundated island, where the rising waters threatened to whelm them. However the gale subsided, and they regained the shore with extreme difficulty, in shattered, leaky canoes. Disdaining to have partners in renown, they were the first to plough, as it were, that ocean-field, till then unfurrowed and unvexed by foreign adventurers.

From Caret Bay, on the left, or W. of the Darien Gulf, to the waters of the Gulf of San Miguel,* the distance is very considerable. - Wafer, in his account of the Isthmas, says it is a level country from St. Miguel to the ridges near Caret Cove, and well-watered by rivers that fall into the Gulf. The Gulf of Darien, he observes, has not a depth of water at its entrance answerable to its width.

Gold or Golden Island Bay, is a safe and commodious harbor; it was often a rendezvous for the Buccaneers; and it was here that Capt. Sharp landed, when he undertook his expedition to the South Sea. On his way, he took Santa Maria, on the S. bank of a river of the same name. A division having afterwards taken place in the Pacific, between the seamen and officers, - one party adhering to Sharp, another to Dampier, the latter succeeded and passed the isthmus again. The Wafer was amongst these; remained some time among the Indians, and wrote his book dedicated to the Duke of Marlborough to persuade the British Government to seize and hold possession of Darien, &c. &c. &c.

From the Darien Gulf to the Chagres, the rivers ~~running~~ from falling from mountains running near the shore, are little larger than rivulets. The face of the country between Panama and Venta de Cruces, he describes as "thick, short hills." From this expression one cannot form a very distinct idea of the fitness of the ground for canalling. But the river Trinity, it has been asserted, renders the work practicable.

Many have been the speculations about cutting the communication from Lake Leon & Nicaragua, from the W. bank of the latter, the celebrated Dampier thought it could be ef-

* Caracline, is the west point at the mouth of the river Santa, S. S. de of San Miguel Gulf, into which fell the Cape and Santa Maria. Cape Lorenzo is the extreme north point of the west bank of San Miguel.

leagues to the Eastward of Porto Bello. indents the
isthmus till within five leagues of the Pacific:-
its entrance is hidden by a chain of islands; but
has great depth of water. The river which forms
it, is believed to run very near to the sources of
the Chepo or Cheapo which enters the Bay of
Panama. The nature of the ground between these
rivers not being well known, we cannot pro-
nounce with any certainty what facil-
ities it promises to the grand communication.

freted by a cut of 20 miles. It is but four leagues from hence to the gulf of Papagayo and seven to that of Nicoya. That navigator says, that a canal extending "between the head of Nicaragua, in 12 degrees north latitude, and the coast of Nicoya, where there are no mountains, would make only 20 miles across a savanna country covered with trees, then the waters would rush through the opening, and by degrees wear a fine and wide channel 'till the two oceans would become nearly on the same level." - There are hills however, if not mountains, and practicability remains a problem. The navigable river San Juan, flows into the Atlantic from these lakes.

Another communication is by the junction of the Guasacualco and its tributary, the Rio del Paso flowing into the Gulf of mexico, with the river Chimalapa, which enters the Pacific. The source of the Guasacualco, is in 16° n. lat. Between those rivers some irregularity occurs is observable in the course of the mountains, which is here from East to West. Through a "transversal valley" in them, an engineer has given it as his opinion, that a canal is feasible. It occurs to my recollection, that the inhabitants of the country [of Guadalaxara, I think*] solicited permission from the Spanish government, to open this canal at their own expense. Their earnestness is strong presumptive proof of its practicability. - This proposition, Don M. Robles, representative from Chiapa, brought before the Cortes; and in an excellent memoire, equally honorable to his heart and head asked for a re-

* Having unaccountably mislaid Don M. Robles pamphlet any person possessing it will please correct me, if I do remember the particular town.

dress of grievances. His remonstrance, respectful, earnest, cogent as it was, proved ineffectual.

The eagerness of the conquering Spaniards to discover a shorter course to the Molucca Islands, by steering westwardly through a navigable Streight [then supposed to exist] declares, in effect, their opinion of the momentous importance of a canal. Their thirst was inflamed by the successful enterprize of the Portuguese. Nothing was thought of but spicery, gold, conquest, and maritime grandeur. The expeditions of Magellan, the first circumnavigator, "who put a girdle round the world," and discovered the Streights that bear his name — those of Pinzon and De Soles, only roused the Spanish government to redouble their search. Cortez had been informed, that somewhere or other a Streight communicated between the opposite Seas; & plied his exertions to find it, with as much zeal as he had ever besieged Mexico. He assures Charles V. in his 4th letter [p. 197] that between the river Panuco and Florida, it was confidently believed, there ran a channel from the Atlantic to the South Sea; and if it had been so, it could not remain hid from the vigilance of the exploring parties he was preparing to send in quest of it by both coasts. This was in July 1524. Should it but please God, that they might hit on this passage — he proceeds to discant on the advantages of a navigation [safer and shorter by two thirds at least, than the common route] from the Spice countries to his Majesty's dominions, where ships might find shelter, repairs and provisions in friendly ports, besides shunning the risks incident

to the other passage. In the 8th of the same letter, he speakes of establishing a colony at Cape Hibueras 60 leagues from the Bay of Ascension &c. &c. "as well, says he, because I have heard a great deal about the fertility of the soil there, as for the opinion of several pilots, that a streight issues from that Bay to the other sea, which of all things in this world, I am peculiarly eager to meet with: [que es la cosa que jo en este mundo mas deseo topar,] on account of the immense advantages which I am told, would accrue from it to your Casarean Majesty." Cortes's ardor was now blazing with gratitude for the generous decree of the Emperor in his favor, respecting Garay who was forbidden to interfere in Cortez jurisdiction; "for which says he, I kiss your royal Casarean majesty's feet a hundred thousand times. [cien mil veces!]" and by this we may judge of his efforts. - Gomara, in his Cronica, &c. from sections 175 to 189 inclusive, narrates the progress and results of those voyages.[x] The

x An expedition fitted out in 1532, from Acapulco, was frustrated by mutiny and other mischances. Two vessels from Tehuantepec in 1534 fared almost as badly. The pilot in one caused a mutiny and murdered the Commander - but at the Bay of Santa Cruz, the natives afterwards slew himself and twenty of the crew. Grijalva in the other vessel, lost sight of land, steered N.W. and discovered the island of St. Thomas, in 20° N. lat. but the purpose of the expedition - to learn the secret and the termination of that coast - was not attained. Cortez now burning with impatience, marched to Chiametlan, and put to sea with three vessels, steered for California, and on the 1st of may 1536, landed at the high point of St. Philip. His adventures there, the habits of the natives, &c. are related in ch. 188. The industry of the smiths and carpenters, who made charcoal, erected forges, &c. and worked through the night by the light of torches and wax candles to provide means for repairing and building vessels. At Santa Cruz Cortez found a few emaciated Spaniards, left there in the first expedition, who had survived the death of their companions by eating herbs and mussels, &c. Grijalva not arriving, Cortez resolved to return to Mexico, hearing of the arrival of Mendoza the viceroy, to supersede him. He finally returned to Acapulco - having been given up for lost. The Spaniards were much amused in this voyage, at the dexterity of the Indians in hunting, in managing a raft of five pieces of timber, and taking fish by means of arrows and pointed rods or spears. Francisco de Ulloa, reinforced by three vessels, ascended as high as the road or Bay of San Andres [St. Andrews] in lat. 32 N. - He found an uninhabited barren soil, arid, naked mountains, and several volcanoes. Whales were numerous, and he discovered vestiges of sheep [or goats] viz. huge ponderous spiral horns, [cuernos grandes, espirales i muy pesados.] After spending an entire year, Ulloa returned to New Spain without making, in the estimation of the Spaniards, any important discovery. "Mas fue el trabajo que las nueces," says Gomara, "there was more noise than nuts," more painful perils than profit. But the narrative of these voyages abounds with interest to the naturalist, geographer, &c. &c. The conqueror had the mortification of a disappointment, after

western passage was not found, because it did not exist. If the ardent explorers did not detect the object of their devout research; they discovered new countries, bays and rivers; claimed them for the government of Spain, and erected crosses as signs of dominion. It is by no means improbable, that the accounts of the natives, who may have used the same phrase for an isthmus as for a watery strait, might have misled the Spaniards. Credulity had at last to assent to facts; which is always done reluctantly, when they contradict our wishes. Cortez, like Alexander, was forced to be content with one world!

"It is unnecessary to enquire into the vacillating measures of Spain, respecting the project of a canal — Her motives, no doubt, were uniformly the same. Alcedo states, in his historical and geographical dictionary, that during the reign of Philip II two Flemish engineers were despatched to examine the ground and trace the line of a canal. They happened to encounter insuperable obstacles [or, perhaps, were secretly instructed to report so] and the Council of the Indies represented the injuries which the monarchy must sustain by the intended measure; whereupon the monarch rushing to the other extreme, now prohibited all persons from proposing or treating of the project — on pain of death. A similar interdiction was decreed, under a like penalty respecting the navigation of the Straits, and without any exception; with a view to shield New Granada from the dangerous contact of foreign intercourse. [See Antepara's Documents concerning Miranda, p. 11.]

Antepara, a South American, discusses the subject, with ability. Wishing then to engage the attention of England, he assumes the char-

spending 200,000 ducats. His Romans tell us he was generous in his expenditures as Caesar — & they might have added that he obtained his spoil and pillage nearly in the same rapacious way.

acter and employs the arguments of a British subject. The greatest commercial advantages, in his opinion of South American emancipation - the mightiest event, probably, in favor of the peaceful intercourse of nations, which the physical circumstances of the globe present to the enterprise of man, would be the formation of a navigable passage through the isthmus of Panama. The work, he thinks, is easy of execution from the river Trinidad which unites with the Chagres, a river navigable to Embarcadero, 30 miles from Panama, through a level country, "with a fine river to supply the water for the canal, and no difficulty whatever to counteract the noble undertaking." This gentleman also adopts the notion of a canal being practicable from Lakes Leon and Nicaragua to the Pacific.

Be it completed where it may. Anteo para believes its benefits will be signal. Not only that branch of maritime enterprize pursued by South Sea whalers, will undergo a complete revolution - "but the whole of those immense "interests which we hold deposited in the regions "of Asia, become augmented in value, to a degree "at present, it is not easy to conceive, by obtaining direct access to them across the Pacific ocean. "It is the same thing, as if by some great revolution of the globe, our Eastern possessions were "brought nearer to us. The voyage over the Pacific, the winds, both for the Eastern and western passage, being fair and constant, is so expeditious and steady that the arrival of the "ships may be calculated with almost the "accuracy of a mail coach." [Ib. 13-14.]

In conformity with these impressions, the

Commissioners from South America who had assembled in Paris to consult with Miranda on the means of liberating their country, proposed in the 6th article of the stipulations which that general was authorized to make with the British government, the opening of a canal navigation from sea to sea, and a guarantee of the free use of it to the British nation.

Baron Humboldt who reckons up almost every route of canal communication, though seemingly not decided as to the most advisable, declares, it "an undertaking calculated to immortalize a government occupied with the true interests of humanity." The opinion is just. It would certainly diminish the frequency of the long circumnavigation of South America" and produce material changes without war. Was it on this account, that the English cabinet received that part of the overture so coldly? "Should a canal communication be opened between the two oceans, the productions of Nootka Sound and of China, will be brought more than 2000 leagues nearer to Europe and the United States. Then only can any great changes be effected in the political State of Eastern Asia, for, this neck of land, the barrier against the waves of the Atlantic ocean, has been for many ages the bulwark of the independence of China and Japan." [Essay on N. Spain, book ix. ch. xi]

We look not, however, in citing these sentiments towards any other consequences than those which may affect this continent generally, and ourselves especially. We entertain not the slightest desire to see China or Japan stripped of their independence, because we verily

believe that they should rather lose, than gain by an inoculation with the virus of European religion and politics, perverse as both are, & subservient to despotism in the present "degenerate age." This aside, we firmly believe, that the measure would be highly auspicious; and from the best information we could procure, we are as ~~firmly~~ clearly persuaded, that the most eligible route is from the river Napipi to the Bay of Cupica. When independence shall be established to the north and to the south of the Isthmus, there will most ~~probably~~ probably be opened more than one canal. The Granadenians will not abandon the line just mentioned; nor will the Mexicans relinquish their purpose of uniting the Guasacualco and Chimalapa. But be there a canal or not, our rising trade with South America bids fairly to become great: that with Chile will be valuable; that with New Granada and Venezuela, of incalculable advantage.

There is a Spanish proverb, highly expressive of the various conclusions which different persons deduce from the same premises: "Ciento de un vientre, y cada uno de su miente." A hundred persons born of the same mother, will all disagree in sentiment - [q-d. Many men of many minds] It is remarkable enough, that whilst Antepara has exerted himself to espouse the British government to espouse the canal-enterprise, or favor other undertakings by arguments addressed to the interests of Great Britain; another writer fancies he sees concealed in the measure, as in a basket of figs, or wreath of flowers, the aspick that is to sting her incurably. Though the author of Voyage aux iles

de Trinidad, &c. seizes every opportunity of fulminating denunciations against Britain, (a very venial fault, if not a virtue in a Frenchman;) yet, notwithstanding this bias, there are in his philippic, a few observations that arrest our attention.

Having asserted in his work, that under pretence of making some canns, kids, or cups, blocks pullies, &c. of lignum vita, for their navy, the British government had solicited permission to raise a battery on the shore of Paria near the mouth of the Guarapiche river, he earnestly exhorts the Spanish Americans, to beware of the designs and infringements of England. If Venezuela does not take care, he says, very significantly, that battery will be converted into a fortress, &c. He reminds the Venezuelians of English encroachments at the Mosquito Shore, in the Bay of Honduras, where the British had been allowed to cut dye-woods, but soon acquired the sovereignty and unfrocked the navigation of the Gulf of Mexico and Florida. He then follows the British in their acquisitions in every quarter of the globe - at New Holland, her pretentions at Nootka, &c. &c. [to monopolize the fur and China trade] Otaheite, Macao, Hindustan. They commanded the peninsula of India; had an establishment at Bankoul, on the Eastern coast of Sumatra, which gave to the India Company a control of trade in that direction. They had military posts on the E. borders of Persia, Arabia and the island of Ceylon - and were masters of St. Helena. They had annihilated the settlements of every other power, & ruled all nations by blowing the flame of dis-

cord among them for twenty five [yes. for two hundred] years. Thus had England built up her own commerce, and paid the cost of foreign wars by plundering foreign nations. She will dominion over every sea, until [says Mr. L.] the new States forming in the Spanish colonies, &c. cemented by interest with the government of Washington [i.e. United States] and those of Europe, learn how to enforce respect for their independence, and flag, &c. [pp. 458 et. seq. tom. ii]

Defensive alliance is justifiable; but we have witnessed enough of coalitions! Strong enough to defend our own rights, we need not fear, nor flatter, nor detest any nation on earth ... but there are governments of which we must constantly beware.

"But this colossus cannot long impose on the world. Her power was founded on an imposture, and the deception is dissipating every day. The insolvency of her bank, the ruin of her colonies, the impossibility of finding sufficient outlets for her manufactures and the merchandize of both the Indies; such are the embarrassments that beset and undermine her for these four years. Moreover, two other events will inflict more decisive blows on her power: The Spanish colonies which she wished only to agitate, for which can become independent, have effected changes in the colonial system, whose moral, inevitable effect has been such, that property in Jamaica and other Slave colonies has fallen 50 per cent.d &c. Thus, he argues that people will become the victims of their perverse policy, & expiate, by the sacrifice of their fortunes, the con-

flagration kindled at St. Domingo by the blind fury of their ministry.

"The Spanish colonies will doubtless engage, without delay, in the commerce of Japan, China and India. Their coasts washed by the South sea, give them manifest advantages in that commerce over European nations. They have scarcely one third of the voyage, and navigation on cheaper terms."

He next adverts to the facility of opening a communication between the South sea and the Atlantic. "Porto Bello and Nicaragua will become, some years hence [this voyage was published in Paris, 1813] the staples or entrepots whither those parts of America bathed by the Atlantic, and probably Europe herself, will send to purchase the commodities of India. The shifting of the channel in an extensive commerce will be productive of a revolution in the relative riches and power of states, as was the discovery or passage by the Cape of Good Hope. The Americans themselves will carry to Bengal & China, the metals they used to furnish to Europe for conducting this trade. The day that commerce shall take this new direction, and that day is not so remote as people suppose, will be an awful one for the East India Company. From its destruction [an event wished for by many even in England, by all enlightened friends of their country] we may date the independence of the people of Eastern Asia - of America - general peace, and the regeneration of commerce." [See voyage tom. ii sup. cit. 450 & 461.]

This millenium has not yet arrived - and

we suspect that the truth of a golden age that was and of one that will be, stands on a par. Yet we believe there in some of the prediction.

It is curious to compare how an English writer, whom we have quoted, (Walton) sets with a pardonable partiality, boundless wealth reserved for his country, where a French one sees rivalry, decline, dilapidation and ruin. From the self same events, one argues unalloyed good; another presages nothing but evil.* Our faith in political calculation wavers, when we discover that prepossession sways the calculator. But, however discordant in other respects, all those writers unanimously agree in commending the canal project. None hints that there can be anything defectible about it: they coincide too, in the magnitude of the resources of South America and the importance of a commerce with her. The matter must be prominent and indisputable, which unites the testimony of persons so widely dissentient in other cases.— Such positions may be deemed indubitable. Op erant causes will have their consequences. The same region, whose discovery contributed so much to change the aspect of Europe, will again modify the commerce of nations. It is therefore the duty, as it is doubtless the study of States and governments to watch and anticipate these mutations, and give them, as far, as possible, a beneficent direction. None can be surprised by sudden developements, where every thing transpires almost in embryo. Secrecy

* The latter forgets M. Talleyrand's reported comparison of the absurd revolutions to melt in fusion, where it depended on the ability for will of the founder to cast the image a god or devil. So the result the revolution had been doubtless marred by the influence of certain malignant stars with the destinies of the future we hope better.

an impossibility: The policy of nations and the intrigues of cabinets are all perceptible. An attempt to conceal will them, disclose them. For the maxims of a government and the nature of an animal being known, we can always divine their conduct; we are morally certain that they cannot transform themselves except in appearance. "El pelo muda la raposa mas el natural no despoja." * But I repeat, that unless a people shut their eyes and blockade their reason, they cannot be cheated now-a-days, by appearances, nor surprised by unforseen events, any more than by the alternation of summer & winter. — To the conduct of a people or their government, we have the infallible index of their leading propensity:

> "Search then the ruling passion: there alone
> The wild are constant, and the cunning known;
> The fool consistent and the false sincere:
> Priests, princes, Statesmen, no dissemblers here:
> This clue once found unravels all the rest
> The prospect clears and ..... Man dissolves.
> — Nature well known, no prodigies remain,
> Comets are regular, and B — n plain."

Yet, what instances of improvidence now and then unfold themselves in the mercantile world! A forced, unnatural and transient state of things is mistaken for their natural, and permanent condition. Men heap up combustables, and are astounded at their explosion. When they awake as from a trance. What oracle counsels them to pitch their tents in the high way? to construct their dwellings or fall asleep in the sandy beach, where the first tide must sweep them to destruction? The thoughtlessness that exposes them to the rolling ocean of events which dwells in warning before

* The fox changes his hair, but not his disposition.

it breaks, that heedless fatuity which cannot reckon the regular fluctuations of human concerns, would seem to require a political, governmental guardianship, if the social were not sufficient. Society surely has eyes enough, if it suffer no careless habit to seal them up; no somniferous example to lull it into false security – This must be the charm that wraps even nations in lethargy so fatal and profound. We need bring no other Mercury on the stage to wave his wand, and dim the eye and cloud the intellect – to account for general torpor. Custom explains the portentous numbness: or if aught remains unaccounted for, privilege will decypher the secondary cause. While circumstances vary, we follow the usages of our forefathers. Time however is continually overturning old relations, and we must adapt ourselves to new. It is not only in law that precedent misleads; but in all things, reason is preferable to routine; principle to prescription. Better were it that we should erect shrines to those of past ages than be contenually misguided by following their glorimeirings: Better build monuments to their virtues [for this is right,] than be the dupes of their opinions. Nay – better were it to adopt the gross custom of the Arrawacas of Guayana, who as travellers tell, used to pulverise the bones of their deceased chieftains, mingle the powder in their drink, and swallow the revered infusion, than be constantly bewildered in our most vital affairs by a rule preposterous, antiquated and misapplied. The greatest misfortune incident to melady of mimickery, is, that the infection may spread from an individual to a political sphere – until a Republic be taint-

ed with the leprous vices of monarchy - Giddiness or unconcern may ~~always~~ submit - It is that taint which sycophancy adopts, "when man (as the poet says) like dogs, know nought but following."

One cannot ~~abstain~~ refrain from such reflections, on seeing the general ruin that affects the community of various countries. Practical men are commonly believed to be in advance of governments, as ~~art~~ ~~test~~ frequently forerun science. The maxim, we see is not unexceptionable; because the class to which I more particularly alluded, are doubly tempted into error - by custom and immunity. Thus great privileges are accorded to the clergy in Spain; as the crown levies a tax upon them: this body being joint tax-gatherers for themselves and the government. The people suffer in proportion. But the evil, I trust, may be as transitory with us, as it has been calamitous and extensive - involving all - afflicting all - and [let us hope!] admonishing all.

Conforming seasonably, to the new order of things, eyeing the turn of events with sagacious forecast, and pursuing the best track of trade, I feel the most buoyant confidence, that our fellow citizens may repair much of their damages in that section of the continent of which we have been speaking. It was for the purpose of recommending this object, that I have just glanced at so much of another subject, as appeared to set this in a clearer light by contrast. In other words, I regard the South American, N. Western, and India-Island commerce, with all their ramifications, of more real consequence to us, than half or two-thirds of our trade with Europe. That the latter has not reduced us to beggary long since, was owing to the carrying-

trade, and other crumbs, which have disappeared - and are never to return. We must be conformists to all powerful circumstances; and, in cases of fair commerce, go with the tide. It is in the heartfelt persuasion of the future gainfulness of the Southern and western trade [of which I have neither ambition nor design to be the colourist] that I dwell on the importance of a canal from sea to sea through a tract that would be the centre and Key of a most lucrative traffic. It is an enterprize worthy of a concert among liberal nations.

Should the canal be drawn from the Atrato or Napipi to Cupica, all the objections [I should say surmises] against practicability, founded on the comparative height of water in the basin of either sea, are eluded. The altitude in both, if not equal, is probably not so great as conjecture makes it. If trade winds and the rotary motion of the earth accumulate the waters of the Atlantic on the Eastern coast of this continent within the tropics; the efflux of water into the Bay of Panama from the influence of Southerly winds S. of the tropics, and northerly or N.W. winds N. of them presses the currents towards a central point of this line. These evidently counteract the cross-force of the trade or tropical winds in the Pacific. I cannot collect any thing from Porter's Journal or Delano's Voyages,* from the general principle or any asserted fact, to militate against this impression. Dampier, who had remarked the strong tides of the Pacific Ocean, thinks that its currents would wear a channel, if once admitted into a trench from Nicaragua to

* See the letter p. 480.

Nicoya or any point thereabouts; and we know it rises 13 or 14 feet at Panama. Wafer remarks, "that the sea here, which washes it [the town wall] every tide, beats so strongly sometimes as to throw down a part of it." The tides would rise as high at Porto-Bello as Panama, if peculiar causes had not diverted them into the current that sweeps along the coast instead of urging the waves against the land. Were a canal cut directly from one shore of the isthmus to another, it would but equalize the fluid in both basins:- if the Atlantic be higher, would somewhat lessen the current [called the Gulf Stream;] if lower, would receive an effusion from the tide that sets so strongly into the Bay of Panama: and affect proportionably, the current off Cape Corrientes. And in this supposition, we omit the efficacy of sluices or oblique cuts to exclude or to break a current. We are grateful, that we are not forced to answer the transcendant ravings of the Symmes's and all that race of inspired world-makers, whose speculations are so truly unanswerable! when like other seers, they are seized with the super-human frenzy. Unless they bring some caveat against the plan, grounded on the earth's cavity or curvature, or ichthiology, I think the canal may succeed.- But with the fate of Columbus before their eyes, in a venial case,* we hope others will be careful how they assert any thing about high or

* From an erroneous observation, made during a part of his third voyage, and the impracticability of correcting it in the Gulf of Paria, Colon imagined, that his navigation from Spain had been a continued ascent! that, consequently, the earth was not round as a ball, but like a pear; that Paria was the pinacle or point of the globe as the pole star was invisible from it! Great men - great errors. Many have inconsiderately censured this illustrious navigator, forgetful of the infancy of science in that age. In Spain, the hint was resentfully repelled - where it was maintained that she was as near the heavens as Paria; and if Columbus had not fortunately discovered a continent to outweigh his heresy, there is no telling what the horrid insinuation would have cost him! The inquisition was then under full sail, and piously punished all who would not believe the astronomy printed in scripture.

low with respect to either ocean!

Some intelligent men, with whom I have conversed, hazard the opinion, that if a canal were completed, it would not be of much consequence, and would probably be as injurious as beneficial. These persons argue, 1st That it has become a great desideratum with governments to find employment for the citizens; and individual misery & public commotion are the unavoidable result of non employment; and therefore, it is unimportant whether we double Cape Horn, and circumnavigate two thirds of this continent, or receive India goods across the isthmus of Panama. 2d That the measure would probably be a bone of contention, and give birth to wars: or, if not, the power possessing the territory would extort enormous transit duties or tolls.

We grant, that it is not only necessary to find occupation for the laborer in every essential branch of industry, but to crush the privileged [whether of bank nobles or other orders] which preys upon the fruit of labour. It is enough that the citizen contribute his equal share to the support of government, without maintaining any corps of idlers. If governments had not egregiously misemployed the people, or if citizens had not undertaken extravagant enterprizes, and if both had not forgotten the lessons of a sound economy, we should have seen little distress, and heard less complaint all around us. It seems to us, that the misapplication of taxes and loans occasions four-fifths of a nation's embarrassment. The other fifth is a very natural effect of such causes. Let this quotient be employed by all means - if they be not busy they will be mischievous, as untaught and un-

happy persons usually are. — This can be done without reversing the ~~order~~ motion of society. Why should the arts retrograde to find labor for man? Are all machinery and scientific power to be laid aside, & the spindle and distaff resumed? would Europeans cease to double the Cape of Good Hope, and traffic with India, as formerly, by the Persian and Arabian Gulfs, the isthmus of Suez &c and the Mediterranean? Is not the observation in fact founded on the peculiar state of England and her manufactures the consequence of excess in every thing — even in manufactures? And shall we confound abuse with use? It is just that enormity encounter retribution. What security is there for justice of any kind, if crimes receive no castigation? if endless intrigues and wars have no reaction on their authors? With respect to the second objection — it is only a possibility, which is as strong on the opposite side as on that. Diplomacy and negociation often useless, I confess, are worse than ~~useless~~ futile, if States, through the medium of such intercourse cannot ~~obtain~~ secure the free and equitable navigation of a canal. The facility of a permanent arrangement cannot be doubted. All people are interested in commerce. One nation will not much longer submit to be taxed by another, in any form or ~~on~~ any pretext. If the Americans have sagacity and ~~unremovable~~ immovable firmness at this crisis, every thing will work in favor of equity. One hoary error will vanish after another: Injustice and pretention will recede — slowly and sullenly — will dispute the ground by inches, and contend at every trench: — but they must retire.

Humanity and reason will triumph on this continent - if men for the future be but half so faithful to themselves, as they have heretofore been unfaithful.

Count Tracy considering, no doubt, the degraded state of society in Europe, from the prevalence of ignorance, superstition and despotism, at that epoch, has remarked, that America was discovered three centuries too soon. Europe certainly was then unfit, and will ever be unwilling to regenerate the new world. We trust she may enlighten herself, govern herself, and beware of perverting the revolution. We hope, indeed that the South-Americans will imbibe their full share of illumination, and pursue their national career with the most liberal views; directed by auspicious stars, and cheered by the plaudits of mankind.

If industry and equality be protected from depredation, under a government of civil agency, really representative and responsible, [for on this hinge turns their whole fate, their "weal or woe,"] then we shall hail the glad omen and conclude with the matchless Franklin, at the adoption of our federal constitution when remarking the emblamatic figures behind the Presidents chair, that theirs is a rising not a setting sun. Then may we adopt the anticipation which cheered the philanthropists of Europe [some of the brightest ornaments of mankind] who "looked to the American States as now the hope and likely soon to become the refuge of mankind."* Should they on the contrary, suffer

* The words of the celebrated Doct. Richard Price, dated London, Jan 18, 1778 in reply to the application of the American Commissioners at Paris, Dr Franklin, Arthur Lee and John Adams, in consequence of a resolution of the revolutionary Congress of Octob

a worse than feudal privilege to creep amongst them, at the outset – and coil its serpentine folds about their limbs – we must avert our eyes from the political agonies of Laocoon, from the ruin of all that is sacred, and drop the curtain on the dismal consequences.

Recapitulation, Conjectural Estimates and other memoranda.

After the most diligent enquiry, in order to satisfy my curiosity, and cure my deficiency, with regard to the commerce with South America, or that dependent upon it, I cannot discover any data, the implicitly relied on in making an estimate. Humboldt's calculations or collections of tabels, are notoriously useless. Torres's are confessedly the best we have; and in one instance, we have the authority of practical merchants for saying that these are egregiously underrated. M. Torres states the exports of Peru, at $8,630,000; and the imports would be tantamount; the one being the true index and regulator of the other. But the circumstantial statement referred to, values the annual importation of Peru, $32,347,453, at the European invoice prices." Her exportation is given at $31,488,000. Who shall decide when Doctors disagree? From its particularity, I must believe there is some foundation for this statement – but supposing it only at 20 millions, as embracing provinces not strictly within the geographical limits of Peru – it will proportionably enhance our trade thither, whenever Independence opens the ports to a free commerce.

It is probable, that one half of the later ex-

1788 requesting that eminent calculator, "to become a member of the United States, and to give his assistance in regulating their finances" &c. He modestly declined the invitation – with a proper sensibility to the honor of it. – And possibly we have reason to deplore his refusal – true finance, like just politics, being so commonly overshot because of its simplicity. Plain calculation and inflexible steadiness are probably the surest of perfection in both. Without detracting from the great merits of General Hamilton, one may affirm, that he was not a profound calculator or financier.

ports for Peru, were furnished by English manufactures to Spain, though popular taste favors continental and India goods. In the last, with an immense proportion of dry goods [among which are many German and other continental fabrics] are 1000 quintals Iron; 5000 do. block tin; iron bars, rods, hoops, spades, hoes, plough shares, hatchets, &c. 400 qs. nails of all sorts 3/4 to 6 inches; and from 6 to 12 inch; 80 chests horse shoes; 150 chests glass ware, 200 do. cabinet ware, also hats, letter and writing paper.

On the Atlantic side of South America, the British have, in a great degree, succeeded in superseding French, German and India manufactures by their own; their political influence being brought to bear against custom and interest. Connection however, as is our trade to Spanish America, with that to Holland, the Netherlands and Germany, where we can send our tobacco, we have an important stake at issue - and it is our interest to furnish with German goods, &c. the population who want them. * In our present commerce with Chile, or our prospective intercourse with Peru, this circumstance ought to be carefully noted.

An estimate of our trade to Buenos Ayres cannot be formed from any existing data - because it is mingled with the circuitous traffic with Germany: the direct commerce is trifling at most. Our late commissioners, Messrs. Bland, Rodney, and Graham, seem to coincide pretty generally, as to the trade of Buenos Ayres. [See their Reports in the Older Mated. p. 37 - 22-3 - and 40.] But the commerce of Buenos Ayres is almost va-

* Since writing this memorandum, I have seen a Chilean Price Current in the papers, which I have added at the end; it confirms the assertion in all its latitude.

useless without a vent for her imports in the provinces to the northward and westward of the great Gulf of La Plata. When, therefore, the British minister at Rio Janairo urged —— to an iniquitous invasion, in order to promote distraction among the patriots, he did not then foresee, how it would react at some future day on British merchants - as it does most terribly at this moment. Montevideo has a port; Buenos Ayres has none - but a wretched anchorage for vessels of light draught. The noble rivers Uruguay and Paraguay with their branches, water most extensive regions. - Purificacion, on Rio Negro, and Santa Fé, on the Paraguay, with every other town and district, insist on enjoying the use of their own roads and rivers: but the monopolists of Buenos Ayres, a city which Nature has denied commercial means, say to montevideo, Purificacion and Santa Fé [cum multis aliis] "we inherit, [by divine right, perhaps,] the mantle and the spirit of the monopolists of Cadiz and the Court of madrid; you shall not use the highways channelled by nature or made by art, we shall dictate laws to you, give you your merchandize and make you pay tribute to us." On this principle they act. It is precisely we repeat as if Norfolk should usurp the power of preventing all the ports on James' River, York river, Potowmac and Patapsaco, in short, on all the waters of the Chesapeake, from trading, except through her gate, and on condition of fattening her monopolists. - Hence the war between Artigas and the monopolists of Buenos Ayres. A glance at a good map will convince anyone that the advocates

of "free trade and sailor's rights," must and ought, and will triumph. They command the country around, and Buenos Ayres is in effect blockaded as well as Montevideo. Artigas, whose line of operations extend for several hundred miles, rests in Montevideo, harrasses the Portugnese on the Rio Grande de San Pedro, while his clouds of cavalry on the other extreme beyond Uraguay and Paraguay hover over the banks of the Carcarana or Rio Tercero - and Buenos Ayres "beleaguered round" except the lower Pampas, cannot send goods to Cordova - for Artigas' army intercept them at Fraile Muerto, she cannot transport effects to Mendoza, but at a similar risk - If she make peace, Montevideo out-rivals her on the E. of the Estuary, and Santa Fe takes the upper trade, by the superior advantages of her position: if she persevere in the war, she is ruined by the expense and will suffer a counter-revolution. Hence "illacrymoe" and the mercenary obloquy scandal printed and reprinted against the champions of equal rights, ~~Artigas & the Republicans~~. It belongs not to us, however, to enter into foreign parties or cabals: but let us see how justice goes round commercially, if not politically: The British, have had poured a flood of goods into Buenos Ayres, and once had an outlet for 10 millions worth from thence to the interior: but find, too late, that the Orientalists and Santa Feans possess all the ports and commercial scites, and that they, at Buenos Ayres, are enclosed in lines of circumvallation. Artigas holds the arteries, places the tourniquet upon them; stops the circulation of the commercial fluid, or amputates at pleasure.*

* I cannot too highly commend the moderation and mildness with which our Commissioners have spoken of this injurious contest. Judge Bland has explained it most fully - and events on both sides of the Andes have shown the just per-

like an able general, he has described a vast semicircle from below Montevideo to Grayle Nuevo; and in its periphery he drives the chariot of victory as he will — Like the armed chariots of old, it has scythes on the spokes, or the axle, and [to finish the metaphor] the "car of commerce" will keep aloof. The English merchants sickened with their own drugs, at Buenos Ayres, lately endeavored to transport them to Montevideo [the design was to get them into the interior] but the Buenos Ayrean government would not permit them to remove them, without paying an additional duty of 20 per cent. Discontent was at its height, and the spirit of commerce was dead. British merchants suffer for the suggestions of a British and Spanish minister. When the channels of commerce are again open, it cannot be amiss to recollect that the Buenos Ayres trade to us, is valuable only, or chiefly as the link of a chain.

Should Buenos Ayres be tranquilized by an equitable government, we may estimate the total of her exports at $9,000,000* by means of our direct and circuitous trade we can share one third of the importation; let us suppose $3,000,000. There is still a considerable vent there, as her prices currents show, for German, French and China goods, of which we can avail ourselves in the exchange of our produce. But far be it from me to pretend to strict accuracy in estimates of this kind: nor is any

* a guess from a cour[illegible]

specialty with which he discerned real causes and their consequences. "Nothing wrenuate, nor set down aught in malice," is the only rule in narrative entitled to respect.

I hope of
by any estimate approach. If I draw the attention of the
capable to the subject, I shall be content. The losses
the British who sent warming pans and Kettle skates
to that market, must warn us against trading too much at
random. Col. Poinsetts and Judge Blands Reports, with
the others contain a good exposition of the commerce, and
that of Chile [See Poinsetts Report, A. from page 14 to 20 in-
clusive] "The commerce of Chile [says Poinsett] offers great
advantages to the traders to China and to the East Indies. It
is well known fact that specie is almost our only medium
of trade with those countries; which not only deprives the
merchant for many months of the use of a large sum, but
obliges him often to collect dollars at a premium, where-
as if the ports of Chile were used as a scala, the goods suited
to that market, such as furniture and French and German
manufactures are obtained in the United States at a credit
and the returns received in Chile, in copper and silver.

If the commerce direct and indirect of 1,000,000 of persons
in all the provinces of Buenos Ayres, can be estimated at $30,000
that of an equal population in Venezuela with double the resources
of B.A. might be put at 6,000,000 - but we state it at $4,500,000.
Venezuela enjoys the advantages of fine savannas as well as
Buenos Ayres, besides abundance of the best tropical products.
Cacao, of which we have in one year reported 85,547 lbs was
furnished by Venezuela. She will consume more of our exports
than Buenos Ayres and we will want more of her productions

New Granada, in those parts accessible to our vessels,
will probably consume articles of our growth and manufacture
to the amount of $2,000,000. The independence of Venezuela
and New Granada, must, at once open a commerce to the of the
value of $3,000,000; these estimates being so far prospective
as to embrace the establishment of settled institutions and ac-
tive industry. In all this southern commerce, we may confi-
dently look forward to its gradual wholesome increase if we cher-
ish certain manufactures adapted to the South. It is demonstra-
ble, that much of our traffic with Europe has sunk much cap-
ital if not credit [considering the inequality of it] and there
exists an imperious necessity for changing our course, with
the revolution of things and states. Let us then estimate the
worth of

The Whale fishery of	2,500,000
China & north west trade	3,000,000
Trade of Chile [direct]	2,000,000
do. Buenos Ayres direct & circuitous	3,000,000
do. Venezuela and New Granada	6,500,000
	$ 17,000,000

Add to this a [illegible] that

If neither a few that years, this prove to be a fancy picture, it will not be necessary to confess my mistake. Since forts were
Forrestalers. But if I am I shall be extremely disappointed. In 477
1811, however we exported to the Spanish West Indies and American colonies, in domestic and foreign produce, $7,579,609, and in 1817, to the amount of $7,084,099. This betokens a steady demand. In 1817 also our exports, foreign and domestic, to carry on the N.W. trade, amounted to $1,110,839. Some reckon the usual gains on such capital at 200 per cent. If the past instructs the future, let us take a glance at the commerce we have carried on for so many years, some of it under a species of political yoke; part of it under the guns of a squadron and no small portion of it at the expense of dear-bought diplomatic intercourse; but let us disentangle it of every thing extraneous, and contemplate the commerce itself.

Baltic Trade ... 1817.

Russia			$40.393
Prussia for 1815			113.160
Sweden	domestic, 59,194		160.969
	foreign 101.775		
Denmark and Norway,	do. do.		114.127
			1.390.649

Trade of South America,
including West Indies, Atlantic & Pacific Coasts.

Swedish	West Indies,	domestic pr.	314.659	381.754
	do. do.	foreign	67.095	
Danish	do	do	domestic 1,053.370	1.344.097
	do	do	foreign 590.727	
Dutch	do	do	domestic 747.159	1.057.433
	do	do	foreign 310.274	
French	do	do	domestic 2.470.330	3.363.570
	do	do	foreign 893.240	
British	do	do	domestic 3.802.462	3.871.567
	do	do	foreign 69.105	
Honduras, Campeachy, &c			domes. 96.415	302.536
			foreign 206.121	
Spanish American Colonies, &c.				1.754.097
West Indies generally				3.513.761
Coast of Brazil, &c.		domestic	415.796	645.695
		foreign	229.899	
[illegible]				76.417

South Seas 1.110.839
North West Coast of America 22.621.773

N.B. Florida is not included.

East India Trade.

Dutch East India	domestic	62.050	233.414
" " "	foreign	171.364	
British do.	domestic	87.621	349.952
" " "	foreign	262.331	
French do. Bourbon	domes.	122.588	251.481
" " "	foreign	128.923	
			548.660
China			000.000
Manilla [this year]			000.000
Cape of Good Hope			562.218
Asia, generally, ...			1.945.725

The trade of Africa, generally, and of the Canaries, Cape de Verd, and other Atlantic islands, we pass over.

Mediterranean Trade.

French ports,	domestic pr.	188.912	496.502
" "	foreign	307.590	
Spanish do	domestic	46.476	94.434
" "	foreign	47.958	
Italy			1.433.714
Trieste and Adriatic			379.709
Turkey, Levant and Egypt			302.912
~~Trieste, and Adriatic~~			~~279.709~~
Morocco and other Barbary States			8.639
Gibraltar	domestic	1637.827	2.490.597
"	foreign	852.770	
			5.206.507

[we do not possess the exact means of ascertaining the contra side of this account.]

The aggregate amount of these exports is, 31.164.654; our entire exports for 1817, were $87.671.369 - leaving the exports to all other ports 56.506.915. of which England Scotland and Ireland, and the smaller British islands, took 33.032.735.

F. 33. 032. 735.

The amount of the Southern trade then is nearly four times as great as that of the Baltic and Mediterranean; and, in the year stated, above one fourth of all our exports.

The average annual value of our trade, has been estimated for a series of years, from 1795 till 1801.

Baltic Trade

Balance against us.		Balance in our favor.	
Russia	1.467. 611	Prussia	75. 360
	289. 818	Sweden	25 946
Average loss	1.177. 793	Denmark & Norway &c	188. 512
			289. 818

West Indian & Southern Trade.

Swedish West Indies	189. 687.		
Danish			69. 199
Dutch	do	715. 642	
British	do	92. 698	
French	do	6. 223. 303	
			135. 189
Honduras &c			
Spanish W. Indies,		1. 784. 763	
Do Am. Pols		196. 306	
			990. 141
West Indies generally		3. 648	
Coast of Brazil			
South Sea & N.W. Coast			183. 372
		9. 206. 047	1. 397. 901

Apparent loss, 7. 808. 146

It will be recollected that we then re exported the greater part of this colonial produce to Europe, and thus reduced the account against us. The commissions on this resale were considerable; with its gains and the profits of our French, German and Dutch intercourse, we discharged our enormous debts to Great Britain. [See Seybert's Annals, 281.] The same remark is, partly, applicable to the excess of importation beyond consumption from China and the East Indies. Having now lost this West Indian branch, as each nation imports for itself, we must regulate our imports by our own consumption. Much if not an equal quantity of our produce will be consumed in many of the colonies, for which we shall receive less colonial products and more specie. A grand revolution is effected in our commercial relations which we too sensibly feel. The export of raw materials, not always profitable, is now most sadly curtailed. England has ever altered her tariff

and more specie. A grand revolution is effected in our commercial relations which we too sensibly feel. The export of raw materials not always profitable, is now most sadly curtailed. England has ever altered her tariff to the prejudice of our cotton, by changing the specific duty of 8⁷/₇ per cwt. for an advalorum one. Its operation will be in favor of her ordinary East India cotton. This is but one of many instances which seem to enforce the policy of more internal industry and commerce.

East India Trade.

Dutch East Indies [against us]	1844·175
French [Bourbon, mauritius &c]	442·534
Manilla	114·003
British E. Indies	2·517·494
China & E. Indies	2.083·088
Average annual loss,	$ 7.201.314

Our trade with Great Britain, and other parts of Europe, not stated in the Baltic trade – calculated on the same average.

	Balance against.	Balance in favor.
England	12. 609. 643	
Guernsey, &c.	23. 346	
Scotland	610. 893	
Ireland		324. 713
Gibraltar		99. 782
	13. 243. 882	424. 495
	424. 495	
	12. 819. 387.	
United Netherlands		3. 047. 217
Hamburg, Bremen, &c		7. 468. 231
France		1. 183. 586
Spain		805. 106
Portugal	378. 293	
Italy		779. 594
		13. 283. 714
		378. 293
		12. 905. 411

The result of our trade to Europe, appears to be a smart balance against us; as our gleanings from the Continent no longer suffice to pay for our immense

Spain
Portugal. 378. 293 779. 594
Italy

13. 283. 714
378. 293
12. 905. 411

The result of our trade to Europe, appears to be a smart balance against us; as our gleanings from the Continent no longer suffice to pay for our immense importations from England. Every calculation appears to corroborate the importance of amity and intercourse with the independent States of South America.

* The hides, horns and tallow [i.e. the produce of her pastures] constitute the bulk of her own exportation: tin, lead, copper and specie she chiefly receives from Chile and Upper Peru, or the provinces lately belonging to the latter.

† As the link of an European and India trade it may exceed this.

‡ The commerce of Archangel is included I think. We also put the trade of Gottenburg under the same head. We have taken the items from Seybert's Statistics.

Market of Chile.

St. Jago de Chile, Aug 1.

Lynch, Hill & Co's Price Current.

Brittannias, German, narrow $3 50 a 3b, wanted; do. wide, $4 2 a 4 4 do; French narrow $7 a 7 2 do. do wide, $9 a 9 4 do Bramantes, $1 a 11; Creas 30 a 32, wanted; Cambric Linen, 28 a 32, dull; do superfine 34 a 40, dull; Dowlas, 28 a 32; Listados, 15 - Olandines, none - Olmines, do - Platillas, 14 a 16 4; Rouans, 28 a 30 - Estopillas, 44 a 54, wanted - Crapes, assorted colors, 12 a 13 - do Canton, none - Satin, French black, 3 a 3 2 wanted - do China, 3 a 3 2 do - Serge, French black, 4 a 44 do - Silk Hdks. 44, 28 a 32 do - do 5-4, 8 a 9 do - do 6-4 14 a 16 do - do 7-4, 18 a 22 do - Sewing Silk 16 a 18 do - Calicoes, English, 13 a 17 do - Cambric Muslins 6 a 7 4 - colored Jeans 4 p a 5 - white Quiltings 12 a 14 - Bastas 44 - Cossas 6 4 - Emeries 5 - Humhums 6 - Gurrahs 5 4 - Sannas 6 4 a 7 - Custas 14 a 16 - Checks 2 4 a 3 - Floor Mats, none - India Carpets $3; Nankins, India Short yellow, 7 rs. - do long 15 do Company, white, 16 rs. - Madras long cloth $18 - Lolgillach 6 dkfs. none - Flag do 6 a 6 4 - Bandanna do 5 - Patna Chuls 13 a 14 - India Sugar 5 a 5 4 - Loaf do. 11 a 11 4, with additional duty of 5 dolls. on 1871 lbs. - Brazil do 5 4 a 6, with do - Havana do none - Lima do 11 a 12, trays 44 p per arrabo - Fancy Chairs, wooden bottoms, 30 dolls. - Settees 20 - Rum Jamaica 3 - Antigua 2 - Gin in pipes 2 a 2 4 - do cases of 12 bottles 12 - Madeira wine, none, wanted; - Claret, in bottles, 9 - Grave 9 - Champagne none - Powder 40 - Muskets 6 a 7 - Swords, iron scabbards 6 - fine cloth 9 a 11, wanted - Spanish paper 5 a 6 4 do - Silk lace Shawls, mantles, &c do - Furniture [not very valuable] do.

Duty. - 34 p per cent. on the valuation, which is in General 10 a 15 per cent. less than current price, on fancy goods still less, and 1 p real scale duty on every 100 lbs.

Exports. Copper, Valparaiso, 12 4 a 13 - Do Coquimbo, 12 4 - do Guasco, 12 a 12 4 - Hemp 4 - Tallow, 4 a 5 - Hides, ox, cow and bull, 9 a 14 - Chinchilla Skins 3 - Vicuna do - Wheat 12 p a 13 - Flour 2.

Duty. - 16 p per cent. on Copper, and 4 p rials per 100 lbs. - and on other articles 7 per cent. and 1 p rial per 100 lbs duty of Scale.

Market at Buenos Ayres

Market of Buenos Ayres.

Articles which we can advantageously export have been ~~set down~~ above; those which we can combine with our continental European trade, &c. are German and French manufactures, fine and coarse, as Estopillas, Britannias, Creas, Rouens, Dowlas, Platillas [brown and rose] white and brown Rolls, Brabantes, Ticklenburgs, Listados; do. short pieces; Bagging Osnaburghs, Silk Stockings, miliinary and perfumary.

China Goods.- Nankins, blue and yellow; Satin, black do; pearl white first quality; velvet, colled Stockings, handkerchiefs, blue and colored; umbellas; Sewing Silk, black and assorted.

Bengal Goods- are also in request- as Baftas, Guzaks, Mahmoody, Cossas, Bandanoes, &c. which those interested in making up an assortment will not overlook.

Note always- That in speaking of the trade of Buenos Ayres, we have principally in view the interior and appui provinces; from which the city has derived her consequence heretofore and over which she wishes to reign. The commerce of Chile is incomparably of more importance than that of Buenos Ayres abstractly: but this observation seemed necessary to explain the difference in the preceding estimate.- As Buenos Ayres possesses not one solitary commodious port, we must conclude, that commerce there, as here, will follow the natural scites and positions. Unless therefore, Buenos Ayres can subjugate the other provinces, perpetuate despotism, and support monopoly by coercion, we may reasonably infer, that this capital will inevitably suffer decline.

The commerce and revenue of Buenos Ayres have been increased by the revolution, the former from about nine millions to $ 10.074.000. of exports.

Amongst her imports since that epoch, are the following in one year:

From Chile, copper, mats, gold, silver &c $ 1.344.000
From the U. States - Powder. Arms, naval stores, India Goods, lumber & furniture. 2.300.000
From England. Dry Goods, &c. &c. 4.500.000

In that same year Buenos Ayres exported to Chile, Herb of Paraguay, native manufactures, and European goods, exceeding $ 2.000.000. The principal part of this trade she has lost. But had she not attempted to Spanniize, her collective resources must have been very considerable, and ought to have contented her, as she did not suffer from invasion like Venezuela.

It was not until writing this note, that, by the politeness of a gentleman here, I was favored with the sight of a perspicuous manuscript work in Spanish, containing accurate views, historical, political and commercial, of the provinces of La Plata, the intrigues of a [illegible] party in Buenos Ayres, by whose consent the Portuguese occupied Montevideo, &c. &c. It is to be hoped the author will either print his work in Spanish, or have it translated, for the information of the American public. This work would dissipate all the darkness in which venal writers have lately endeavored to envelope this subject.

Supplemental Notice—

Derived from letters and Gazettes received from some esteemed friends and correspondents in Angostura, since my return. Translatio extracts from the former are given in the writers own language; as epistolary narrative is most simple and satisfactory. It deserves no less confidence than if it were official.—

"Angostura. 24th may 1819.

"Since tactics more prudent and opportune, govern our military operations, the war is less expensive and more advantageous to us, and more destructive to the enemy. When it comes to be generally understood, that force of mind, is better in this struggle, than physical might, we shall have triumphed. A few essays, under this system have given us the preponderance in this campaign.

"According to this plan, whilst our army retired from the Arauca and Achaguas, the infantry passed over to Urbana, on the Oronoco; and the cavalry, in large divisions, being under command of general Paez: he allowed the enemy, [who was in stronger force] to occupy those positions; then harrassed him in such a manner, that he could not procure a single head of cattle for subsistence without putting his columns & cavalry in motion in those immense plains. Even a drink of water cost him sacrifices; and his communication with Calabozo and some other points, through a space of 60. or 80 leagues, cut off by corps of cavalry, he was reduced to desperate extremity and forced to retreat after a lapse of 50 days or more. All this time he

was tantalized by the sight of our detachments, but could not beat them, nor prevent the daily diminution of his men, who were taken prisoners or deserted – and thus evaporated in fume the fury of the modern Attila. With very slight losses we have purchased these advantages, and recovered even more than our original ground. Morillo evacuated our territory, losing above 2000 men, killed or prisoners. Of the latter many are Spaniards [Peninsulares] some of whom have enlisted in our army, and some have been permitted to come here and go to the islands. *

"This has been achieved without the cooperation of the English troops, whose junction was partly prevented by circumstances. You may perceive how much we may expect hereafter when our forces act in concert. General Bolivar marched towards Barinas, observing Morillo, in combination with General Santander, of whose operations I will give you a sketch from official intelligence.

"Santander had been detached by General Bolivar to Casanare, a frontier province of New Granada, bordering on ours; and has raised an army of 2300 men, or upwards, well equipped and trained. He interrupts the enemy's connection with Santa Fé. In consequence of this, as Morillo meditated passing the rainy season on our Apure, he made dispositions for concentrating a respectable army from the Kingdom to take possession of this province. The Spanish general Barreiro actually advanced from thence, in command of more than 3000 veterans, well provided for the expedition. Santan-

* This humane act, too liberal perhaps for strict prudence, reflects credit on the patriots and shows that people are tired of the bellum ad internecionem.

der apprised of the movement, took such precautions as to deprive him of cattle on his march, harrassing the enemy with heavy bodies of cavalry, reinforced daily. In fine, arriving at Pore, the capital of Casanare, which was left without a single soul, Santander there made a stand. The enemy had already lost numbers by desertion, who came over to us with their arms, and apprehensive of destruction,-retired precipitately by a more circuitous route than he had advanced, at the hazard of being annihilated by desertion and ambuscade. The result is, that the enemy lost a convoy with clothing and provisions; and Santander having passed the mountains [above 2h leagues over,] to descend, as it is believed he has descended, into the vallies that lead to Santa Fe, from which he is distant only seven days march, the inhabitants with open arms expecting his arrival as the Savior of their country.

"Since these events we have learned that Santander has obtained other advantages over parties of the enemy in their flight towards Santa Fé, the liberation of which we hope speedily to hear of, as reinforcements may be expected from in that quarter.

"Judicious delays are often the basis of decisive and solid success, says a modern sage, as others had said and acted long before. You perceive we endeavor to practice the maxim. Nothing is wanting but more just and generous spirits to aid their fellow-men so gloriously engaged in a struggle for human rights. There is no reason for apprehension, if

others exist and advance in knowledge. Such jealousies would put virtue and humanity into the blush. You who breathe ——— sentiments, may extend the comment and xxxx*

"With respect to our Congress, it continues its labours; labours that require to be observed steadily, in order to know how great and arduous they are, particularly in the dearth of knowledge and means that surrounds us. But, since I believe, from my heart, that this is the work of Providence - Ipsi <u>est</u> qui mutat tempora et <u>states</u>, ipse <u>est</u> qui mutat <u>regna</u> atque <u>constituit</u>; - I confide in it, pursue the course of application and duty; and experience herein a tranquillity and satisfaction of heart.

"Projects of colonization, adjudication of lands, and other momentous business occupy our attention, and lastly, a very important embassy, of messrs. Rosecio and Peñalver to England, where friendship and generosity have shone more conspicuously in our favour.

"W ..... has communicated to me, and I to the Congress and government, your note &c ——— I believe you will speedily have an agent from this government, with regular and sufficient powers to treat.

"Deputies from to Congress from have arrived from Casanare, &c. our relations and in-

* How could my friend ——— lend an open ear to suggestions to ground these so oblique insinuations so unjust to North America? We are not conquerors - we are not spoliators - we are not monopolists: - but long the victims, and the triumphant opposers of all those ambitious pretenders. Our merchants once had to share in the debasement of 53, 277 licences from a power who usurped the dictatorship of the seas and the regulation of neutral trade. From Nov. 6, 1793 till 1812, inclusive, when the evil was no longer bearable, we lost 1592 vessels by unjust captures - 917 of them by Great Britain. The navigation of a river, or the opening of a canal on another continent, rouses not our envy, nor disturbs our tranquillity. On the contrary, we wish peace, affluence and happiness to all nations. Now, after our frank confidences, any friend could respect or repeat ungenerous hints which must have been dropped by some secret emissary - I cannot imagine. As for

terests with New Granada are drawing closer; & this rising republic gains more vigor every day.

"You will please to note that this ~~sketch~~ sketch is written according to the succession of events. To day [the 11th of June] we are informed by the Deputies from Casanare, by communications from the President [of Congress] and those of Gen. Bolivar, that it is the intention of the latter to march into the kingdom [Santa Fé] this winter, in concert with Santander; their junction will form an army, above 5,000 strong. By this arrangement, and the distance of Morillo, who is gone to Caracas, he will take possession of the country without material opposition. A peculiar state of things, and the impossibility of acting in these provinces during the present season, have dictated this enterprize, which, if successful, will throw the enemy into desperation, and bring from New Granada within five or six months, a powerful force to complete the independence of Venezuela.

"We are apprized that Morillo, learning, through the public papers, the installation of congress, its subsequent decrees, and their impression on public opinion, has entered into serious meditations, and hastened to Caracas. — Without doubt he has gone to hatch some new scheme; but we are on the alert."

The defeat of a Spanish division by Gen. Mariño, on the 12th June last, at Cantaura, which Gen. Morillo had sent against Guayana, has been mentioned. It is since understood, on the

tive is our pole star such invidious feeling never entered into our motives. — Attribute it to those whose "ruling passion" and practice are intrigue, spoliation, and conquest.

other hand, that the expedition from Margarita, has failed to accomplish its object, though Gen. Urdaneta captured Barcelona, he was obliged to retreat from before Cumana. ^ Gen Bermudez ^ Ore has since formed a junction and

The correspondent, last cited, has favored me with a long letter, beginning on the first of August. Having taken a contemptuous notice of some malevolent surmises about the visit of the lamented Commodore Perry, of whom and of the glorious example of his country he speaks in complimental terms, he proceeds to relate occurrences political and military.

"We have concluded the discussion of the Constitution, which is engrossing for signature, and will be submitted to the provinces for their approbation. Its blemishes are but too susceptible; it is the work of imitation; of an unfortunate people who had been subject to a system diametrically opposite. For this conjuncture it was an arduous task. However, laying the foundation of a representative system, leaving time and discretion to suggest amendments; preparing the means of diffusing information and profiting of the intercourse of friendly nations [that is at present England and the United States, or the majority of their people] were, it seems, all that could be done.

The opinion of the learned De Pradt occurs to me, in his works on the colonies, where in the year 1802, he predicts the present events, he says, that our emancipation required not only to be acknowledged by those two nations, but ordered by them for the common benefit of both parties. He extends and explains his ideas; I respect

them; and divesting myself of individual pride, should like to see them put into practice; for I see in them the termination of this barbarous struggle in which Nature herself and the most sacred rights of Society suffer outrage. I well know that we are not what we could wish to be to indulge ourselves with better prospects. I see at hand, a rising generation who would execrate us if we do not lay aside exalted ideas; and under this conscientious impression, I yield to the opinion.[x] For if as Raynal calculated, our independence would be reserved for a century hence, but has been hurried by unexpected events, in Europe [and even promoted by England in the last century] it has not been produced in the natural course of events, - but wants to vigor & regularity. We need more to consolidate our independence than the United States did; & this we have reason to solicit and obtain. - May the virtue which has taken her first seat in that happy land, extend her influence over these regions where we have so long fixed our eyes on that tutelar empire ——— of this new world! - Let men of feeling, intelligence, and justice aid in a work that will immortalize them in their annals and in ours. The I——s and the Perrys shall be eternal in the memory of the Americas, to the confusion of their oppressors.

I shall transmit you a copy of the Constitution as soon as it is subscribed.

Many other subjects have been debated and settled as far as practicable, viz.

The improvement of the Missions, which as you

[x] Does it seem more likely, that posterity will be indignant at the congress for laying a false corner stone, which will compel them to live in slavery, or pull down the structure. — Ed.

know, had suffered so much, has been consulted in a regulation calculated to snatch them from ruin.

Grants of land to companies of Englishmen and to sundry individuals, respecting which some regulations and decrees have been expedited.

Emancipation of slaves - conceded for the present to many; and provided gradually and successively to all, with a view to private interests and those of the community.

An improvement in the administration of public funds, as far as our present situation permits.

Appropriation of property to the military, and acknowledging the public debt.

Mission to England (already mentioned) for making contracts or regulating loans for the public service, and to establish certain political relations, &c. Messrs Peñalver & Vergara sailed on the 6th ult.

Aug. 11.—General Bolivar, having previously communicated his intentions to the Congress, has formed a junction with Gen. Santander, who having dispersed a force of 3500 veterans, as you are already informed, passed the mountains of Casanare, to descend into the plains and join Bolivar, with their united force exceeding 6000 men, to penetrate to the capital and inflict a mortal blow on Spanish domination. All new Granada is in a ferment, ominous to the Spaniards, who have lost the support of public opinion, and must soon (we hope) dis-

fundamental errors, which govern power & an order of men, are remediless but by revolution. Individuals & corporations do not relinquish power of their own accord.

When such a writer as De Pradt is regarded in politics, there must be a degree of famine in the article of books. He has flippancy and imagination, but is without integrity & sound judgement. He proposes a Congress in Europe to govern America with as much indifference as one invites another to smoke a cigar, or take a dish of coffee! De Pradt has genius; and so had Paracelsus: both are quacks nevertheless. One of Paine's practical essays is worth a library of these effusions

appear from both sides. In the liberated provinces there is nothing novel except the cheering progress of cultivation. ~~[illegible]~~

"General Paez occupies his ancient positions, and has just defeated a division of the enemy marching to Barcias. The action was sanguinary, but more fatal to the enemy, who baffled in his purpose, escaped with some shattered fragments of his force.

"A brig has arrived from England, with Captain Elsom and, 125 men, being the complement of —— —— expedition: by it we have received flattering news of the increasing popularity of the cause of South America there. One of the papers received by this vessel, informs us of the curious fact of a mob in London assaulting a house where a number of old Spaniards used to meet to talk of their favorite topics, shutting the doors upon them and preventing their sessions.

12th of August. — I am just informed that the Commodore will sail tomorrow — a reason why I must conclude this letter with the omission of many things which I should like to say. Multifarious labours leave me not time for repose and no other ~~thoughts~~ care enters our thoughts but the grand enterprise in which my country is embarked. Attendance in Congress twice a day, &c. &c. and other public occupations absorb my whole time.

The Vice President has not as yet imparted to us the object of Commodore Perry's mission. Perhaps we shall learn it when he is gone. But be it what it may, Venezuela desires friendship and relations with the United States ever since the memorable 19th of April. The faults of one or two individuals cannot

be imputed to the people nor their representatives. These will speak in their turn, and the world shall see, that having broken Spanish bondage, we will submit to no other vassilage. - As we are grateful, so we are jealous of the least danger of subjection. [noise of Chains - literally.]

A club of our friends was preparing to pay our respects to the worthy Commodore Perry, on the 16th; but he goes tomorrow, and deprives us of that pleasure, as of the opportunity of banishing the torporific machinations which have affected some folks.

The very interesting subject of the union of Venezuela and New Granada is on the tapes. From Casanare, a province of the latter, we have already three representatives in our Congress: - and hope to see others from the rest when they regain their freedom.

Aug. 14. - Dispatches have been received from Gen. Bolivar, dated the 22d June, at Paya, a strong post in New Granada, intimating that the people are well inclined to receive their freedom; the enemy being feeble, dispirited and reduced by guerrillas - He would march in a few days for the capital, we have a corroboration of Gen. Paez victory. The rencounter was severe."

As we shall annex some official accounts to this supplement - suffice it to state, that the united patriot army, after a series of brilliant actions and rapid marches, captured the city of Santa Fe, and have since pursued the flying enemy towards the coast. The royalists retreat appears to be unopposed by the inhabitants; and the liberators [notwithstanding former feuds among

leaders I are received as redeemers. May they make an advantageous use of their success, and shew themselves as just and wise in political arrangements, as they seem to be prompt in military affairs during the present campaign! The political consolodation of New Granada with Venezuela, being an occurrence of the highest moment to the States, I deem it proper to introduce here a sketch of the proceedings in Congress on the reception of delegates from Casanare. The observations educed by this important ceremony, afford us some illustrations not familiarly understood.

We learn by the official gazette, of the 24th of July, that two of the five representatives chosen for Casanare, were recognized in Congress on the 11th of June, and took their seats on the 12th Doctor Zea, declining to represent Caracas, became a deputy from one of the provinces of his native State of New Granada. Two others are Cols. Vergara and Uribe - the former of whom since went on a legation to England. The residue were absent, as well as the proxies. "Having taken the required oath, Mr President [Dr. Roscio] in consequence of this act, addressed them and the auditory on the importance of an union of both states, pointing out its general and particular causes. In a history of the oppressions of all America, called Spanish, he traced the first motives to the union; in those of another sort peculiar to the two countries, he designated the second; calling up recollections of the time when both were subject to a viceroy seated

in the capital of Santa Fé; the time when the Grenadians served as an instrument to oppress the Venezuelians, as these, in their turn, served the Spanish government to quell the insurrection in the jurisdiction of Socorro, in New Granada. A.D. 1783. when an insurrectional spark from Peru kindled a conflagration there. He recapitulated some of the steps towards a union at the commencement of our revolution, and the confidence inspired by the first trails of patriotism in Santa Fé, as were shown when the Viceroy Amat attempted to levy forces against the insurgents of Quito. He remarked, that the incorporation of Delegates from Casanare, in the Congress of Venezuela, would be an historical fact illustrative of the knowledge which both countries had acquired of their solid interests, as those of war had produced the desired effect, by uniting, in fact, the inhabitants of both territories. He referred at this point to the preliminary discourse on the ordinance for elections; and the importance of the incorporation appeared to him well portrayed in the discourse of Gen. Bolivar at the installation of the Congress. He commended this subject to the deputation of Casanare, trusting that their exertions would be particularly directed towards the regulation and the confirmation of this connection. He subjoined another circumstance, recommendatory of its propriety, the fact of Providence having permitted the identical execution to be destined by the tyrant for the immolation of Grenadians and Venezuelians, that they might be more closely combined against tyranny, and thus united avenge their brothers' blood, and promote the exalted objects of the union."

The Deputy Vergara then rose and read the following Discourse:- 486

"The union of New Granada and Venezuela cannot, nor ought not to be like that of a county conquered or ceded by way of dowry, to suit the interests of a couple of families, or in exchange with another, for a like political purpose, or a different one. It must be effected by virtue of the declared will of the inhabitants of both countries, on a persuasion of the reciprocal advantage that will result to them. New Granada will unite for the purpose of her perpetual tranquillity, of the national aggrandizement, of the general welfare, and in gratitude to Venezuela from whose liberality and unshaken patriotism she receives liberty and independence. Venezuela with less population and territory, a well known want of funds, in consequence of a wasteful war, has perhaps a stronger motive for this union. Both countries acknowledge its utility; both have aspired after the grand achievement; it belongs to the sovereign Congress to lay its basis, and carry it into effect.

"In the year 1813, General Bolivar after his entry into Caracas, proposed to the Congress of New-Granada, for the first time, the union of both republics under the same government. Congress not believing they had authority to decide the proposal of themselves, consulted the provincial governments, nearly all of which offered their assent to a consolodation, which, founded on mutual justice and advantage, should assure national strength and prosperity. The disastrous campaign of 1814, which eventuated in the entire occupation of Venezuela by the ene-

ney, obstructed the progress of the plan, altho' the Government of New Granada never lost sight of it, and in fact, by the ordinance of Congress issued towards the end of 1814, in which a general government was created, it was resolved, that a constituent convention should be convoked whenever the capital should be liberated, with the intention of assigning to this Republic its due representation.

"In the same year, when the government of New Granada entrusted Gen.l Bolivar with an expedition to liberate Venezuela, one of the first injunctions laid upon him, was to restore the government which the people had adopted in the first epoch of the republic; and this was complied with, until by a popular assembly, convened in Caracas, Gen.l Bolivar was invested with dictatorial powers.

Gentlemen, it is indubitable, that New-Granada has a right to consult and vote on the formation of a constitution; and the weight she must have in a question so momentous will facilitate or retard the union. It is undeniable, that in order to dictate laws, attention must be paid to the habits, customs, and even prejudices of the people; can this be done without the concurrence of her representatives? In times less calamitous, the Congress of Venezuela sanctioned a liberal Constitution, capable of promoting the felicity of another people, educated under different principles; but a constitution which alienating

x I believe the youthful, but estimable and spirited representative has varnished the real facts with so thick a coat, as to render them utterly imperceptible except to those who had learned them from another source. Yet we are willing to hope for the best results. The injunction was not realized, but set aside under color of laws & advice, &c. &c. &c. Bolivar aims at conciliation and justice together.

peoples minds but little inclined to receive and confirm it, as it came in collision with inveterate prejudices contracted under a system of oppression and tyranny, opened and prepared the grave in which a tremendous shock of nature buried the Republic. The United States of North America had a provincial government during the revolution.

"To assure this union it is not enough to suspend the constitution until representatives assemble from a majority of the provinces of New-Granada to frame it, it is indispensible to prescribe to the Chiefs destined to command the troops who are to liberate the territories occupied by the enemy, the political, brotherly and generous conduct to be pursued, both by officers and soldiers towards their liberated brethren, and restore the provincial governments, provisionally.

"Without such a system, how confusion and difficulty will thicken! The people of New Granada are riper now than ever for emancipation. They pant, they long for the approach of a patriot force to support them; the determination is general; they forget interest, family, all that is dear to the heart of man, when the recovery of their liberty is the question. The very Creoles, who compose the royal forces, only watch for the moment when they can pass over to the banners of the Republic, of which we have recent experience in the invasion of Casanare, by Col. Barreyro, who at the lapse of 14 days saw himself under the necessity of retreating on account of the mortifying desert-

tion he experienced. But let us scan the reasons of this determination, this general sentiment, & the necessity of the measure I propose, will be recognized.

The people of new Granada were habituated to suffer in silence, the despotism, insolence, and arbitrariness of Spanish Viceroys and Governors. The revolution placed them in a situation to improve their lot. they chose a popular government; enjoyed for six years, the right of self government; had liberal constitutions, free commerce, liberty of the press, had shaken off the inquisitorial yoke, and their representatives were delicate to a fault in laying taxes, one drop of blood was never shed by the republican government, and its philanthropy was carried so far as to be the ruin of the republic. The occupation of this country by the spanish army, was followed by an imperious conduct of a victorious enemy; thousands of victims were sacrificed to the cannibal pacificator's insatiable thirst of blood! an infinite number, after the most ignominious treatment, were conducted to the cells, presidios, and prisons of the remotest places, or sent to distant climes as soldiers - their families desolated, property confiscated - banished - or by suffering the most inhuman and barbarous inflictions remained in misery and despair. - The Inquisition was restored to its ancient fanatical power; the tyranny of its directors redoubled - exorbitant contributions imposed - enormous extortions made - and the youth enrolled for the subjection of their brothers in distant and deadly climates. This was a meth-

od but too well calculated to make a people feel the ~~necessary~~ worth of the liberty they had enjoyed! The people of new Granada compare the state of intolerable slavery ~~to~~ which that benignity of the kings government had reduced them, with their condition in 1816. They are well aware of the defects of the government they had, without forgetting the liberty they tasted under it. They curse the weakness of their former governors, but preserve a grateful veneration for the system - they hear with enthusiasm of the victories of their brothers, and long for nothing more anxiously, than the instant when they can embrace and pay them the homage due to the benefits conferred - to their constancy and heroism. But what will be their grief, and despair, if, far from beholding the pioneers of their liberty, they see a new set of oppressors, who shall abuse their misfortunes and impose laws upon them. Some will submit, but the generality will continue the calamities, and with them the infelicity of their country. Some will form a separate Republic; others, flying from civil war, will throw themselves into the arms of the enemy!

"I must also remind you gentlemen, that in the English papers, we have seen inserted [and with shame] some propositions hostile to New Granada, and even to Venezuela, by benumbing the efforts which the General Mr Gregor, and Mr Real the minister of New Granada were making, to equip an expedition for the coast of New Granada; an act that requires public atonement in order to take measures conducive to an union of general

rights with this government.

"These are measures which meet the support of justice and expediency; to postpone the constitution, leaving it for times more tranquil is perhaps beneficial to Venezuela herself, & is a consideration due to people, who, although within the territories occupied by the enemy, ought to have their weight of influence and representation, as belonging to the same family. Meanwhile a provisional regulation of government may supply the place of a constitution, besides allowing the people to be informed on the question. To prescribe to the generals the political system on which they must act towards the people they may free, is only pursuing the common steps of all governments - is to avoid the evils of dictatorship - reestablishing the provincial governments provisionally, as they stood in 1810, is a measure that exacts the necessity of founding a government, and none is more just than that which was chosen by the people themselves, and to which they were accustomed. Lastly, for the government to require satisfaction for the ungrateful conduct of Mr Mendoza - is to promote the junction of Generals M'Gregor and Bury - is a step becoming the dignity of the government - is necessary to harmony, and would raise Congress in public estimation."

This address proves, that a sense of justice actuating an honest heart, carries one directly to the conclusions of the most labored reasoning. Hardly excepting the arguments of the Mariquitanian members against a hereditary Senate [and they were answered only by sophis-

try and distortion of historical facts? this discourse of Col. Vergara is the most judicious and spirited of all that have been delivered since the organization of the Congress - at least of those published. A loyal son of New Granada, he hints at apprehensions of dictating to his country, and swells with indignation at the possibility of such an event. Although there was usurpation in the act, possibly there was honesty in the motive of the venezuelian agent in London, interdicting Gen. MacGregor from preparing an expedition for New Granada. Genl Bolivar had the ambition to be the sole deliverer of that country, and we cannot doubt that it was a noble ambition - the thirst of being foremost in acts of patriotism and deeds of high renown. His great disinterestedness is proverbial as his generosity: and I cannot but believe, that he who in a few lines has penned the most eloquent eulogium on General Washington, possesses himself the exalted conceptions and the steady flame of amor patriæ that inspired the thoughts and glowed in the bosom of the Franklin, the Hancocks the Adamses and the Washingtons of our revolution.

"Mr. Vergara having concluded his Discourse, the President replied, by alledging, that excesses and blunders were unavoidable in every revolution; that the greatest of all must be incidental to ours, as the consequence of the abominable education received by the South Americans and Mericans under the Spanish government; but these same errors were the best masters we had to instruct us. That from the first

? much of this perversion of reason we must attribute to the perusal of crude, antiquated political works - to the solecisms of Montesquieu or Filmer, the fictions of de Lolme, or the more modern ravings of Burke. How writers can address

announciation in the London papers of the disagreement of those agents, as mentioned in the discourse, the Displeasure of the Venezuelian Government was visible, and it is presumed that it would manifest it in its correspondence with the commissioner: That from hence proceded the insertion of no Real's representation to the English minister in the nº of our Correo, and that in the article "North America" in nº the behaviour of his competitor in respect to General Mac Gregor's expedition was tacitly disapproved.

"As for the rest, Congress promptly and preferably took into consideration the points proposed by the deputation of Casanare; nominated a committee who should suggest a plan of union between New Granada and Venezuela, demonstrate its foundations, and demonstrating its importance; - but it was not deemed expedient to suspend Constitutional provisions, since they were obligatory only on the people who might constitutionally accept them: for others, they would be projects in advance - ready prepared - that would greatly economize the labor of the constituent body." It would appear, from the tenor of these remarks, that the constitutional project adopted by a handful of persons, is to be imposed, if possible, on the population of a vast coun-

the example of France. I know not, when England herself had subsidized at one time the masters of 1,000,000 men to destroy French independence! time carried the day. Some who had read the cogent, lucid reasonings of Franklin or Paine, could for a moment imagine that mankind find angels in the form of nobles & kings to govern them. It is perhaps equally true, that serpents cunningly twined round the tree of Liberty, as once on a time up on the tree of life, and for like purposes.

Thence up he flew, and on the tree of life
The middle tree, and highest there that grew
Sat like a cormorant; yet not true life

Thereby regained, but sat devising death
To them who liv'd - nor on the virtue thought
Of that life-giving plant - but only used
For prospect, what well used had been the pledge
Of immortality.'

All the emissaries of despotism in every point of the compass may contemplate Milton's picture of the attitude of their great prototype on the garden of Eden.

try. Perhaps the representative principle may subvert the aristocracy [which even Walter Styles the worst of all governments] if not, it must be undermined by it. Two such powers never did and never can continue in equilibrio. Should it happen, as in England, that the permanent body corrupt the elective branch, that one of the finest countries on earth will have the worst government. Our ardent vows, as friends of man in general, and of America more especially, are breathed for the seasonable defeat of such a scheme of domination! The Samsons of New Granada, I trust, will by and by arouse themselves from torpor and snap the withes and lazos in which they are likely to be entangled. And this I express as an individual opinion, presuming on no right to intermeddle in foreign politics.

This officer [Col. O'Leary] associated in the mission to England, has proceeded for his destination. It seems from a long and singular — I had almost said unprecedented letter — which a gentleman in Angostura has forwarded to me, since I wrote the preceding, that a most minute and flattering report of proceedings, civil and military in that country, had been submitted "to his royal highness the Duke of Sussex, Count of Inverness, Baron of Arklow, Knight of the most noble the Order of the Garter, &c. &c." There is affixed to this letter, which bears a private appearance, but an official character, the name of a gentleman whose politeness and affability I well remember, but from the manner in

which he mentions our country. I am incredulous as to authorship, and must believe that some one intended to put a trick on me. As I am gleaning all that relates to Venezuela, since my departure from Angostura, facts are to be taken from any source. Somebody has placed as a signature to this letter to the Duke, the name and surname of a Scots gentleman of high reputation, resident in Angostura. - He introduces the Commissioners to his Royal Highness with obsequious courtesy, * and states in his Report the following facts and fancies, as I literally render them into English, videlicit: -

"Congress has made considerable progress in discussing and adopting the Constitution proposed by Gen. Bolivar, formed on the model of that of Great Britain, which embraces the glorious principles of liberty, of religion (as witness Ireland!) liberty of the press; and the palladium of public rights, trial by jury.

"I have frequently attended the sittings of Congress, and have always observed a great and prevailing spirit of liberty, which is visibly increasing. Their deliberations are conducted with much decorum and regularity, which may partly be attributed to the solidity and formality of the national character. Among its members are several of eminent abilities, & some of great experience. The present Presi-

* It purports to be a translation of a letter to the Duke, &c. &c. from English into Spanish, and is printed in a neat sheet of fools cap. My correspondent in Angostura writes me that copies were laid before members of Congress and public officers there - Credat Judaeus Apella - non ego! because it abounds with praises: and King James thought it was too bad to flatter a man to his face.

dent is Doct. John German Roscio, a man highly respectable, of some celebrity in the literary world, of independent soul and enlightened mind. [Literally true] He is one of the four Deputies to the Cortes, who after effecting their escape from the prisons of Ceuta, [were at Gibraltar delivered up again to the Spanish government, but obtained their liberty through the meritorious exertions made in the British House of Lords by your Royal Highness's noble friends, lords Grenville & Holland!]

In short the bulk of Congress is composed of moderate men, of good sense, who have the best intentions possible, and manifest rational and practical principles of liberty, very dessent from those unbridled theories of the French revolutionists, who after drenching Europe with so much human blood, wound up by the most absolute despotism [Effect which result, cost Great Britain £800,000,000 besides the war of words, illiberality and intrigue, which we perceive is still implacably waged against France and the rights of man.]

"Never did Gen. Bolivar conduct more adroitly; never has he given so decisive a blow to the Spanish government as by convoking the national representation. He has established his reputation forever, by acting the part of a distinguished man and virtuous citizen; he has produced and given such consistency to the national character as will shortly secure the independence of Venezuela.

As a Britain, and decidedly devoted to his country I cannot less than feel a species of pride at the frequent allusions to the British institutions and their history. If a law or an ordinance is to be adopted its good effects in Great Britain are presented as the strongest argument; and if a proposition is to be rejected, British history is cited as authority. Great Britain is held up as an example to be followed - is regarded as the protectress of the rights of mankind, and when a nation strives for freedom she naturally turns towards her as to her prop and stay." / Thus Charles II. openly robbed the exchequer to extinguish the last spark of freedom in Holland; and George III. has mortgaged British resources forever in order to enslave mankind forever, and thus she liberated Spain after fighting her battles. To recite all, would be endless. Military events, and the importance of the union with New-Granada, are succinctly and accurately detailed, & he adds: "The obligations contracted by Venezuela are trivial compared with her resources; the union with New Granada and a short repose are adequate to liquidate them with ease." This is perfectly correct.

"What is wanting for the present, is some additional aid in order to pursue the great advantages already gained, and to strike a final and decisive blow. It is evident, that were the Spaniards expelled from the country, some difficulties will be encountered while resources are coming into action.

"To avoid those embarrassments, and defray some urgent expenses, it has been judged advisable to send a commission to London, to solicit and negociate a loan of three millions of dollars, which I think will be obtainable in the present state of things.

He introduces the commissioners to the Duke, with a suitable and deserved encomium on each, and indeed a sort of biographical sketch, then proceeds to finger the instrument, and presently strikes that all responsive chord which vibrates so powerfully in the bosom of an English politician, and shoots in thrilling sensations thro his afetated frame.

"what a trait of philanthropy! what a deed- what an action - so becoming the enlightened and beneficent Duke of Sussex if, by his influence and that of his friends he can induce the British government to interpose and put an end to a war so inhuman, iniquitous and disastrous as this! Whatever may be the result of this or of other campaigns; Spain has forever lost America; this beautiful country may become a desert; but will never more submit to the yoke of Ferdinand. [Indubitably true] The continuance of the contest can only serve to continue the spilling of human blood to no purpose. The interposition will strengthen the bands of amity which already exist, and since by nature and the situation there can never be any rivalship between this people and our country - it will always be our interest to change the course of European emigration in favor of South America, and counterbalance in this manner, the Yankees of the north.* Every capable, useful man who transplants himself to North America, strengthens that nation, which from its interest and commercial rivalry, must be an enemy jealous of British prosperity: on the contrary, every man who comes to Venezuela advances her political interest, and contributes to cement a friendship which I hope will be perpetual."

* "Contrapesando de este modo los Yankies del Norte."

We shall not comment on the term yankee, what in the mouth of Englishmen, is always an appellation of contempt. The nickname, like the ludicrous [original] Yankee Doodle Dandy - made in derision, may, as certain scoffs were converted in old Rome become honorable, by honor, courage, virtue and patriotism. If we had not extracted these scraps, for amusement, we might advert very pointedly to the imputation of envy and jealousy to the nation, which has, - very foolishly, I think, - supported Great Britain. Yes, on a round calculation for every 20 millions of dollars paid into our own treasury, 80, 90 or 100 millions have been remitted to Great Britain to feed her workmen, stimulate her agriculture, and selling our own citizens idle and leaving the nation poor. After all our demonstrations all British writers agree [by way of gratitude!] in classing us as enemies. - [Look at "British Colonial Policy" - Walton and all.]

Esteeming, as I do, many individual Britons, for their talents and urbanity, it is with poignant grief I have to remark, that the imposing influence with which British merchants appear in foreign countries, is not always exercised in behalf of afflicted humanity. I speak not now of Venezuela, - I have reference to countries where their interest has a more visible, tangible ascendency. Why was not British influence exerted in Buenos Ayres and Chile, to sheath the assassin's dagger, and staunch the effusion of innocent, of heroic patriot blood? Instead of vindicating suffering innocence, even by remonstrance, British subjects saw it bound and gagged, led to the stake and sacrificed to unsated Ambition and ruthless cruelty. Mer-

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chants, priests, soldiers, formed a triple alliance at La Plata, to maintain monopoly and priest craft, and extend empire by subjugation. The modest title of United States of Rio de la Plata, was exchanged for the domineering designation of United States of South America. All who stood as obstacles in the way of this unhallowed triumvirate, were proscribed and massacred; some openly on false pretences - but the greater part secretly by the Stiletto. Unsparing Vengeance riotted in gore: and life blood was ebbing from every republican vein; but alas! there was no British Styptic - "no balm in Gilead" to heal mortal stabs of the murderous daggers. Englishmen were allowed to be present in Mendoza, at the execution of the heroic Carreras [the brothers, Gen.ls Juan and Luis] - whose crime was patriotism - they were led in fetters like malefactors, and shot - in consequence of a peremptory order from San Martin, then in Chile. They had not a moment to prepare for death. - Though it met them by surprise, it found them dauntless - they protested against the tragic butchery - but died like Socrates. Juan Jose Carrera would not suffer a paltering priest to approach him; would not admit such a being to intrude, at that solemn moment between him and his God. He stood like Marshal Ney and gave the word, and fell like Ney unfriended by Englishmen.* He and his family - all its ramifications now exterminated; for they were republicans: -

* The order from San Martin was brought by to Mendoza, by a special messenger, of the name of Manzanedo. Even since this supplement was written, it is reported that the then remaining brothers, Jose Miguel de Carrera has been assassinated. Thus ends the bloody drama, and Calumny is now pensioned to pallate their acts by blackening the victims. Three several offers were made by ——— before an instrument vile enough could be procured in the United States! I speak from the strongest positive proof in one case, and presumptive evidence of the latter.

they looked with affection to the country, the persons and principles of the "Yankees of the North." They were Chilians and patriots, and must be exterminated to clear the avenues of dominion to "the most contemptible set of men that ever dared to be ambitious." Col. Rodriguez was like the Carrenas endowed with rare capacity and courage; he was distinguished in the battle of Maypu: he and the French officers were mainly instrumental in achieving that victory. The one was afterwards arrested on a frivolous pretext; the friendless Frenchmen were denounced and fled for refuge in various directions: Some were assassinated, a few escaped. Terror and Carnage reigned conjointly. Rodriguez, the darling of the people, was too formidable to be despatched in the face of day; it was given out that he would be sent on a mission to the United States, such as was offered to the generous Carrera: but he was "sent reeling to the shades below;" "with all his blushing honors thick upon him;" he was privately assassinated in a lone mountain by the soldiers who guarded him. This was perpetrated by command of the same authority. The intelligence electrified all Chile. It was calculated, that these terrific examples would suppress all opposition to usurpation, and remove the "superior powers" from importunity respecting Chilian rights, or any such impertinent and unwelcome themes. Englishmen, I am grieved to say, never discountenanced these terrible horrible deeds. Preaching against "French Revolutionists" and "undefined Theories" they appeared no time for "frowning indignantly" on massacre. Well does the poet insinuate, that in such an in-

terval, while resolutions of darkness are revolving in the mind – a look may have dissuasion in it:

Hadst thou but shook thy head or made a pause,
When I spake darkly what I purposed;
Or turn'd an eye of doubt upon my face,
Or bid me tell my tale in express words;
Deep Shame had struck me Dumb, made me break off,
And those thy fears might have wrought fears in me.

Thus may a repentant murderer expostulate with his creatures if remorse can ever penetrate a bosom steeled against humanity. Would to God, that even this havoc, desolating as it is, and irreparable, from the exalted worth and Roman virtues of the objects of proscription – would that even this were all! Some literary and distinguished Frenchmen migrated to Buenos-Ayres, and mistaking profession for opinion devoted themselves to the cause of republicanism. Robert, learned, honest and frank, established a Gazette, and wrote political essays. But alas! he knew not among whom he was. Presuming to criticize some article in the Court Gazette, – his strictures gave mortal offence. He was notified to discontinue his paper, and then he was arraigned on a fictitious accusation, and actually put to death with M. Lagresse!! All the other Frenchmen sent in petitions in their behalf. They were condemned. Had the British interposed for them, the capital conviction for republican principles, might have been commuted into banishment,! They were dumb and the meritorious, unsuspecting Frenchmen proscribed in one county, and unprotected in another, were selected as examples to infuse terror. The men who deserved the thanks of a Republic, were, causelessly and deliberately murdered. –

"Did heaven look on and would not take their part?"*

On the motives of the policy of the knife, I could give an entire history, if it lay in my province. I could unravel the complicated intrigues which had birth at Rio Janeiro, the joint walk of the British and Spanish ambassadors, &c;- I could recite the interference of Lord ——— in favor of Lima and Peru - the divisions fomented at Buenos Ayres, and the cruel conduct since supported. Lord S ——, was applauded:- Commodore Hillyar for similar intermeddling in Chile, where he extricated a Spanish division from annihilation - and the agreement was disavowed by the Spanish Chief, as in Peru - for this, I say, he was censured, because he had done the thing clumsily. All this, and the unprincipled invasion of the Oriental Banda, - an aggression as unjustifiable as the attack on Copenhagen - I might recite, if it were to the purpose. Negociations have been twice broken off with Artigas on this ground. He proposed but one condition of union and co-operation, but that was a sine qua non stipulation - that Buenos Ayres should unite with him in expelling the Portuguese invaders. But as the monopolists of Buenos Ayres had agreed to connive at that occupation, on condition that the Brazilian government should not molest their conquests elsewhere. Artigas's guileless patriotic proposal was constantly rejected. It was totally incompatible with plans of subjugation. But were I to undertake even this denouement, I should again come in collision

* A pamphlet has since been published in Buenos Ayres to justify the atrocity, by branding the martyrs with reproach; and charging them as traitors with hatching a conspiracy! what a cold blooded aggravation of the foul offence!

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with British schemes and connivances, and I should once more be compelled to show, that Englishmen could not with a good grace, "cast the first stone" either at "Revolutionary Frenchmen" or "los Yankees del Norte." Both these have sometimes stretched forth a saving hand to the unsheltered and persecuted; those, especially, the mercantile class, have not done so - at least, in Chile and Buenos Ayres.* We now relinquish the disagreeable topic, [which national prejudice had thrust too palpably in our face to be entirely overlooked,] with the remark, that as adulatory subserviency to despots bespeaks either venality or fear, - the one a crime, the other a base, degenerate quality - so, the opinion of a virtuous public ought to be directed against both. Who palliates murder, ought to be ranked with murderers; for he encourages a repetition of guilt. Though guilty hearers may tingle at the sound, I must express it. From our souls we wish freedom to Buenos Ayres and Chile, no less than to New Granada and Venezuela - but that is irreconcilable - impossible, with a sanguinary government, which beckons the assassin, points out the victim, and executes its purposes with the dirk.

It gladdens the heart to turn to more pleasing objects, especially as we draw near the end of a journey - from which if we have sometimes deviated, it was certainly not to chase butterflies. The official documents which follow,

* I am far from making the reflection general. I know, many worthy Britons who have nobly exerted themselves on the side of humanity, and at some hazard. The liberators of Lavalette will be revered so long as justice and compassion find an asylum in the human breast. In other quarters some Britons have signalized themselves in a like cause. How unjust would it be to reproach a whole bar, because one sorry pettifogger had undertaken to defend bull-fights in every Gazette in the city! Let us therefore discriminate between vice and virtue.

deserve the attention of those who with to pursue events in successive order:-

Head Quarters, at Paya 30th June 1819

Simon Bolivar, President of the State, and Captain General of the armies of Venezuela and New Granada, &c. &c. to His Excellency the Vice President of the Republic.

Since I had the pleasure of writing to you from Guardalito, nothing of moment has occurred.- our operations were limited merely to marching through a friendly country until the 27th inst. when our vanguard attacked a detachment of 300 men posted there by the enemy. This event has opened the campaign of New Granada, and if the beginning is a fair presage of the conclusion, it prognosticates a result of our enterprize the most happy. Three hundred select troops have been dislodged from a position so strong by nature, that 100 men could check the progress of 10,000. men. The fruit of our victory was reduced to the occupation of the fort, as the enemy having destroyed the bridge over the Paya [illegible] could not be pursued. We took the few provisions stored here, and killed some of the enemy.

But far more satisfactory than this, and more difficult to be overcome was the nature of the road. We have expended a whole month in our march through, every day surmounting some new obstacle which seemed to increase as we advanced. It is a prodigy of good fortune to have arrived here without any loss to our army, after passing a multitude of navigable rivers that inundated a great part of our route over the plains. This I consider the grand obstacle in

my march, which vanquished, the rest appeared as nothing - when nothing but constancy the most signal has subdued every obstruction. The rugedness of the mountains we have traversed, would appear incredible to any who have not experienced it. To form an idea of it, suffice it to state, that in four days march we have broken down all the artillery horses, and lost all the cattle provided for supplies. The rigor of the season has likewise aggravated the toils of the way. Scarce a day or night passes without rain. Finally, though we have not finished the march, we may flatter ourselves at having completed the worst, and approach the end of it. In eight days at farthest, I shall be in Popayan, when I hope our situation will be greatly improved.

Every information we receive from New Granada confirms and cheers our hopes. All unanimously assert, that numerous guerrillas incessantly harrass the enemy in the interior of the country: - that he dreads our approach as cordially as the people burn for it; that Mac Gregor's division menaces the coast, and it is even said, that it already operates on terra firma. - If this intelligence be confirmed, we may count on a short and glorious campaign. Nothing can obstruct us if the people be on our side. The enemy's force is incompetent even to repress the country people.

Gen Paez advises me, under date of the 15th inst. of having drubbed the party, that was in Cuacales, burned their huts and destroyed their crops on which they subsisted. He was about marching on Pedraza in quest of an enemy's di-

bision of 700 men, that had advanced at that point; he promises himself a complete triumph should he have the good luck to fall in with them.

I have no intelligence from your excellency, nor of the affairs in the east, since the 1st of may, when your last communication is dated.

Your very humble servant
Bolivar

P.S. I enclose you a proclamation which I have addressed to the people in the interior of New Granada:—

Proclamation:—

Simon Bolivar, President of the Republic, Captain General, &c. &c.

To the Inhabitants of New Granada, &c.

Granadians! An army from Venezuela united with the brave Cundinamarcans, under command of General Santander, is marching to liberate you. The groans extorted from you by Spanish tyranny, have struck the ears of your Venezuelan brothers, who after throwing off the yoke of our common oppressors, have resolved to make you partakers of their liberty. From remotest climes a British legion have left their land of glory to acquire renown as saviours of America. You have, now, Granadians, in your bosom, this army of friends and benefactors, and the God who protects afflicted humanity will grant a triumph to their redeeming arms. Granadians! you have been subjected, for some years past to the sway of those military tyrants dispatched by Ferdinand VII under command of the atrocious Morillo. This same army destroyed

by our triumphs, lies prostrate in Venezuela. You alone support the cruelty of your tyrants: but you are Grenadians: you are patriots; you have a sense of justice; you will turn then, against the Spaniards those accursed arms with which they had entrusted you, that you might be your own executioners.

Grenadians, the liberating army is convinced of your liberal sentiments; it is aware that you have been rather the tyrants victims than their instruments. Harbor no apprehensions of those who come to spill their blood in order to constitute you a free and independent nation. The Grenadians are innocent in the eyes of the liberating army, of the Congress, and of the President of the Republic. In our view, none are guilty except the Spanish tyrants, and even these shall not perish but in the field of battle.

Bolivar.

The spirit and propriety of this address indicate no mediocrity of talent in the writer. Had he but have been a little more explicit, as to political designs, we should have been more highly gratified. The time perhaps was improper for longer discourse. Like Hannibal who looked down with impatient delight on the vales of [illegible] Italy from his Alpine watch-Tower — he had nigh concluded a painful march. When from the heights of Paya the plains of Santa Fé lay outstretched before him. Who would not be eager to reach them? Though no

man living has been more variously depict-
ed by friends and foes than Gen. Bolivar,
those extolling him to the skies, and these de-
crying him almost below humanity, yet the impartial
must own, that traits of greatness are evinced
by his conduct — that brilliant flashes of genius
intellect attest his native genius. we have
likened his march to Hannibals - and Han-
nibal was a justifiable invader; but let us
rather compare him to Camillus hastening
to expel a barbarous enemy who had ravaged
his country and sacked its capital, and exter-
minated its venerable chiefs and legislators
None had experienced greater diversity of fate;
his fortune has been chequered in the utmost
extremes. Felled to the earth by successive
& strange reverses, he has rebounded by an in-
herent force, and resumed an erectness of at-
titude, when others had fallen irrecoverably -
perhaps had lain with supine resignation. His
perseverance proves an elasticity of temper and tone
of character which forshows great results. If as
he acknowledges, he has committed infinite er-
rors, [in military affairs] he has been at in-
finite pains to repair them. If Fame and
Ambition claim him, as a devotee [and
the man is worthless who has not a
worthy ambition]; Freedom, we trust,
will also recognize him as her champi-
on. we cannot resign the hope of seeing
in him, an asserter of the "rights of man

If [illegible] mind is dazzled by the showy paradoxes of Montesquieu, it must be because an inquisitorial Government precluded him from poring over the political works of Needham and Locke; of Rousseau and Price; of Jefferson and Paine. For surely, with better opportunities [I borrow the poets illustration] he would never forsake the fair mountain & feed and batten on the desert moor. If he has not declared his political views to the Granadians, he has not deceived them by subdolous professions - he has not insulted them nor cast dishonor on the motives of the revolution, by inculcating the expediency of rearing up a "grand nation" to domineer over this Continent.* It is the advice of an ancient sage, that we withhold our decided opinion of any or every man until we witness his final act. So let it be with Bolivar; but in the hope, that the reservation will only enhance the measure of applause, in the belief, that we and posterity may be enabled to speak of him as the Tell or the Washington of Venezuela.

We have not received official accounts of all the actions that intervened between the time of the army's passing the mountains, and its occupation of Santa Fé. There were four en-

* I have reference to the proclamation of Gen. Belgrano, [of Buenos Ayres] to the auxiliary army of Peru just received from a correspondent in Buenos Ayres. It concludes thus - "Be constant and the whole world will be convinced, in admiration of your department, that the South Americans have not taken up arms for vengeance, oppression or destruction; but to fulfill the destiny to which divine providence called them. on the 25th of may 1810, by reestablishing the great nation as mistress of this continent. [Restableciendo la gran nacion Señora de este continente.] Does he mean Spain, or are we to look to the butcheries of —— and —— Beauvedale all this strong yet mysterious hint at conquest. It is dated the 25th may. 1819.

gajements at various points of its march - the most decisive victory was gained over the royalists at the battle of Boyacá, on the 7th of August. - Not having the series of bulletins, it is inexpedient to copy the 4th in this place. Suffice it to state, that the enemy attempted to pass the bridge of Boyacá, & form a direct communication with the Capital, when the liberating army made a movement to prevent it. The action became general: after a sharp contest, the royalists were defeated with very great slaughter. The general in Chief, Barreyro, with his second in command, the principal officers, and 1800 Spanish troops were taken prisoners - all their arms, munitions, cavalry, &c. were captured; and scarcely 50 men escaped. "The advantages gained by the Republicans in the victory of yesterday, are incalculable. Never did troops triumph more decisively, and seldom have they engaged troops so well disciplined and commanded." There were patriot divisions from Sacorro and Tunja in this action. This bulletin is dated at Venta Quemada, on the 8th; but its imprint is "In Santa Fe de Bogata, Capital of Cundinamarca - Government Printing Office, A.D. 1819."

In the second bulletin, the prowess of the European auxiliary force is said to be warmly commended; it was also distinguished at Boyacá - but indeed the whole army is applauded. On the 10th it is believed the patriot army entered the city of Santa Fé, - where they obtained $ 500,000; on the 15th Gen. Bolivar had in his possession $ 1,000,000. There

accounts are direct and positive. the rest is rumor. I believe, however, that the victorious army descended towards Santa Martha, or Carthagena, in pursuit of the Spanish viceroy and other royalists, who retreated towards the coast. From the celerity of their movements, and rapid successes, one would infer that the independent army have latterly had only monticles, or hillocks to pass in comparison of the labor of traversing the vast mountains of Casanare, &c. &c. in the rainy season — As for the remainder, we decline supposition and await official intelligence.

While Gen.l Bolivar was following the bright star of fame and fortune in New Granada, the intrepid Paez was warring against the elements and Spaniards together on the plains of Caracas and in Barinas. If this extraordinary leader encounters difficulties now, the greatest must consist in equalling the daring deeds he had already performed. No achievment of his can excite new wonder in those who have read the bulletin of his exploits on the 2d of April — when with 150 volunteers of all ranks, as previously noticed, he passed the Arauca, and actually charged the Spanish army. The following despatch, however will shew the progress of the contest, and what must be the termination of a struggle, maintained by such ardent devotion to American Independence:—

Gen. Paez, to His Excellency the vice President of the State.

Santa Cruz, 21st July, 1819.

Sir — As I announced to your Excellency in my last, I shifted my head quarters on the 10th inst. from the island of Achaguas, in a direction for this side of the Apure. It was then my intention to proceed to Nutrias and destroy its garrison. With this

purpose I ordered the English column of infantry to march reinforced with some troops of the country, levied since his excellency the President took all the forces for New Granada, which with my cavalry formed a respectable division.

On the 16th I reached the pass of but having perceived on the route the impossibility of the infantry marching farther from the inundation of the Savannas, I made it countermand for the island continuing with the cavalry alone, in the design of enterprising on Guanare, and otherly westerly points of Caracas. For this operation, I ordered Col. Aramenda to move with his death-regiment [regimento de muerte] on the capital of Barinas to destract the force he had beaten some days before.

I was advancing on the 17th by this road which the best guides represent to be the most transitable of all; and after travelling three successive days through a country destitute of all subsistence for man, without a dry spot of ground to lodge for the night, I halted on the evening of the 19th a league from hence, when information reached me that a party of the enemy of 350 infantry and some cavalry, under command of the Spanish Lt. Col. Duran had just occupied the village with the two-fold object of annoying the guerrillas, I have stationed hereabouts, lay waste the fields, burn the town, and transport all the families to Nutrias.

Prepared for the contest, I moved my station at day-break, and disposed my troops for battle. As soon as I gained his front, I made Col. Cornelio Munoz march by the right, at the head of my Guard of Honor; the left I entrusted to Col. Antonio Rap-

gel. with the regiment of the valiants: Gen. Torres took the centre, with his hussars, who fought on foot. The enemy formed into a square in the Plaza, made an obstinate resistance, opposing our charges at the point of the bayonet; but convinced that their destruction was inevitable, as their ground was strewed with dead bodies, marched without breaking their formation, and under cover of a very brisk fire, took possession of a block-house [una casa fuerte] from whence they galled us without being annoyed. I made arrangements for an assault, with four columns of light cavalry dismounted, who were to penetrate at once and at all hazards into the block-house: the movement was executed with rapidity; the soldiers displayed the highest valor, for some reaching the windows [or port holes] sword in hand, and others with chumps of wood tried to force the walls and doors, but unluckily they suffered considerable slaughter from the loop holes, which forced them to retreat.

The assault was renewed, but perceiving the risk and impossibility of achieving our enterprize for want of sappers and implements, I turned to the troops who were unanimously shouting - "to die or conquer" and strove to pacify their fury by addressing them: "Soldiers - "valor must be accompanied by prudence. Without "this, a vanquished enemy may become the "victor: be appeased, and trust me, that these "cowards shall die by the edge of your swords: - "I swear it you they shall not see the light of the "morning." Return to your ranks: rest a few mo-

ments and be ready to reap the fruit of your valor."

The cavalry being reembodied I ranged four parties of hussars on foot, in the opposite houses, with directions to fire at every visible object through the ports of the block-house - the plan was executed, and the enemy suffered severely, as he had through all that day; but a large opening was discovered at the lower part, in rear of the building, which screened by woods, escaped our notice during the attacks of the morning. When night came, I formed the cavalry for the assault, and making a feint attack in front, I ordered a charge through the breach; and in spite of a formidable resistance from the enemy, our soldiers overcame every thing, gaining a victory so complete that it will eternally reflect honor on the arms of the Republic. It was impossible to curb the rage of our troops, who put every one of the enemy to the sword, except the commander, who contrived to escape grievously wounded, favored by the darkness of a heavy rain, and by an ungrateful American, a Captain Farza, well acquainted with the paths in this neighborhood; but I immediately ordered a guerrilla in pursuit, and entertain hopes of their success. Among the officers slain on the part of the enemy, we found a Captain Torres, a Spaniard distinguished for his bravery.

The issue has been most happy but sad [horrorosa]. Above 200 muskets remained in our power, and the whole of the enemy's division was destroyed by the impetuosity

of our troops: to day several wounded are found in the thickets of the wood. 501

My loss consists of 5 officers, 4 sargeants, and 20 men killed — 11 officers and 85 soldiers wounded. Among the first the valiant Col. Urquiola deserves our sincerest grief - he fell like a hero, fighting for his country.

I do mention the killed, wounded and survivors who merited particular commendation; Gen. Torres is amongst the last - and adds, that all the officers and men behaved with courage.

Your Excellency will please to accept this service as a tribute to the Republic, and cause the merits of its gallant defenders to be made public. May God preserve you, &c. &c. &c.

Yours,
Jose Antonio Paez.

Here is a despatch from the Diomed of Venezuela. From the language he employs on the occasion, which shows that they have some idea of regular formation, we may judge of the advances made in military discipline. Until the last year as I have been informed, this important branch of the public force, was unacquainted with the very rudiments of the profession - could not form column or deploy into line - could neither form nor reduce square ... but charge in masses, and relied on undisciplined, physical might. They have since learned the importance of martial order, & they must be invincible. From this progression we may conclude what advances are practicable in a short space in education and politics, if leaders are not averse from

laboring to achieve the most glorious work of all – that work, without which all other labor is vain. It is therefore devoutly to be wished that the popular mind and will may have free scope: precipitate formation of a permanent constitution, is equally to be deprecated. The most arduous labor demands the maturest reflection – If the law maxim be true, that laws are inoperative amidst the clangor of arms (leges silent inter arma) the tumult of revolution is not the proper season to frame fundamental – we had almost said unalterable laws. With these expressions of friendly condolence for our South American brothers, we will retire from the subject – our speculations would be superfluous – Every spectator can reason for himself. He sees the account as fairly stated, as I am capable of presenting it. He sees what makes for freedom and what militates against its establishment. He perceives that a work of haste is likely to be very imperfect, and that imperfection ought not to be irreversible. The less that is done (politically) the more there is gained. A civil edifice, designed to be as durable solid and glorious as the pyramids ought to be executed in composure, deliberation and peace. The moral and intellectual force required in the one case, is even greater than the physical power and architectural skill indispensible in the other.

I close this crude performance with the grateful anticipations – formed by General Bolivar in his eloquent Discourse to the

congress; they are anticipations in which my hopes and wishes keep pace with his: +

"soaring beyond the contemplation of present times and those about to be unfolded, my imagination plunges into the vista of future ages, where I observe with admiration and amazement, the prosperity, splendor, and animation which this vast region will have acquired. My ideas are wafted on, and I behold my loved, my native land in the midst of the universe, expanding herself on her extensive coasts between those oceans which nature has separated, and which our country will have united by capacious canals. I see her the bond, the centre, and the emporium of the human race; I see her transmitting to earths remotest bounds, the treasures deposited in her mountains of gold and silver; I see her distributing by salutiferous plants, health and life to the afflicted of the ancient continent; I see her imparting to the sages of other regions her inestimable secrets; unconscious till then, how much her knowledge transcends her wealth. Yes! I behold her seated on the throne of Freedom, wielding the sceptre of justice, ~~en~~wreathed with glory, exhibiting to the old world the majesty of the new."

Without farther comment, I submit these "Notes" to your candid judgment — and remain, &c.

very respectfully

Your obedient Servt

P. Irving.

The Hon. John Q. Adams,
Secretary of the Department
of State.

Baltimore 9th October 1819

Sir, (Private)

The enclosed will show you how decisive the campaign of New Granada is regarded in Venezuela. The results have verified completely all the former promises of Dr Forsyth and Dr S——r of Trinidad, for whom Bolivar appears to be almost worshipped — if we are to judge by the official statements. — I hope he may not make use of his ascendancy, à la mode de Pierre Dessalines & San Martin to proscribe real patriots, assassinate the greatest men, and govern by terror! — His creature too, Paravicini who is gone to England, will have an opportunity of seeing a little of the practice, under a constitution, which is very different from the beautiful theory, eulogized by De Lolme and admitted by Raynal &c. as excellent. — The projets those writers drew and many of the principles laid down are very good. — Feudal combinations and privileged classes, however, blasted the hopes of philanthropy — What seemed best in Paine was worthless all — in fact, he & our Tom Jones have done as much mischief to mankind as the British.

As these documents are only to be perused and thrown aside I make free to send you the translation in its rough hot garb — It is not worth the while, I perhaps to add mere news to my Letter, which I now expect daily from the transcriber.

In haste, sir, yours very respectfully

D. Levine

Hon. John Q. Adams
Secy. of State.

5

The extract in the "Patriot" may be implicitly relied on, errata of the printer excepted. — It is taken from a letter received by me from a Little Page, a highly respectable Gentleman in Trinidad.

Irvine, Baptist – Baltimore, 9 Nov. 1819

Rec.d 10.

Bolivar's progress, &c.

Enclosures – Bulletins & news from N. Granada.
(2 MS. sheets, 1 printed extract of newspaper)

(private)

Irvine B. Bal:
9 Nov 1819
Recd 10th.

affairs of Venezuela.

Hazard's Register — Baltimore, 9 Nov. 1819

Operations in New-Granada.

Translated for the Patriot from the Guayana Gazette extraordinary of Sunday, September 19.

Bulletin no. 5.

Of the Liberating Army of New-Granada.

Lieut. col. Mugica with the corps of guides & dragoons, continued the pursuit of the enemy at dawn of the 8th: at 11 his excellency followed with the squadron of Upper Llanos and joined them at Chacoita. All the infantry marched on the 9th. His E. arriving on the 10th at the bridge del Comun, received advices from the capital that the viceroy the audience, with the guard of honor, and a regiment of cazadores with all the officers civil and military had abandoned Tunja morning of the 9th, leaving it in a horrible anarchy. His E. hastened his march, and on the same day entered the capital amidst the acclamations of crowds who were at a loss how to express their gladness — of a people who after three years of the most cruel oppression, saw themselves freed on a sudden, and doubted whether such boundless felicity could be real. Streets and squares were thronged with people: all desired to behold his excellency the president, to be convinced of the reality.

Samano, the viceroy has gone towards Honda, and Cabzada follows by a southern route; all our cavalry and rearguards are in full chase, and there is some foundation to hope that none can escape.

The liberating army has reached the goal proposed at undertaking this campaign: in 75 days march from the village of Mantecal, in the province of Barinas, his E. entered the capital of N. Granada, having overcome even greater difficulties and labors than had been foreseen at resolving on the grand operation, and having destroyed an army vastly stronger than the invading force

The precipitancy with which the viceroy and his staff fled at the first intelligence of the battle of Bojacá, did not permit him to secure any of the public property: in the mint we have found upwards of half a million of dollars in specie, and in the other stores and depositories as much as would completely equip a numerous army. It may be confirmed that the liberty of New-Granada has irrevocably secured that of all South-America, and that the year 1819 will terminate a war which Spain has waged since 1810 to the only for humanity.

Head-quarters in Santa-Fe, 11th Aug. 1819. Chief of the General Staff. — Carlos Soublette.

General Staff. — head-quarters, Santa-Fe, 12th August, 1819. — 9th of independence

The army continued its operations on the 3d inst. and on the 10th his excellency made his entry into this capital. bulletins 3, 4, and 5 will present you with details of movements the most bold and glorious for the arms of the republic, manifestly which in liberating New-Granada, it appears have fixed the fate of both states.

Nothing would more interesting to you and the whole army of Venezuela than to see circumstantially every incident of this campaign from our march out of Tame to Pisba, all difficulties have been overcome, all the hardships the army has suffered; since it seems as if the country, the climate and everything had been united for our destruction, exclusively of the enemy's forces; but it being impossible at this moment, when we are dispatching the correspondence, to transmit you that I shall transmit the narrative of all our divisions by the first opportunity.

I announced to you in general orders, the glory of your arms with the notice that the commander in chief of your army may cause our success to be celebrated at all the points he occupies especially at head-quarters, where all the demonstrations are

to be made which your zeal and interest in the cause of our arms will dictate

God preserve you &c &c.

Carlos Soublette.

To the Chief of the General Staff of the Army of the East.

Angostura, September 19.

To the Governor and Chiefs of the provinces of Venezuela

The consignment of a victory to signal with the pacification of Venezuela all the provinces whose sons have never had greater reason than at present to emulate the example of the victory and illustrious Granadinians. - Let them be the gods of battles vows of gratitude be united in the capital of the state [Angostura] and every manifestation of joy be made for three successive days!

Ministry of the Interior & of War, 19th Sept. 1819

the Minister

Diego de Urbaneja.

Angostura, 19th September, 1819.

As soon as the government received the welcome correspondence from Santander every mean of celebrating it was put in to activity. In the midst of public acclamations, and of a numerous concourse, the official dispatches was proclaimed in various quarters of the city, in front of the garrison, drums beating and colors flying: the uproar of artillery, the vollies of the infantry, and the ring of bells announced its momentous nature. All was jubilee nothing but huzzas (vivas) for the Liberating Army of New Granada. - What remains of the Granadinian victims of the atrocious despotism of Spain! - Let fall on the head of the tyrant and his executioners

the same knife which [illegible] so much innocent blood on the soil that gave birth to the Torres's, the Caldas's, & the Torices, with a host of illustrious men! May the Union be cimented forever, as the most inestimable reward of her deliverers! —

Head-quarters, in Santa Fe, 11th August, 1819

Simon Bolivar President of the Republic, Captain General of the armies of Venezuela & Neugranada, &c. — to his excellency the vice-president of the Republic.

Ever since I conceived the purpose of marching into the heart of this kingdom, I was aware that alarm must put in action all the resources of the Spanish authorities. In effect I was the more confirmed in this idea by the intercepted letters which fell into my hands on the entrance of Tunja, when by a stratagem made to the viceroy D. Juan Samano, I discovered that a superior force well organized and disciplined, was the mark at which it was aimed to break the gallant liberating army would be dashed in pieces. I calculated however that the image of so many evils with which these brave people had been and were still afflicted, would have disposed their minds to receive their heroical defenders with welcome. And in truth I had scarcely advanced a step on this side of the Cordillera which separates the plains from the broken grounds on the frontier of the province of Casanare, when I heard resounding before me the benedictions of some men who expected our army with all the anxiety which they had borne to the last degree of exasperation.

An active chief at the head of 4 or 5 000 men is the first to meet me in the field of battle. General Don Jose de Maria Barreyro, charged with its direction, regulates his exertions: moves all the springs of valor, and presents me actions which were wanting to fill the measure of glory.

the discipline of his troops, fine organizing the strong
position he occupied, and the number of resources he had at hand, made one believe that the enterprise
was only fit for the witlessness and daring of the army
of the republic.

The exploit of Bojaca, the completest victory I have
obtained, has decided the fate of those in Cundinamarca; and
after annihilating the king's army root and branch, I
drew to this capital amidst multitudes of men who came
lovingly carried on in expressions of the tenderest gratitude, and
precipitating themselves in dispersed parties of the enemy afore-
gained their own defenceless condition to cooperate actively in
their absolute extermination, seizing arms and making so
vast number of prisoners. Your excellency will find the particulars of this triumph in the impressions annexed.

My sensibility has been greatly excited on arriving at this
capital of New-Granada, where the depredation and
cruelty of Spanish minions have left deep-indented marks.

Samano, the viceroy, together with all the officers, the greater
part of the Spaniards, and the remnant of the forces precipitately
fled at the first intimation he had of our last victory, and
before I reached this metropolis, I sent some divisions to the South
and West of it in the route they have taken, with strong hopes
of overtaking them and a numerous emigration.

In spite of the general devastation this kingdom has
suffered, the republic can calculate on a million of
dollars in specie, besides an immense sum which the property
of the oppressors and fugitive malcontents will produce
I labor with diligence in regulating the internal econ-
omy and the excellent dispositions of these people where
we scarcely reckon an enemy, gives me a presentiment that the
finances soon will be consumated into nothing.

Let your excellency and the whole republic receive the

my affectionate congratulations and the sincerest wishes of the illustrious people of New Granada, who only aspire towards a common felicity; deigning likewise to present the tri-umphs of the armies under my command to the supreme Congress as a tribute due from me. — God preserve &c.

Bolivar."

Recd 23d.

Baltimore, 21st October, 1819. 508

Sir,

I was in hopes of finishing by the middle of September the note I have thrown together respecting Mercantile enquiries in Venezuela; but, owing to the extreme heats of the summer, in those "celestial ardors" were[y] too high a temperature for me, the task was not performed until the 25th of that month. Since that I have copied the inclosed and have delivered it privately to Mr Branch to transcribe - the moment that a legible copy is taken, it shall be sent upon you with it.

The delay, I presume, cannot be of any importance, the principal facts respecting Venezuela being pretty generally known; and the interlapse to adopt a swelling phrase about a male matter has brought me additional letters from Rose, Irvine and Cadiz, besides Gazettes &c. From which I must yet draw an abstract by way of supplement.

To be perfectly frank, - the great anxiety I always felt - and which prompted me to return while any civility was unsatisfied with a partial tour in a province and desirous of awaiting the issue of the late campaign, was on the subject of British influence - detrimental every where, but too likely to be poisonous in South America - because of the affinity for British dogmas and practices in the ambition of the active, the intrigues of the worthless, and the passivity of the ignorant many. - I was once flattered with the hope of doing much good politically - and was at some pains to effect something. A majority of the Congress were averse from giving countenance to any hereditary donate: all whom I conversed with seemed to flout the notion, and I was sanguine in the belief that it would never meet their approval. - Nevertheless, it has the sanction of a female congress, representation, (I fear) the secret dictation of Bolivar, his worthless officers - (for they are generally nuisances, except Paez,) a few lawyers and priests. Dr Cadiz' letter will inform you more particularly; and † facts of this complexion cannot be prudently stated in a report; but I have taken all pains consistent with re-

spect.

I am unwilling to trespass long at present. Had the
ardent, decided, and judicious Perry but returned, he
would unquestionably have given you a faithful
picture. If I am rightly informed, this impression was
the same as mine regarding English intrigues and the
necessity of counteracting them by all our means.
It looks as if our loving kinsman John Bull had
been studiously whetting his horns in secret to gore us again.
Very well! (but you possess no doubt the best information
on the subject) if it be even so. Perhaps the time is come
predicted by Hume and Hawkesbury, by Paine & Cobbett,
by both monarchical and democratical writers, when all
the taxes are mortgaged, and government can invent no more
when the thousands must be sacrificed to the existence of
the millions, when "her safety lies in despair" and the
national debt of England must be sponged. I am
delighted to see some likelihood of a power so tyrannical
daintly restless and mischievous, so pestiferous as England
being at last cramped and disabled by her own efforts.
Before the catastrophe, perhaps she is resolved to leave
North and South America some remembrancers of
her affection by laying her sceptre on Cuba or Mexico, or
Florida, or washing two or three of the Lord knows where.
As peace is bitterness and death to her, I hope the nations
will compel her to remain at peace. If the Fates have
decreed otherwise, and she is destined to throw off 400,
000,000 of an annual load, & purge her debts and begin
a new score, I should have no objection that we in the
next Punic war, gain the immortal honor of being
the immediate cause of the explosion. —
Some promises of this kind have lately made across my
mind, several weeks ago, when I addressed a letter to
Mr Bailie of your department, with a couple of gazettes
the reason why I am now so intermingled some observations
having a bearing towards certain scandalous, underhand
proceedings here, against my worthy friend Judge Bland,
was the indignation of the moment. — I knew his integrity
judgment and general information — respected his virtues,
his studious habits, and great disinterestedness. — I knew

those, and dissected his unworthy accusers, or pronunciation
-laughing stocks at the bar, and a burlesque on pretence
of learning how little. His magnanimity and goodness
spared them of them, whom ten times from his power
bar hand, would damn forever. For, except General
Smith, judge Bland is the most popular man in
Baltimore. - The first occasion will confirm my
words. - But, sir, having thus explained that authority
note, I must be permitted to declare that I am loth
as I am to keep within my humble sphere, and
within my proper depth, I had no design of intermed-
dling in concerns above my reach, and nevertheless
- The first was connected with another and more
important object, - for my motives on which I am ready
at all times to account. -

You will, sir, I fear, be better satisfied with the
unexpected postponement of my report, than with the report
itself. It does not please me; and why should I
hope it would gratify you? - Yet, with the time and
materials, I ingenuously declare, I could not frame
a better. Such as I have I give into their hands to
the conscious satisfaction succedent to the honest
discharge of one's duty, is the pleasure of finding his mo-
tives approved.

I am sir, unfeignedly,
Your very obed! friend & servt.
B. Irving

Hon. John Q. Adams
Secy. of State.

Irvine, Baptis – Baltimore, 21 Oct. 1819.

Rec. 23.

Will soon give his Report on Venezuela –
Affairs of V. – English intrigues – treat for life –
England –
Refers to letter to J. B. – Judge Bland –

[Private advertisement.]

570

Baltimore, 18th November 1819.

Sir

In sending to you my promised note, which to my regret has been unexpectedly delayed, I think it necessary to state a few things explanatory of motives. — During the time of my writing there was great rumor, if not much appearance of British hostility towards our country. — It was therefore natural enough for one who had pondered so often on her history, to indulge in such reflections about England as arose out of the subject. — Her merchants and oligarchy being the enemies of every nation which promises, however remotely, to possess either strength or freedom, it becomes a duty to advertise the world of such insatiable ambition. — They are our enemies, and treat us with so little respect as not to be at the pains of disguising their enmity. — Does a man dedicate a book to the prince-regent? It is spiced with hatred of the United States! — Does an author treat of "Colonial Policy"? It is a contrivance to cripple the United States. — If a secret agent address a royal duke; — dislike to their enemies, "the Yankees of the North" (los Yankees del Norte) gives a liveness to his pen. If England can, at any moment, muster her "warrish" clans, by blowing a note of rivalship, or commercial danger, why may not other nations cement their powers, and harmonize opinions by pointing to the common disturber? — If she can avail herself of a new storm to throw off her national debt, why may not another state make use of the proverbial jealousy of this irreconcilable nation (by blazoning it) to recommend a system of moderate direct taxation — without which no government or people is safe? — Still, as we are nominally at peace, while she is really waging a diplomatic, commercial war against us, — to write, and especially to publish wholesome truths, is subject to considerations of decorum and expediency.

The rule to be observed towards a more Southern government (like Venezuela) is perhaps more delicate; though the depravity, malignancy and murderous policy of Buenos-Ayres deserve the most pointed reprehension. Would to God! that it were within the ranges of

policy or ability to put such monsters down, and to uphold honest men and sacred principle! —— As I may vindicate to me another former, if I cause allow, some worthy men in that quarter who have been falsely calumniated, and most bitterly, by a mercenary pen; I shall have no objection if any casual remark which may occur in my letters, and which was extorted by the imprudent advocacy of a blood-stained government, were erased. — It is immeasurable with the extent or depth of criminality — and it is puerile to draw the bow, or point the arrow, while the object is beyond bow shot. — It is a curious fact however, that General Bolivar assiduously endeavored on one occasion to disavow any collusion between Pueyrredon and himself — indeed spoke rather contemptuously of him as devoid of military spirit and the virtue of chivalry! — This conversation arose from a trifling incident. I refer to it, because, after the ascendancy of the corrupt faction in Buenos-Ayres, — when the republicans who had co-operated with the late, illustrious & incorruptible Dr. Mariano Moreno, were driven from power, Pueyrredon and his party strove to tempt others into similar outrages with themselves. Bolivar, who had answered Pr.s complimentary letter in terms somewhat flattering, was a little chagrined when he heard of strictures in some American newspapers on this correspondence. He paid me a visit, with the view to procure them, and was earnest in his enquiries: but as I had only received the paper in which the comments were provided, and that accidentally with a bundle of others, — I was unable to gratify his curiosity, — and in fact have not seen the criticisms to this day.

You will please to observe, sir, that in the "Supplemental Notice," a part of the translation from one of Dr. Cadiz's letters is deemed confidential, — and it would be improper to expose him to yourself: therefore I have crossed it with my pen, but left it legible.

As to Bolivar's Discourse, I have commented on it freely but fairly. He is very frank in conversation himself, and a close comparison of opinions, it seems to me, can do us no harm but may effect some good. — If in this or the remainder you should find any thing worth your perusal, I shall be more than gratified for any labor I may have undergone.

I am, sir, most respectfully,
your obedient servant,
B. Rivadavia.

Hon. John Quincy Adams,
Secy. of State.

571

Irvine. Baptist – Baltimore, 18 Nov. 1819.

Rec. 22 Nov. (from hands of Mr. J.)

Erratum, or omission. Please to add to the last paragraph of the 572
tract about the Corsicans &c. the words – "or drawing advantage
from them" – / scan hastily &c. a pen clear that
the Sacar el Londoni having been partially overlooked in the
context.) It will then read from above

" is most favorable for drawing advantage from
them, or forming a party out of them."

Mem. Correction of Corsicans &c

Erratum

Washington Saturday evening 27th Nov. 1819. 513

Sir,

On reconsidering (this afternoon) the expenses I incurred in Augustura, not from a preference for extravagance, but solely to maintain the respectability of an American agent, who felt repugnance at being eclipsed by a British merchant (alias, emissary) in the matters of hospitality or the like; and reflecting on the cost of living in a maritime city during the last summer — not to speak of other trifles, — I incline to believe, that I have an equitable claim for compensation on your department — say for four months pay. I was nearly that time in arranging documents &c. for my report (however imperfect it be) † and waiting for the transcriber whom I paid liberally for his service. But, if on taking a review of the case, you should be of a different opinion, I shall not attempt to importune you.

As well in the article of expenditure, as in the more important business of agent, the experience acquired would undoubtedly enable me to manage affairs with better judgment, — but not, I think, with greater diligence or fuller zeal. —

I remain, sir, very respectfully, your

Your obedient servant

D. Irvine.

Hon. John Quincy Adams
Secretary of State.

† I thought but six weeks in writing the draught of it.

Irvine B. Washington

24 Nov 1819.

Read 28th

Add Compensation

Enclosure - Treaty between B. Ayres & Chile

To Hon. J. Q. Adams
Secretary of State
Washington City.

P.S. Translated from the Correo de Provincias, Sept. 11

Special Treaty between the States of Buenos Ayres & Chile

His Excellency the Supreme Director of the United Provinces of Rio-de-la-Plata and his excellency the Supreme Director of the state of Chile, invested with the power by the provisional constitutions of their respective states, desirous of putting an end to the tyrannical domination of the Spanish government in Peru and of giving to its inhabitants that liberty and independence of which they are unjustly deprived, and with the intention of according that assistance which the people of Lima have solicited from both the contracting states, have resolved to conclude the present treaty.

For this purpose both parties have appointed plenipotentiaries, viz.

On the part of H. E. the Supreme Director of the United provinces of Rio-de-la-Plata, Don Gregorio Tagle minister of state in the government department and for foreign affairs and on the part of the Supreme Director of the State of Chile, col. Don Antonio José Irrizari, officer of the Legion of Merit, and minister of state, who having exchanged their full powers, and found them in just and proper form, have stipulated the following articles:-

Article 1.- Both parties yielding to the wishes manifested by the inhabitants of Peru, especially those of Lima its capital, for the aid of an armed force to expel the Spanish government and establish another more analogous to their physical and moral constitution, hereby bind themselves to undertake an expedition which is already prepared for that object in Chile.

2d. The combined army of the United Provinces and Chile, directed against the existing authorities of Lima, and its support of its inhabitants, shall cease to remain in that country from the moment of establishing a government by their free consent, unless on the same government there requesting it and its installation to the postume of both contracting parties, the three states of Chile the United provinces and Lima, determine the stay of the army for a certain period in the same territory. In such contingency the generals authorised for this purpose or the other ministers of Chile and the United provinces shall treat of this point with the government that may be instituted in Lima, the execution of these treaties always remaining subject

to the respective ratification of the Supreme Authorities of Chile and the United Provinces.

3d. In order to avoid all cause of dissension between both contracting States and the new one to be formed in Peru, relative to defraying the expenses of the liberating expedition, and with the desire of removing for the future every pretext which the enemies of America may from hence attributing to the expedition interested motives utterly foreign from it, both contracting parties agree not to treat of reimbursing these expenses until they are liquidated by the independent government of Lima, the combined army obtaining until then and even subsequently a conduct impracticable to its object, which is to protect not to war on the inhabitants, concerning which the two governments will give express orders to their generals.

4. Accounts of expenses of the liberating expedition and the Chilean squadron which conveys it, from the time of its entering the Pacific Ocean for that purpose, shall be presented by the ministers or agents of the government of Chile and the United Provinces, to the independent government of Lima, settling amicably and conveniently with it the terms, time and modes of payment.

5. The two contracting parties mutually guarantee the independence of the State to be formed in Peru, on the liberation of its capital.

6. The present treaty shall be ratified by his excellency the Supreme Director of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata and by the Supreme Director of the State of Chile within the term of sixty days.

Given and subscribed in the city of Buenos Ayres, on the 5th of February 1819.

Antonio Jose Irrizarri
Gregorio Tagle

The preceding is translated as I have said, from the Argentina "Correo, and appears to have been transplanted from the Times of London. — Mr Torres says that this stipulation is in accordance with the government of Venezuela; and affirms that Mr Mendez, the agent in London, had transmitted the instrument to Guayana. — It is intended, he assures me, by Venezuela and those governments, to act in concert against Mexico from

both seas, as soon as the affairs are disposed of. The treaty only shows, that the territorial and jurisdictional outline suggested by D. Tiscar y Guevara and others (which you will perceive quoted as a note of the Report) is in the course of filling up. This therefore will partly explain - if you have not previously seen it in the Times, one point of my instructions from your department, viz to learn the views of the South American governments towards each other - If you please sir, you can attach this scrap as a postscript to the Report.

The following (from the same gazette) is an extract of an intercepted confidential dispatch, taken in the Maria Isabel, - from - Eguia the Spanish minister of war, to the viceroy of Peru; it is dated at Madrid, the 22d of April 1818, and has been published in the Guarde of Santiago, in Chile, 30th of November, 1818. Whether it is a fabrication of Carrera's enemies, or a document that ought to cast suspicion on that conspicuous, but unfortunate leader, I cannot undertake to decide. It is extremely difficult to judge of mankind at a distance. Whatever C. is, (and I have thought him the Washington of Chile) his enemies are more like fiends than men. The independence of the country will be effected at any rate, be the instruments what they may.

"Your excellency's predecessor, the marquis of Concha, rendered greater service to his majesty by the finesse of political management with the rebels of Buenos-Ayres and Chile, than with the armies stationed in those countries; and your excellency will observe that the protection granted to the Carreras by general Gainza, had more happy results in Chile, after the fictitious capitulation and the jealousies sown in Buenos-Ayres against the first Junta, than the formal war prosecuted in Venezuela and Santa-Fe, by general Morillo.

"Now, as it is remarked in your excellency's letter of December last, there is offered the best opportunity for weakening the forces of Buenos-Ayres and Chile, by protecting

the partisans of Carrera and Alvear, who are at the present dominantes of those countries, cannot but act against them, and will make exertions proportioned to the opposition they encounter, as it is evident that the situation of these men, separated from country and friends, is the most favorable for arranging a party of them."

Mr Mr Graham of 23 Nov 1816.

Treaty between U. States & Chile